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THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO.



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DUBLIN UNIVERSITY PRESS SERIES.

THE CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
M. TULLIUS CICERO,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH

A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,

AND

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.

BY

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VOL. VI.



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## PREFACE.

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IN bringing out the sixth volume, which completes the CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO, we wish again to thank our readers and reviewers for kindly encouragement and valuable suggestions. We expect that the volume containing the Index will appear within a year. The task undertaken twenty years ago will then have been accomplished. Indeed, something more will have been attempted. For it was no part of the original design to include the Letters of Brutus, which we then believed to be spurious, but which we are now convinced are genuine.

We are aware that twenty years is a long time to spend on an edition, even of such a massive, difficult, and important body of literature as the Correspondence of Cicero. Doubtless, we might have done the work as well, or better, in half the time, had we devoted to it our whole leisure and attention. There were difficulties in the way of our doing so, into which we need not enter here. We did not use despatch. We took our time. And it was fortunate that we did so :

‘ Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well.’

If we had finished the edition in ten years from its inception, we should have missed that flood of light which in the last decade the labours and genius of many Continental scholars—especially O. E. Schmidt, Gurlitt, and Lehmann,—have thrown on the text,

the history of the mss, and the chronological sequence of the Letters. The readers of the fifth and sixth volumes will see into what a rich inheritance we have come through the slowness of our progress.

We see with satisfaction that many of our views have commended themselves to the learned editor of the Letters to Atticus, in the Teubner Series. We are especially pleased to find that *μη σκόρδον*—our correction of the MS ΜΙΑΣΚΟΡΔΟΥ—has ousted the time-honoured *μίασμα δρυός* in Att. xiii. 42 (681).

Subjoined is the Table of new readings in this Volume.



Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Reading either accepted in the Text (Roman type), or recorded with approbation in the Notes (italic type).	Editor to whom the reading is due.
DCCCLXXXVII. 3.	tamen.	.. ..	etiam.	Wes.
DCCXCIV. 3.	quod egerit.	quid egerit.	quod egerit.	Lehm.
DCCXCIX. 1.	Asta ea.	ast, <i>or</i> at st.	<i>a Septimia.</i>	Edd.
ibid.	sine vallo.	sine felle.	<i>sine φαρμακῷ.</i>	Edd.
DCCCVI. 2.	Octavius, <i>or</i> Octavianus.	Octavius.	Octavianus.	O. E. Schmidt.
ibid.	Sed si, <i>or</i> Sed.	Sed st.	<i>Sed.</i>	Edd.
ibid.	quod egerint.	quid egerint.	quod egerint.	Lehm.
DCCCVII. 4.	priores.	.. ..	<i>etsi res.</i>	Boot.
ibid. 6.	quisquam.	quicquam.	quisquam.	Edd.
DCCCVIII. 4.	Sum.	.. ..	<i>Cura.</i>	Rhodus.
DCCCXI. 2.	volam.	.. ..	volo.	Wes.
DCCCXIII. 3.	aut frequens.	haud infrequens.	frequens.	Graev.
DCCCXV. 2.	scio.	.. ..	sciam.	Wes.
DCCCXVIII. 2.	te isse in Syria ( <i>or</i> -am).	te isse in Syriam.	te esse in Syria.	Ed. Neap.
DCCXX. 1.	meum.	me unum, <i>or</i> meum <animum>	me virum.	Wes.
DCCXXIII. 2.	te ipsuincas, <i>or</i> ipsum uincas.	te ipse vincas.	<i>te ipsan vincas.</i>	Mendelssohn.

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Reading either accepted in the Text (Roman type), or recorded with approbation in the Notes (Italic type).	Editor to whom the reading is due.
DCCCXXIV. 5.	ne uocabit.	nemo uocabit.	nemo uocabit.	Cratander.
DCCCXXV. 3.	quoddam graecum ( <i>or</i> caecum), tempus servitutis.	.. ..	δοῦλιον ἡμαρ.	Cobet.
DCCCXXVI. 3.	in ea ratione.	ea ratione.	<i>in illa ratione.</i>	Kleyn.
DCCCXXXIII. 2.	XX.	.. ..	[XX.]	Mendelssohn.
DCCCXXXIV. 1.	disceptat.	.. ..	disceptatur.	Wes.
DCCCXXXVI. 3.	in aciem esse,	in acie esse.	in aciem esse.	Cratander.
ibid.	maiores autem partes animi.	.. ..	maiori autem partis animi.	Madv.
DCCCXXXVII. 5.	altera.	.. ..	<ab ipso senatu> altera.	Edd.
DCCCXXXVIII. 2.	at ego ei ( <i>or</i> et).	.. ..	<i>lego ei.</i>	Boot.
DCCCXL. 1.	VI.	.. ..	III.	Wes.
DCCCXLI. 1.	XVII.	.. ..	XVIII.	Ruete.
ibid.	millia passus.	millia passuum.	millia passus : cp. 872, 1.	Mendelssohn.
ibid.	possuissimus <i>or</i> potuissimus.	possemus.	<i>potis essemus.</i>	Mendelssohn.
DCCCXLII. 5.	XIII.	.. ..	XVIII.	Gurlitt.
DCCCXLIII. 6.	providetis <i>or</i> provideritis.	providetis.	provideritis.	O. E. Schmidt.
ibid.	XII. <i>or</i> XIII.	.. ..	XV.	Gurlitt.
DCCCXLIV. 1.	consules.	.. ..	consules esse.	Edd.
ibid. 2.	deductus.	.. ..	<i>deductus</i> <et postea raductus>.	Edd.
DCCCXLV. 3.	equites mille. <sup>1</sup>	.. ..	<i>equitum III. millia.</i>	Wes.

	hoc or huc.	huc.	hoc (= huc).	Mendelssohn.
DCCCXLVIII. 2.	hoc or huc.	..	congressus <cum>.	Wes.
DCCCL. 1.	congressus.	..	[XX.]	Meyer.
ibid.	xx.	..	<sed> statuit.	Edd.
ibid. 2.	statuit.	..	eundum <domum>.	Edd.
ibid.	id or eundum.	id.	esse debere.	O. E. Schmidt.
ibid.	esse debet or esse debere.	esse.	indicatum.	O. E. Schmidt.
DCCCLII. 3.	indicat.	..	tecum e re p. esse.	Rücheler.
DCCCLIII. 2.	et rei (or re) p. esse.	et cum re p. esse.	nimirum nunc legiones.	Boot.
DCCCLIV. 5.	numerus nunc legionum.	..	escenti.	Schelle.
DCCCLX. 2.	decem.	..	transierant.	Wes.
ibid.	transierunt.	..	meo.	Mendelssohn.
ibid. 3.	meo.	meo <Antonium>.	nimisque.	Edd.
DCCCLXI. 3.	misque or nimisque.	in eisque, omitting in quibus.	<me> videri.	Edd.
DCCCLXIV. 2.	videri.	..	vivere <per se>.	Edd.
ibid. 5.	vivere.	..	mortuo <eo>.	Cobet.
ibid.	mortuo.	..	illis.	Lehm.
ibid. 7.	ullis.	..	magnitudine <animi>.	Vict.
ibid. 11.	magnitudine.	..	<ad Ciceronem> referat.	Edd.
DCCCLXV. 5.	referat	..	causa <ea> sit.	Edd.
DCCCLXVI. 3.	causa sit.	<cura> causa sit, or something similar.	equitum milia quinque.	Madv.
DCCCLXIX. 1.	equitum itaque or equitum M. itaque.	equitum * * Itaque.		

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjecture either accepted in the Text (Roman type), or recorded with approbation in the Notes (Italic type).	Editor to whom the reading is due.
DCCCLXX. 3.	habebat . . . absit.	habeat . . . absit <i>or</i> habebat	habebat . . . absit.	Mendelssohn.
DCCCLXXIV. 1.	eo.	. . . abesset. . .	eo <loco>.	Wes.
ibid. 3.	legione quarta.	. . .	<i>legione capta.</i>	Edd.
ibid.	de Catoniis.	de Antoniis.	<frau> de C. Antonii.	C. F. Hermann.
DCCCLXXXIII. 3.	desperaverint.	. . .	<i>desperaverint.</i>	C. F. W. Müller.
DCCCXC. 4.	pupilli.	Publii.	<i>Poplii.</i>	Gardthausen.
DCCCXCV. 5.	exceperam.	. . .	<i>exceperam.</i>	Mendelssohn.
DCCCXCVI. 3.	auctore.	auctorari.	auctorare.	Madv.
DCCCXCVII. 4.	idem.	. . .	fide.	Bücheler.
DCCCXIII.	Bibulorum.	. . .	<i>Bibuli &lt;ali&gt;orum.</i>	Edd.
DCCCXIV. 3.	nisi fortasse.	. . .	nisi forte.	Meyer.
ibid.	neque solum ut,	. . .	<i>neque solum puto</i> (cp. p. cxiii§).	Schelle.
ibid. 9.	hoc ipsum nimium.	. . .	[hoc ipsum nimium.]	Edd.
DCCCXVI. 3.	talie.	. . .	{ <i>fatalis</i> or	Koch. }
ibid. 6.	bimestris.	. . .	{ <i>capitalis.</i>	Lehm. }
			{ v. <i>mestris</i> or	Man. }
			{ vi. <i>mestris.</i>	Lange. }

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## CORRIGENDA.

[When the *line* only is given the reference is to the text ; *a* = first column of notes,  
*b* = second column of notes.]

Page.	Line.	
9,	18,	<i>add</i> 'prudenter' before 'te'.
12,	4,	<i>omit</i> comma after 'quia.'
13,	<i>b</i> 12,	<i>for</i> 'omits' read 'omit'.
23,	<i>a</i> 1,	<i>add</i> '2' before 'liberalitatem'.
46,	20,	<i>for</i> 'non potuisses' read 'fieri non potuisset'.
79,	8,	<i>for</i> 'videsur' read 'videtur'.
87,	4,	<i>for</i> 'quantus' read 'quantas'.
87,	6,	<i>for</i> 'ut' read 'ut'.
87,	8,	<i>omit</i> 'in' before 'belli'.
87,	<i>b</i> 8,	<i>after</i> 'vel' <i>add</i> 'as is done by II Pal'.
89,	<i>b</i> 2,	<i>omit</i> comma after 'vetustas'.
92,	10,	<i>for</i> 'Actae' read 'Acta'.
127,	<i>a</i> 10,	<i>for</i> 'potientia' read 'patientia'.
137,	1,	<i>for</i> 'legiones' read 'legionum'.
153,	<i>b</i> 3	(from end), <i>after</i> '15' <i>add</i> '(§§ 3-11)'.
179,	<i>b</i> 5,	<i>for</i> 'viii.' read 'viii.'
185,	<i>a</i> 1,	<i>for</i> 'certainly' read 'probably'.
192,	<i>a</i> 16,	<i>for</i> 'Dolabella' read 'Trebonius'.
198,	<i>b</i> 2,	<i>for</i> 'Lepidus' read 'Lentulus'.
215,	<i>b</i> 6,	<i>for</i> 'Silani' read 'Sullanis'.
219,	<i>a</i> 18,	<i>after</i> 'follow' <i>add</i> a comma.
226,	<i>b</i> 2,	<i>for</i> 'Ecee' read 'Ecce'.
231,	<i>b</i> 5,	<i>for</i> '2' read '12'.
236,	9,	<i>for</i> 'JUNE 8' read 'JUNE 18'.
238,	<i>b</i> 1,	<i>add</i> '3' before 'ut'.
255,	11,	<i>for</i> 'erit' read 'erat'.
260,	<i>b</i> 15,	<i>for</i> 'motives' read 'motions'.
261,	<i>a</i> 1,	<i>for</i> 'vicerimus' read 'viceramus'.
267,	<i>a</i> 1,	<i>for</i> '827' read '833'.

## INTRODUCTION.

---

### I.—CICERO AT THE HEAD OF THE STATE.

DURING the month of August, 710 (44), Antony had been compelled to act with a considerable degree of circumspection. Even his soldiers did not appear to be loyal to him; and the name of Caesar and the temperate and liberal behaviour of the youth who had inherited that name compelled him to make overtures to the Senate. Accordingly, he summoned a meeting for September 1st, and for that meeting Cicero, at the request of Brutus, returned to Rome. Cicero never travelled with much rapidity if he could help it; on the present occasion he traversed the 240 miles of road from Velia in about fourteen days, and reached the city on the 31st of August. He did not appear in the Senate on September 1st; he said he was too fatigued by his journey. This was probably, in a measure, the real reason of his absence, though Antony thought it was a mere excuse; and, with his accustomed violence of language, threatened that he would 'pull his house about his ears' if he did not come.\* Cicero knew that he needed to speak with circumspection; and accordingly did not deem it advisable to appear until he was fully rested. He knew, too, that his patience would be sorely tried at that meeting; for a proposal was to be made that to all public thanksgivings a day

\* Phil. v. 19, *Huc nisi venirem Kal. Sept. etiam fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit.* This, perhaps, may not have been meant in a strictly literal sense; all Antony may have wished to express by his violent words was that he would make Cicero declare himself in some way or other. We feel sure that the charges of drunkenness which Cicero made against Antony were not all inventions: and that the real hatred which he felt for Cicero came out when, owing to excesses, his nerves were not fully under control.

in honour of Caesar should be added. An inexpressible violation of religion would be perpetrated if public thanksgivings were celebrated in honour of a dead man;\* and the genuinely conservative and Roman sensibilities of Cicero might have justly resented, with considerable violence, an attempt to make a god of the tyrant. So Cicero wisely did not attend the meeting.

Next day, however, the Senate met under the presidency of Dolabella, and Antony did not appear. At this meeting Cicero delivered the First Philippic.† The subject was the general state of politics. Beginning his survey of recent events from the 17th of March, when, in the Temple of Tellus, he 'laid the foundations of peace' by proposing amnesty, he contrasts the constitutional procedure of Antony up to the 1st of June and his highly unconstitutional and tyrannical behaviour after that date. Seeing the great strength of Antony (Cicero goes on to say), he despaired of any improvement in affairs until the new consuls entered upon office in January. Accordingly he left Rome, but was induced by Brutus to return. Having returned then to take his part in the administration of his country, he at once declared that he was of opinion that, for the sake of peace, Caesar's *acta* should be held as valid—that is, his genuine *acta*, not the multifarious measures which had been recently published as such. His *acta* were especially his laws, such, for example, as the law which limited the tenure of the provinces; yet Antony, while pretending to uphold Caesar's *acta*, nullified his laws. Cicero deprecates the anger of the consuls, and makes what he calls a fair proposal to Antony (§ 27).

'If I say a word of insult against his life or character, in that case I will not protest against his bitterest animosity. But if, after my custom, I express freely my opinion in political matters, I beg him to feel no anger; or, if that is impossible, to let his anger be such as citizen should feel against citizen. Let him use arms in self-defence; but let those arms do no hurt to statesmen who say what they think as regards public matters.'

---

\* Phil. i. 13, *An me censetis, patres conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur? ut inexpressibiles religiones in rem p. inducerentur? ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo?* This law does not appear to have been carried, cp. Phil. ii. 110.

† For the name *Philippics* cp. note to 837, 4, and Mayor on Phil. ii., p. liii.



He further appeals to Dolabella and Antony to tread the path of true glory, as they did in the weeks succeeding the death of Caesar, and to guide the State so that the citizens may be glad that they are alive. The universality of the applause given to the tyrannicides at the games is proof that the voice of genuine public opinion is in their favour. He thanks the Senate for listening to him; he expresses satisfaction at having had an opportunity of clearly setting forth his opinions; and in conclusion assures the Senate that he will devote all his remaining energies to the service of his country. 'Of years and glory I have had enough; any addition thereto will be devoted not to myself, but to you and to the State.'\*

This exceedingly temperate and statesmanlike speech irritated Antony beyond measure. The violent man of action could not tolerate the free, though measured, speech of the man of ideas, who was on intimate terms with Brutus and Cassius, was kindly disposed to Octavian, and, to all intents and purposes, hostile to himself. He renounced friendship with Cicero, and challenged him to come to the Senate on the 19th. Meanwhile he took the utmost pains, with the help of large potations of wine, to elaborate a harangue which was to crush Cicero when the meeting took place.†

Cicero very properly did not appear at that meeting. He knew the hostility of the soldiers towards anyone who sympathized with the tyrannicides, and justly considered that his life would be in danger if he replied at once to Antony.‡ Besides Cicero was not brave enough to speak with effectiveness to a violently hostile and turbulent audience, as was shown by his collapse in Milo's case. Moreover, the nature of Antony's speech quite justified his absence. For, besides holding up Cicero's whole

\* Phil. i. fin, *Mihi fere satis est quod vixi vel ad actatem vel ad gloriam: huc si quid accesserit non tam mihi quam vobis reique publicae accesserit.*

† 825, 4; 790, 1, 'The gladiator wants a massacre, and thought to commence it with me on the 19th of September. On that day he came well prepared after having studied his speech for many days in the villa of Metellus: yet what "study" can there be in the midst of debauchery and wine-bibbing. Accordingly all considered him, as I said to you before, in his usual style to be disgorging, not delivering, a speech (*vomere more suo, non dicere*).'

‡ Phil. ii. 42; v. 19; 790, 1; 825, 4.

political career to contempt, he dwelt especially on the fact that he was the real originator of the idea of assassinating Caesar. He did this in order that the veterans might be roused against Cicero.\* Though false in a literal sense, yet, perhaps, in a deeper sense, this charge was not without foundation; for it is quite certain that the writings of Cicero from 708 to 710 (46 to 44) tended, in large measure, to inculcate hostility to the tyrant, and to keep alive the flame of loyalty to the republic. So Antony's speech was unanswered at the time. During the rest of the month the state of affairs seemed to Cicero desperate (*perditis rebus*). He appears to have been in serious alarm at the course events were taking; and when writing to Cassius, after speaking of the want of vigour and resolution to resist Antony which most of the senators displayed, he urges him and Brutus to return at once and restore the Senate to its rightful position.†

The republicans were terrified, and Antony had it all his own way. Military law prevailed at Rome; the proceedings there were those of a camp not of a State.‡ Antony erected a statue to Caesar on the Rostra, with the subscription PARENTI OPTIME MERITO; and in a speech delivered at a meeting to which he was introduced by T. Cannutius on October 2nd, he roundly declared that the tyrannicides and Cicero were traitors and assassins. Shortly after this, about October 5, occurred the attempt of Octavian upon the life of Antony.

‘The populace consider it to be a fabrication of Antony's in order that he may lay violent hands on the young man's money; the men of sense and position believe in its reality and approve of it; in short we have much to hope from him; there is nothing which he is not thought likely to do to win praise and honour. But our dear friend Antony perceives that he is so hated that, though he arrested assassins at his house, he does not venture to bring the matter forward.’§

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\* Cp. 790, 1; 791, 2; Phil. ii. 25, Antony acted dishonourably by reading, in the course of his speech, a private letter which he had received from Cicero in reference to Sext. Clodius, viz. Att. xiv. 13 B (717).

† 790, 2, 3; 791, 2.

‡ 792, 3, *habes formam rei p. si in castris potest esse res publica*.

§ Cp. note to 792, 2. The populace formed a very plausible, even if not correct, view of the advantage which Antony would gain by this fabrication. Money was

Obviously Antony was becoming more and more irritated and violent at the opposition which was being directed against him ; and when he finally left Rome on October 9, to take command of the four legions at Brundisium, he practically declared war against the State, and threatened that he would remain at the city with his army after his consulship had expired, and would enter and leave it at his pleasure.\* Soon after this, about the middle of October, Cicero left Rome, and, until the 9th of December, remained either in Campania or Arpinum. It was about this time that he wrote, among other works,† the *De Officiis*, dedicating it to his son Marcus, who was at the time studying, or rather idling, at the University of Athens.

The young Octavian saw the position of affairs clearly. Antony had opposed him at every turn,‡ and resistance was

then, if ever, the sinews of war ; and if Octavian was not able to give large donations to his soldiers, he would not be able to carry on any opposition. It is a little amusing to hear Cicero accusing Antony of winning over soldiers by money (792, 2), as he knew that Octavian did the same. ‘Octavian gained over the veterans at Capua and Casilinum ; and no wonder, for he gave them 500 denarii a-piece’ (797, 1). But Cicero did not consider that gift a bribe or a squandering of money ; it was an investment for the safety of the State (Phil. iii. 3). Appian (B.C. iii. 39) gives a strange account of the hysterical way in which Octavian was said to have conducted himself when accused of the attempted murder. Appian’s remarks on the whole transaction are not without interest. The people (he says) did not know what to make of it. Some thought it was a ‘got-up’ thing (ὑπόκρισιν) between the two to delude their enemies. Others, that Antony wanted to get a larger body-guard, and to alienate the veterans from Octavian. Appian himself is in doubt whether Antony was lying (συκοφαντῶν), or really believed that Octavian was plotting against him, or had heard that Octavian had sent men into his camp, and interpreted attacks on his policy as attacks on his life. The wiser heads knew that it was all to Octavian’s advantage that Antony should live.

\* Phil. iii. 27 ; v. 21.

† Cp. 794, 3 ; 799, 3, 4.

‡ Antony had hindered the passing of the curiate law, which was necessary for the adoption of Octavian into the family of Caesar. Also, when Octavian had proposed to introduce the golden throne and crown, Antony had opposed him. Afterwards, when Octavian set up a brazen statue of Caesar with the comet above his head, and there was a strong exhibition of public feeling on his behalf, Antony had even used violent measures towards him (Dio Cass. xlv. 5). Again, when the people wished to elect Octavian *tribunus suffectus*, he issued a consular edict that young Caesar should not take any illegal step, or he (Antony) would use against him the full extent of his power ; and finally, when the people still seemed likely to elect him, Antony declared that the election should not take place, and that the tribunes already in office were quite sufficient (App. iii. 31). Compare also Vell. ii. 60, *C. Caesar iuvenis cotidianis Antoni petebatur insidiis*, and Plutarch Ant. 16.

imperative. But resistance required legions, and legions required money.\* By virtue of his official position as consul, Antony had the technical command of the legions already in the service of the State. So Octavian was compelled to turn to Caesar's veterans, who had been settled in Campania, but who were, as Roman soldiers of the last century of the Republic always were, ill-suited to the hard and dull work of agriculture, and were on the look-out for some more exciting business. When the heir of their old general sent emissaries among them to sound their views and to disseminate programmes of his policy,† and when he offered them 2000 sesterces a man, the veterans gathered round him; and to the amazement of Cicero, about November 12, before Antony returned from Brundisium, he appeared at the gates of Rome with 10,000 men.‡

But Octavian was not by any means inclined to act without legal right, or by virtue of the mere brute force of soldiery. He wanted to act through the Senate, and have all the prestige and influence of that great name to support his cause when he came to an open rupture with Antony. But he did not delude himself into the belief that the Senate would be devoted to him;§ yet the Senate still stood the shadow of a mighty name, though much of its power was gone. Accordingly Octavian entered into communication with Cicero, who was obviously the one man to lead the Senate. He asked for a secret meeting, which Cicero scouted as a 'childish' (*puerile*) project; as if the meeting of two such important men could be kept secret. He asked Cicero's advice as to the proper course to adopt against Antony, and Cicero

\* Plut. Brut. 23, ἡδὲ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὡς Καίσαρα, τῶν δὲ ὡς Ἀντώνιον διίσταμένων, ὧντων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κήρυκι προστιθεμένων τῷ πλέον διδόντι.

† App. iii. 31, διαρρίπτειν ἀφανῶς βιβλία.

‡ On November 3 or 4, Octavian was at Teanum (799, 6-9). If we suppose that he marched leisurely, and visited the colonies of veterans on the march (Nic. Dam. 31), he probably did not travel more than fifteen miles a-day. It is 120 miles from Teanum to Rome: so that we may suppose he reached the city about November 12. He delivered the speech at the meeting on the 13th or 14th. That speech was in Cicero's hands when he wrote 807, probably at Arpinum. The date of this letter was accordingly not earlier than the 17th.

§ App. iii. 48, ἐξελογεῖτο αὐτοῖς (his soldiers) τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ εὐνοία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλίνειν μάλλον ἢ Ἀντωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπορία. Cp. Dio Cass. xlv. 11.'

advised his going to Rome (797). ; Octavian also urged that Cicero should return to Rome, in order that he and the Senate might avail themselves of 'his advice.' The ghosts of the old times must have risen before Cicero's mind when now, as then, the Caesar was vigorous, but Cicero temporized (798, *ille urget, ego autem σκήπτομαι*).

'I cannot trust his years ; I do not know his intentions ; I must have Pansa's co-operation (cp. 809, 1) ; I fear the strength of Antony ; and I do not wish to leave the sea. On the other hand, I am afraid some deed of derring-do may be performed in my absence.'

Every day letters came from Octavian urging Cicero to be a second time the saviour of society, and at all events to come to Rome without delay (799, 6).

'My feelings are those of the Trojans when challenged by Ajax—

Willing to wound and yet afraid to strike.

Octavian has acted, and continues to act, with the greatest vigour.\* He will come to Rome with great forces ; but he is a mere boy. He thinks that the Senate will at once meet ; but who will come or venture to offend Antony ? He may help us on January 1st ; or the contest may be decided before that. The country-towns are enthusiastic for the lad. The *accueil* and encouragement which greeted him were marvellous. Could you ever have expected it ? Accordingly I shall go to Rome sooner than I intended. When I have made up my mind I shall write.'

A little more than a week previously Cicero had agreed with Atticus that he would not engage in the contest either in van or rear, but only sympathize with the cause.†

Many of the distinguished senators, even those who had little sympathy with Brutus and Cassius (for instance Hirtius), were already disgusted at the overbearing violence of Antony (cp. 787, 1), and were not sorry to see some hope now that a check

\* By degrees the great merits of Octavian, 'braver than any young man, wiser than any of his elders' (Dio xlv. 5), won Cicero's honest admiration ; and hence there is a fine ring in the panegyric on his actions, which Cicero delivered in December after Antony was driven from Rome (cp. Phil. iii. 3 ff. ; iv. 2 ; also the elaborate comparison of the youthful exploits of Pompey and Octavian in Phil. v. 43 ff.). If we may believe Plutarch (Cic. 45), the relation between the two was so close that Octavian called Cicero 'father.'

† 794, 1, *Adsentior tibi ut nec duces simus nec agmen cogamus ; faveamus tamen.*



would be put to his career of mere force. All this Cicero knew, and cannot but have considered that he would hold a very high position as leader of the Senate with the army of Octavian ready to do his bidding; and, above all, that he would have a most excellent revenge on Antony.\* But still he could not wholly remove the uncomfortable feeling that alliance with the heir of the monarch was not only dangerous,† but, in a measure, an act of treachery to his principles; and, however much Octavian declared that he would act through the Senate, and protested through Oppius that he had no designs against the tyrannicides, and as evidence of these sentiments stated that he would make no opposition to the appointment of his special enemy Casca to the tribunate (807, 3), Cicero could not in his heart of hearts feel very confident.‡ But it was a choice of evils; and it is certain that there was no other course open but to accept the support of Octavian, who promised that he would act in all respects through the Senate, and who might prove (Cicero thought) a docile pupil (cp. 844, 1); in any case if he showed inclination to play the monarch after crushing Antony, he could be crushed in turn by Brutus and Cassius. The great thing for the moment was to free themselves from the truculent marauder, Antony. The future was uncertain; and Cicero thought that the probabilities were that, once Antony was removed, everything would return to its wonted calm; the Senate would recover its former prestige and power; and Octavian, a young man, would be satisfied with the laudations and panegyrics bestowed on him by his elders, and removed from all effective interference by the liberal passing of complimentary decrees in his honour. Cicero did not really, at

\* Plut. Cic. 45, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μῖσος Κικέρωνα πρῶτον, εἴτα ἡ φύσις ἡττων ὄσα τιμῆς προσεποίησε Καίσαρι νομίζοντα προσλαμβάνειν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν; also Dio xlv. 15.

† Cp. 805, 1, 'If Octavian becomes powerful the acts of the tyrant will be more firmly established than they were in the Temple of Tellus, and that will be detrimental to Brutus.'

‡ Cp. 807, 5-6: the case he considers hopeless, and to such cases Hippocrates said no treatment should be applied. . . . But he must plunge into the flames; for it is less disgraceful to fall fighting in defence of the State than as an individual; cp. also 745, 2 written in June, 'Octavian has a good disposition "if it only wears"' (ἐὰν διαμείνη).

this time, fear the danger of rearing the lion's whelp in the State; his repugnance to join with Octavian was mainly an affair of sentiment and principle.\*

A comic scene in this serious drama is enacted by young Quintus. He had been 'Antony's right-hand man, save the mark' (*Antonii dextella*), and hoped to get from him what he had failed to get from Caesar.† But later he declared that he could not tolerate Antony, and was determined to transfer his valuable services to Brutus and Cassius; he added, that Antony has asked him to nominate him dictator, and to seize some strong position in order to secure his tyranny, but that he had refused lest he should offend his father, with whom he appears, however, to have quarrelled. He now professed a desire to live with his father. Quintus was delighted; Marcus was amazed. 'Did you ever,' he asks Atticus, 'see a more thorough-going vapourer' (*certiorem nebulonem*)?‡ Mixed up with this lunatic conduct (*alucinari*) of young Quintus is some project of marriage on his part with a lady—a widow of no great charms of person—the details of which affair we cannot clearly understand. But, at any rate, young Quintus became a reformed character, appears to have read his uncle's treatise on Moral Duties, and was reconciled with Brutus. Cicero assured Atticus that he had sown his wild oats, and cast off all his old evils ways. But, true son of his father, he was still as foolishly violent as ever. With the enthusiasm of a

\* 807. 3, *Iurat 'ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat' et simul dextram intendit ad statuum.* Μηδὲ σωθῆσθαι ὑπὸ γε τοιούτου. This is taken from the last letter to Atticus which we possess. Cicero shortly afterwards returned to Rome, and the correspondence ceased for a time. No doubt, Cicero wrote many more letters to Atticus, but it is probable, as Gurlitt (Jahrb. 1894, p. 209–224) suggests that Tiro was not allowed by Augustus to publish any of the later letters which were written to his confidential friend. They doubtless reflected too candidly on that portion of the great Emperor's life on which he must have looked with least complacency. The loss to us is irreparable. The only correspondent with whom Cicero is in the least intimate during the next six months is Cornificius; but Cicero is very far from unlocking his heart to him with the same key as he did to his tried and trusty friend. That he was the lifelong friend of Cicero is the best title which Atticus has to our notice. As a man he was careful and shrewd, but nothing more; there was never anything grand or noble in his character. He was the quintessence of prudent mediocrity.

† Att. xiv. 20, 5 (727); 17, 3 (724).

‡ Att. xv. 21 (753); or read *ceritiorum*, 'crack-brained,' 29, 2 (768).

renegade, added to the violence of his temperament, he wanted to do some great thing; and accordingly proposed to arraign the outgoing quaestors, and through them Antony, of embezzling public moneys.\* Antony attacked young Quintus in a public edict, 'not knowing,' says Cicero (Phil. iii. 17), 'that attack from Antony is praise.' We do not hear anything further of misconduct or treachery on the part of young Quintus, and he died honourably during the proscriptions endeavouring to save his father's life.

When Octavian reached Rome, about the middle of November, he commissioned Ti. Cannutius to state to the Senate his views and his loyal sentiments. Cannutius did so, and delivered a violent invective against Antony. Contrasted with the brilliant and divine eloquence of Cicero, it was, says Velleius, as the snarling of an angry dog.† Presently Octavian entered the city and set forth his policy himself, punctuated by the solemn, but ominous, asseveration: 'so may I be permitted to obtain the honours of my father.'‡ But he could not wholly trust his soldiers to resist Antony,§ who was now in full march from Brundisium with one legion. So he retired to Arretium, and there proceeded to establish his authority with the veterans and to raise new levies, at the same time entering into negotiations with Decimus Brutus.||

\* 805, 4. Note the obscure way in which Cicero speaks of this project, *Avi tui pronepos scribit ad patris mei nepotem se ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna gessimus, aedem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum*. The quaestors vacated office on December 5th.

† Vell. 2, 64, *Haec sunt tempora quibus M. Tullius continuis actionibus aeternas Antonii memoriae inussit notas; sed hic fulgentissimo et caelesti ore, at tribunus Cannutius continua rabie lacerabat Antonium*.

‡ 807, 3; App. iii. 41.

§ 'The soldiers,' says Appian (iii. 42), 'considering that they had come to reconcile Antony and Octavian, or at any rate simply to guard Caesar and protect him against murder, were annoyed at this speech against Antony, who had been their general and their consul.' Octavian yielded. He allowed those who wished to depart to do so; but they soon returned, remembering the hardships of an agricultural life and the lavish promises of Octavian. Appian also notices the charm of Octavian's manner (*ἀελχρῶμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ὡς πατρικοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις*). Like Julius he gained and held his power *βία καὶ φιλανθρωπία*, cp. ii. 151.

|| Dio xlv. 14 gives reasons why Octavian at this time entered into any negotiations with the murderer of his father. (1) Octavian could not face either Decimus or Antony single-handed; and if he tried to do so, they might unite their forces to crush him; (2) the contest with Antony was imminent; (3) Decimus would be quite easy to get rid of after Antony was crushed.



Things looked very favourable for Antony; but he proved his own enemy. He scourged some soldiers at Suessa whom he had imprisoned, probably owing to a mutinous spirit which they displayed after the emissaries of Octavian had tampered with them;\* and when the legions in Brundisium became disorderly,—owing to the promises of Octavian, and the regard in which they had held him when both he and they were at Apollonia,† but chiefly owing to the comparatively small donation which they had received from Antony, only 400 sesterces,—he executed a number of centurions and soldiers‡ in order to enforce discipline. Antony had the virtues and vices of a military man, and he would never tolerate anything like disobedience or mutiny. But the time had gone by for such rigour: it was out-of-date;§ and the result was that when Antony hurried off to Rome with the Legio Alaudarum, ordering the other legions to follow him, the Martian legion, and shortly after the Fourth, deserted him, and joined Octavian.

The fortune of the struggle seemed once again to have changed. Antony had issued an edict calling a meeting of the Senate for November 24, and, according to Cicero, had threatened death to his enemies, the tribunes, L. Cassius, D. Carfulenus, and Ti. Cannutius, if they appeared; while declaring, at the same time, that he would regard any senator who failed to be present as having conspired against his life.|| He entered the city ostentatiously in regular military array,¶ and postponed the meeting to the 28th. Cicero says he did so because he was drunk; but, from another passage, it would appear that he considered it necessary to

\* Cp. App. iii. 43.

† Cp. App. iii. 31, 39, 40, 43; Nic. Dam. 31.

‡ Cicero says three hundred (Phil. iii. 10), an obvious exaggeration. It was further stated that the executions were carried out in the presence of Antony's wife, Fulvia, Phil. xiii. 18; cp. iii. 4.

§ Cp. Tac. Hist. i. 18 of the niggardliness and severity of Galla, *Nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia severitas cui iam pares non sumus*.

|| Phil. iii. 19, 23.

¶ Phil. xiii. 19 *dextra sinistra*: cp. App. iii. 45 ἐσῆει δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς τὴν μὲν ἴλην πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους· συνθήματα τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἦσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. That this was a grave scandal is noticed in iii. 52; cp. Phil. v. 17 *Unus M. Antonius in hac urbe post urbem conditam palam secum habuit armatos*.

go to Tibur and to confirm the loyalty of the soldiers who were quartered there.\* Returning for the meeting of the Senate, he appeared, no one knew whence (*per Gallorum cuniculum* Phil. iii. 20). Many distinguished senators attended the meeting, and one consular brought a written motion that Octavian be declared an enemy.† But the news had just arrived that the Fourth, as well as the Martian legion, had deserted. Antony hastily carried through‡ a resolution that a public thanksgiving be solemnized in honour of Lepidus for having successfully conducted negotiations for peace with Sext. Pompeius; and also, in an evening sitting, he passed a number of decrees, concerning which Cicero says the registration formalities took less time than the drafting.§ At the same meeting the lot, according to a marvellously providential fitness of things, assigned in nearly every case to Antony's supporters just those very provinces which each wished to obtain:|| and, by a remarkable dispensation, Macedonia fell to the lot of his brother Gaius Antonius. Afterwards, on the night of the

\* Phil. xiii. 19 *ibi pestifera illa Tiburi contio*. Appian (iii. 46) said that almost the whole Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most respectable portion of the people went out to Tibur and took an oath of loyalty to Antony; so that he wonders who were those who vilified Antony when Octavian held an assembly. Presently Octavian sends a message to the Senate which they received favourably; so that Appian is again (ch. 47) led to wonder who were those who escorted Antony. We cannot believe the statement put into the mouth of Piso (ch. 58) that Cicero delivered many panegyrics on the policy and virtues of Antony.

† Phil. v. 23.

‡ Phil. iii. 24 *et fugere festinans senatus consultum de supplicatione per discessionem fecit cum id factum esset antea nunquam*. Mommsen (St. R. iii. 984, 4) says it was considered unseemly to decide important questions by mere *discessio*. He quotes Tac. Ann. vi. 12, where Tiberius blames the Senate for passing, in that way, a decree about the Sibylline books. It is certain that important matters required a debate, and it was improper to dispense with one in such cases (cp. Dio xli. 2). But, in the present instance, and in that mentioned by Tacitus, it is possible that it was the fact that the affairs were connected with *religion*, which made the perfunctory method of decision unseemly.

§ Phil. xiii. 19 *eoque ipso die innumerabilia senatus consulta fecit: quae quidem omnia citius delata quam scripta sunt*: cp. iii. 24. Laws and decrees were posted up for some time before being deposited in the aecrarium: cp. Tac. Ann. iii. 51. In Phil. xiii. 19 we have a brilliantly rapid narrative of Antony's movements during this hasty visit to Rome and its neighbourhood.

|| Phil. iii. 24: *divina vero opportunitas ut, quae cuique apta esset, ea cuique obveniret*.

28th,\* Antony hastened from Rome, first to Tibur, then to Alba Fucentia, where the Martian legion was encamped.† Failing to recover its allegiance he marched rapidly to Ariminum, where he hoped to join the forces advancing leisurely from Brundisium under the leadership of his brother Lucius, and, in virtue of his consular power, to occupy a position in Cisalpine Gaul before the end of the year, so as to have a firm footing there when his formal rule over that province should legally begin on January 1st.‡ Notwithstanding that the accounts which we have of Antony's actions at this time come from an opponent, it is quite plain that in the difficulties which so suddenly beset him he acted with promptitude, vigour, and courage.

Now that Antony no longer threatened the city, the more constitutional part of the Senate, with the military support of Octavian and the two legions which had recently joined their side, might take the offensive. Cicero returned to Rome on December 9th;§ and for the next seven months he was the statesman who led the republic. Immediately after the departure, or flight, of Antony from Rome, Cicero published the Second Philippic. He had issued a few copies for private circulation in October; and we have interesting accounts of corrections made, and of questions asked by Atticus on certain passages.|| The publication of this eloquent tirade was a challenge to Antony to combat *à outrance*, a combat in which an impartial spectator who knew the spirit of the times might safely say that the worst cause would be victorious.¶

\* Cp. Ep. ad Caes. iun. ii. 9 (Nonius 538) *Antonius demens ante lucem paludatus*.

† Phil. iii. 6.

‡ Phil. iii. 1; v. 24. Antony had three of the Macedonian legions, and one legion of veterans, App. iii. 46.

§ See Introd. note to 809. Cicero's money affairs seem to have required attention at this time: they were somewhat straitened, as Dolabella had not repaid Tullia's dowry, cp. 807, 5.

|| Cp. 794, 1; 799, 1-3. The minute care with which Cicero elaborated his sentences may be well seen from § 2 of this letter, *Illud etiam malo 'indignissimum est hunc vivere' quam 'quid indignius'* (Phil. ii. 86); yet this latter has remained in our manuscripts. As it was obscure who the *Anagnini* were in § 103, Cicero added their names.

¶ Cp. Dio xlii. 32, 1 (of the state of affairs in February 711 (43)) οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἄτε καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ἅμα καὶ ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς βαρύνμενοι, ἐδυσχέρανον καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἄδελον μὲν ἦν ὑπότερος αὐτῶν κρατήσει, πρόδελον δὲ ὅτι τῷ νικήσαντι δουλεύουσιν.

Antony was removed, but certain constitutional difficulties prevented any active steps being taken. Of the consuls, Dolabella had left Rome in the autumn, probably in September or October, and Antony had just fled. The praetor urbanus, C. Antonius, had gone in response to the will of Providence\* to administer the province of Macedonia. So there was no one to take the initiative in any political measure, and, what was the chief point, there was no consul to raise levies for the senatorial party.† It was necessary to wait for the kalends of January, when Hirtius and Pansa would become consuls; nothing definite or final could be enacted until then. Meanwhile the most important consideration was to secure proper protection for the Senate, so that a really free debate on the general position of affairs might be held at the beginning of the new year. Though the constitutionalists had a majority in the Senate, still the party which favoured Antony,—composed of creatures of Julius Caesar and Antony, and headed by Fufius Calenus, who had ever been an enemy of Cicero, and whom Cicero had no wish to conciliate‡—was very considerable. To take measures for this security a meeting of the Senate was summoned by the tribune M. Servilius for December 20. Shortly before this meeting, a manifesto from D. Brutus was published in the city, which declared that he would hold his province at the disposition of the Senate, but would not surrender it to Antony. This was not legal: the *lex de permutatione provinciarum* which gave Cisalpine Gaul to Antony had been duly passed; but the constitutionalists did not hesitate to approve of the action of D. Brutus. At the meeting on the 20th Cicero delivered the Third Philippic to a full house,§ moving that measures be taken for the security of the Senate on January 1st, that the action of D. Brutus be commended, that the other provincial governors be directed to keep their provinces until the Senate should send successors, and that

\* Cp. p. xxiv.

† App. iii. 47.

‡ Att. xi. 8, 2 (422) *Fufius est illie mihi inimicissimus*: xv. 4, 1 (734) *x. Kal. hora viii. fere a Q. Fufio venit tabellarius. Nescio quid ab eo litterularum, uti me sibi restituerem: sane insulse, ut solet, nisi forte quae non ames omnia videntur insulse fieri. Scripsi ita ut te probaturum existimo.* Calenus was father-in-law of Pansa, and at his house Antony's wife and children were now staying.

§ Cp. 812, 3; 813, 3. Neither of the consuls designate was present. Hirtius appears to have been ill (813, 2).

the new consuls should, as soon as possible, see that the honours already voted to Octavian and the two legions which had joined the Republic should be conferred. These motions were carried. Passing from the Senate to the people, Cicero delivered the Fourth Philippic to an enthusiastic crowd. He spoke of the measures passed by the Senate, and said that they amounted to a declaration of war against Antony.

On the 19th Cicero wrote (811) to D. Brutus, and urged him to continue to act with the same spirit which he had hitherto displayed, and to regard the real will of the Senate as if it was their formally expressed opinion—for the free expression of sentiment was hindered by intimidation. This shows the uncertainty which Cicero felt as to the staunchness of the chief constitutional body through which he had to work, as well as the considerable power which the Antonians still possessed. It is a confirmatory evidence of the widespread sympathy with Antony which (according to Appian) was shown by the Senate on the occasion of his recent entry into the capital. On the next day Cicero wrote again (812) to Decimus, referring with modesty to the manner in which he had that day supported his interests.\* During the following months Cicero considered that this was the day on which he laid the foundation of the revived State (817, 2 *fundamenta rei p. ieci*: cp. Phil. v. 30), and on which he inspired the people with the hope that they would recover their liberty (819, 2); adding, naively, that it was by enthusiasm, rather than by arguments (*magis animi quam ingenii viribus*), that he obtained this great success; ‘and from this day I have never ceased, not merely to think, but to act, in defence of the State’ (819, 2; cp. 817, 2). Before the end of the year, Cicero wrote to Cornificius (813) to inform him of the events of the 20th, and to urge him to maintain his province and his dignity. Cicero had taken on his shoulders the entire burden of the State, and bore it for the next seven months with a fervid energy and courage which almost bordered on fanaticism. The effort made by him and his party was the last blaze in the dying embers of the

\* Cicero repeatedly (e.g. 817, 1; 838 4) refers his correspondents for details of his actions on their behalf to the letters of their other friends. It was no doubt considered becoming to do so.



Republic, which were soon to be burnt out and dead ; but for the time, at least, the hearts of the patriots were warmed and ennobled by his glowing eloquence and his passionate conviction.

Not merely did Cicero lead affairs in the city ; he attempted also to guide all the provincial governors. We have a large portion of the extensive correspondence which he carried on with Lepidus, Planeus, Decimus Brutus, Marcus Brutus, Cassius, Cornificius, and others. The letters written by Cicero in the course of this correspondence are the high-water mark of Latin prose. Nothing could be more finished. But as regards contents, we think of what Cicero himself says, that the sole weapons which he had against the arms of Antony were—words. As M. Jullien (in his charming monograph *Le fondateur de Lyon*, pp. 43–45) has justly said, these letters do not discuss what the interests of the State demand, but what is the duty of the individual ; questions of principle are substituted for questions of policy, ‘appeals are not made to his interests, but to his conscience ; everywhere the phantom of virtue.’ But if Cicero does preach, especially to Planeus, he does not, as so often elsewhere, do so in a vain-glorious strain and urge Planeus to look to *him* as the example to follow. ‘It is not the great Cicero, full of honours and renown who speaks ; it is an old man who has nothing more to expect from life (787, 1 ; 879, 2), who is just nearing its end, and points out the road to one who is about to enter on it ; it is the friend who loves Planeus like a son, and whose fatherly affection is perhaps injudicious because it is so warm, perhaps exacting because it is so whole-hearted.’ In this correspondence, and nowhere else, do we find such a combination of noble sentiments, chastened eloquence, and perfect taste, qualities which are indicative of the Roman *gravitas* at its very best.

The first of January at length arrived, and Hirtius and Pansa became consuls. In neither of them had Cicero much confidence ;\* and the out-spoken Quintus (815) roundly declares

‘I have the fullest knowledge of them that they have all the lust and slothfulness of a womanish nature. Unless the helm is taken from their

\* Cp. Att. xv. 22 (755) ; yet he seems to have been ready to take advice from Pansa, cp. 798.

hands the State will suffer shipwreck. You would not believe what I knew about their conduct in the Gallie campaigns. Unless some strong stand is made, they will certainly be attracted by that rebel Antony owing to their participation in his vices.'

Yet they appear to have acted, during their consulship, with loyalty to the State.\* It was they who presided at the celebrated meeting on January 1st; and they first called on Fufius Calenus to deliver his opinion. Though Calenus was an adherent of Antony and an enemy of Cicero, he was not destitute of moderation. He proposed that, prior to taking any hostile steps against Antony, an embassy should be sent to him directing him to abstain from invading Cisalpine Gaul; and in this view he was supported by L. Piso. Cicero replied in the Fifth Philippic, which was not a moderate speech at all, but a violent invective, to all intents and purposes a call to arms.† War, he protested, must be declared. The whole history of Antony's acts, and the action of the Senate on December 20, imperatively demand that he be declared a public enemy. But the most striking portion of this excited speech is the laudation of young Octavian, and the solemn pledge which Cicero gives that he will be loyal to the State (§§ 50, 51).

'I intimately know the young man's every feeling. Nothing is dearer to him than the Free State, nothing has more weight with him than your influence, nothing is more desired by him than the good opinion of virtuous men, nothing more delightful to him than true glory. Wherefore, so far from your having any right to be afraid of him, you should rather expect from him greater and nobler services; nor should you feel any fear, in the case of one who has gone to free D. Brutus from being besieged, that any memory of private affliction shall remain and have greater weight with him than the safety of the State. I venture even to pledge my word, senators, to you, and to the Roman people, and to the State—and assuredly were the case different I should not venture to do so, as no force compels me, and in such an important matter I dread being thought dangerously rash—I promise, I undertake, I pledge my word that Gaius

\* Cicero, in a letter of February 2, calls them *egregios consules* (818, 1; cp. 851), though he thought that neither of them showed any great ability (846, 4).

† Appian (iii. 56), in a speech put into the mouth of Piso, emphasizes the personal element which entered into Cicero's policy, *Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέσττησεν ἡ ἔχθρα*.

Caesar will always be as loyal a citizen as he is to-day, and as our most fervent wishes and prayers desire.\*

Cicero had determined to make up his mind definitely as to Octavian's character when he saw how the young man acted in respect of Cæsar's tribunate (807, 3). That action appears to have wholly satisfied Cicero; accordingly, now impelled by the consciousness of the unquestionable services which Octavian had rendered to the State in opposing Antony, by his own naturally warm appreciation for young men of promise, and his generally enthusiastic temperament, and worked up by the eloquence of the long speech which he was bringing to a close, he threw off all the doubt and distrust which he had formerly entertained; and by this solemn declaration persuaded himself and a considerable portion of the Senate that the tyrant's heir would be the constitutional guardian and support of the Free State.†

With such views of Octavian and his loyalty Cicero had moved (§§ 45-47) that he be granted pro-prætorian authority, and senatorial rank among the prætorii. Next day the Senate went further and decreed that he be made a senator; and at the same time by another decree granted him the *ornamenta consularia*, and, consequently, permission to vote among the consulars; and apparently by a third decree allowed him to hold quaestorian rank as far as standing for magistracies was concerned.‡ To these

\* The exact degree of loyalty felt by Octavian at this time may be gathered from a narrative related by Appian (iii. 48). He refused the rods and axes, and the title of prætor, when offered by his army; he said he would leave such grants to the Senate. When the soldiers expressed dissatisfaction at this excuse, he replied that the Senate would perhaps *give* him these honours lest he should *take* them; and forthwith he proceeded to give another extravagant largess of 2000 sesterces to each soldier. It is questionable if the Senate thought the loyalty of Octavian so certain as Cicero stated it was. Indeed Cicero's language seems to indicate distrust on the part of the Senate. Their policy was not simple trust in Octavian, but rather an intention to embroil Octavian and Antony, as they were afraid that these two commanders of armies and friends of Julius Caesar might combine and avenge the murder.

† He afterwards acknowledged his error: 915, 3. Octavian appears to have deluded Cicero into the belief that he intended to be guided solely by his advice, and even went so far as to call him 'Father' (Plut. Cic. 45).

‡ This is what Dio xlv. 29 refers to by τὸ βουλευεῖν ἐν τοῖς τεταμεικόσι. This privilege allowed him to stand for magistracies ten years sooner than was generally permitted.



honours his step-father Philippus added an equestrian statue.\* The Senate further appointed Octavian in company with the consuls to carry on the war against Antony.†

The debate on the question of war against Antony was continued on the 2nd, and Cicero would have had a decided majority if the tribune Salvius had not adjourned the debate, in this matter alone acting against Cicero.‡ On the 3rd Cicero's proposals of rewards and honours to D. Brutus, Octavian, and the soldiers were adopted. But during the night of the 3rd and 4th, the earnest exertions of the family and friends of Antony prevailed so far that a compromise was adopted, and it was enacted that ambassadors be sent, not to negotiate, but to peremptorily order Antony to raise the siege of Mutina, to leave Cisalpine Gaul, to remain 200 miles away from Rome, and to put himself at the disposal of the Senate: in case of disobedience, war was to be declared.§ Meanwhile the consuls were commissioned to prepare for this exigency. To Hirtius, not yet recovered from his illness, the duty was allotted of marching forth to the support of Octavian, while Pansa was entrusted with the task of looking after affairs in the city. Levies were set on foot throughout Italy, which Cicero says were responded to with alacrity.

Sulpicius, Piso, and Philippus were appointed ambassadors.

\* 914, 7; App. iii. 61; Dio xlv. 29. This honour, says Velleius (ii. 61), had been granted only to three Roman citizens within the last 300 years, to Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar.

† Cp. Liv. Epist. 118, *C. Caesari propraetoris imperium a senatu datum est cum consularibus ornamentis, adiectumque ut senator esset*: Mon. Ancyr. i. 1-7, *Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi per quem rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicari. Ob quae senatus decretis honorificis in ordinem suum me adlegit C. Pansa A. Hirtio consulibus, consularem locum simul dans sententiae ferendae et imperium mihi dedit. Res publica ne quid detrimenti caperet, me pro praetore simul cum consulibus providere iussit*, with Mommsen's notes; cp. also St. R. i. 442-3, notes.

‡ App. iii. 50; iv. 17.

§ According to App. iii. 61 Cicero was ordered to draw up the mandate, and his drafting was both aggressive (*φιλονείκως*) and false; he was driven on not so much from personal hostility as by fate. The Deity, it appears, was bringing about a change in the State through a period of confusion (*τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος*), and devising ill to Cicero himself. Appian is very bitter against Cicero's policy at this period. In the next chapter he speaks of the extravagance (*τὸ ἀλλόκοτον*) of the mandate.

At the same meeting the agrarian law of L. Antonius was rescinded on the motion of L. Caesar. The feeling of the Senate was still sufficiently hostile to Antony. Cicero was accordingly justified in stating to the people, in the Sixth Philippic (which he delivered at a meeting held by the tribune P. Appuleius on the afternoon of the 4th), that the decree of the Senate was no doubt to be regretted inasmuch as any delay was inexpedient, but that, as Antony would most certainly not obey the mandate of the Senate, war was inevitable (§ 19).

‘The crisis has come; it is a struggle for freedom. You must conquer, Romans, or by some means escape from slavery. Other nations can submit to slavery, but freedom is the inalienable possession of the Roman people.’

The appointment of the embassy seems to have exhausted the vigour of the constitutional party in the Senate. They again became slack in their zeal, though the friends of Antony did not cease to exert themselves. Further, during the absence of the ambassadors in the month of January, while the levies were being raised with great success, there appeared evidence of what may be called an anti-Caesian reaction among a large number of senators. Of this we find only indirect evidence in Cicero; but Dio Cassius tells us that a decree was passed to rebuild the Curia Hostilia, though the site of that building had been assigned to a temple erected by Julius Caesar to Felicitas; and the supplies allotted for the pay of the Luperi Juliani were cancelled.\* Such resolutions were evidence of a jealous feeling towards Octavian, and served as a warning to that keen-sighted observer that he should not trust the good faith of the Senate longer than he was himself able to prove necessary for their interests.† It further showed that, in their small-mindedness, they cared to gratify their petty spite rather than adopt the generous and energetic course which was the only one possible to secure their ultimate safety. Cicero felt this deeply; and, on the motion about the supplies for the Luperi, delivered the Seventh Philippic, *extra quaestionem*, urging the Senate to devote their attention to the real exigencies of the situation, to maintain their attitude of hostility to Antony, and to listen to no compromise which he might offer. That was the only course

\* Dio xlv. 17; Phil. xiii. 31; cp. vii. 1.

† Cp. App. iii. 48, 64; Dio xlv. 34.

(he said) which was consistent with their former motions, and compatible with their safety, their freedom and their honour.

During the embassy Sulpicius died, and some weeks later Cicero delivered a panegyric on him in the Ninth Philippic. This is really not a Philippic at all, but a warm encomium on a personal friend, a man of great attainments and high character, who in extreme ill-health had put himself at the service of the State, and had virtually given his life for his country. The other two ambassadors returned, and

‘ Their conduct (writes Cicero to Cassius, 818, 1) has been as disgraceful and scandalous as could be. Despatched to bear definite orders to Antony according to a decree of the Senate, when he refused to obey any single requirement, they actually turn round and bring back to us demands which cannot possibly be tolerated. Accordingly there is a general flocking to me for aid ; and now in a matter which concerns the safety of the State I have become a Friend of the People (*populares sumus*).’

Antony’s ‘intolerable demands’ were—

- (1) Rewards for his veterans ;
- (2) Confirmation of his own enactments (*e.g.* *Lex iudiciaria*), of those based on Caesar’s *acta*, and especially of the *Lex Agraria* of his brother Lucius ;
- (3) An engagement that no account be taken of the money which he had drawn from the State Treasury ;
- (4) The grant of Gallia Comata with six legions until the end of 715 (39), when Brutus and Cassius would, after their consulship in 713 (41), and subsequent provincial administration for two years, descend into a private station.

Antony refused to admit the ambassadors to an interview with Decimus Brutus, and, to add to his insults, sent one of his boon companions, a low creature called Cotyla, to urge his demands. If the conditions which he offered were granted, he agreed to give up Cisalpine Gaul, and, perhaps, also Macedonia, to which he certainly appears to have had some claim.\*

\* Cp. Phil. xi. 27. According to Appian (iii. 63) Antony declared further that the hostility of the Senate shown in the mandate simply because he and Dolabella held fast to what had been regularly given to them by the people, absolved him from the promise of amnesty of which he never really approved ; and, he added, that he would, on this account, prosecute the war against Decimus, and thereby avenge the murder

The Senate also considered that these demands were intolerable, and on February 2nd a state of war was declared. It was decreed that the *saga* be assumed on the 4th, and the Ultimate Decree passed.\* Cicero subsequently acknowledged that these demands, though shameless, might have been granted,† but at the present time he was absolutely uncompromising; he would not tolerate even a certain mildness of language recommended by L. Caesar, who urged that Antony should be called *adversarius*, and not *hostis*, and that the state of hostility should be called *tumultus*, and not *bellum*. Indeed he strangely argued that the former is the more severe word.‡ On the first day of the debate this motion of L. Caesar was carried owing to a considerable degree of confusion in the proceedings; but the next day Cicero spoke against it in the Eighth Philippic. He urged that no measure but declared war was advisable or even possible; that war indeed had begun by an attack of Hirtius on Claterna, and a battle in the neighbourhood; that anyone except Cotta, who repaired to Antony, should be considered as an enemy; and that pardon should be granted to all soldiers who left Antony before the Ides of March.§ We are told that the loyalists gave 4 per cent. of their property, and the Senate further gave three sesterces on every tile in their houses; also a large number of festivals were suspended in order to save money.|| The laws of Antony, and those based on forgeries of memoranda, which purported to be Caesar's, were annulled, and Antony was declared an embezzler of public moneys.¶ Measures were also taken under certain laws of Pansa, passed in the Comitia centuriata, to secure that the genuine acts of Caesar should be maintained, and that the salutary laws of Antony, such as that which assigned land to the veterans, and possibly that which abolished the dictatorship, should remain

of Caesar, and purify the Senate which was stained with the crime through Cicero's support of Decimus (διὰ Κικέρωνα Δέκμῳ βοηθοῦντα).

\* Phil. viii. 6; Dio xlv. 31. Even Cicero himself appeared in the *sagum*, though in such a crisis consulars were accustomed to retain the *toga* (§ 32): cp. xii. 17; Ep. ad Caes. Iun. i. frag. 16 (Non. 538, 20).

† Phil. xii. 11.

‡ Phil. viii. 3.

§ Phil. viii. 33.

|| Dio xlv. 31; Ep. ad Caes. Iun. i. frag. 5 (Non. 268).

¶ Phil. xii. 12.

valid.\* Side by side with these laws were some foolish attempts to continue the anti-Caesarian reaction, such as a promise to the people of Massilia that the privileges of which they had been deprived by Caesar should be restored to them ;† and some talk of annulling the *Lex Hirtia* which had restricted the *Jus Honorum* of certain Pompeians. Cicero sums up the feelings of the principal actors in the situation in a letter to Trebonius (819, 3) :—

‘We have a strong Senate; but of the consulars, some are timid, some disloyal. We have sustained a severe loss in Servius. Lucius Caesar is most loyal, but as being Antony’s uncle does not propose any vigorous motions. The consuls are excellent, D. Brutus noble, the boy Caesar excellent: I hope he will complete the good course he has begun.’

Cicero then says how essential he was in preventing Antony from proceeding to downright tyranny. A little later he wrote a cheerful letter to Paetus (820) urging him not to forego society, but adding

‘do not think that, because I write in a sportive strain, I have given up all regard for the State. Believe me, my dear Paetus, all my concern, all my care, night and day, is that my fellow-citizens may live in safety and freedom. I omit no opportunity for admonition, action, watchfulness; in short I feel my resolution so firm that I think, if I must lay down my life in this task and at this post, that my end will have been a glorious one.’

We must now say a few words about Marcus Brutus. After leaving Italy he had repaired to Athens and, in the intervals of attending philosophical lectures, had made preparations for war. Among many young men studying at Athens, who joined him, was young Cicero. The governor of Macedonia, Hortensius Hortalus, put himself at the service of Brutus, and Vatinius, governor of Illyricum, surrendered his forces to him. The

\* See O. E. Schmidt, *Letzten Kämpfe*, p. 699; *Phil.* x. 17; xiii. 31; *ep.* v. 10.

† From *Att.* xiv. 14, 6 (719), we learn that after Caesar’s death Massilia had applied for a restitution of the privileges of which Caesar had deprived them; and that Atticus had supported their cause. But the grant does not appear to have been confirmed; for Caelius and the Antonians persisted in attacking Massilia in the Senate (*Phil.* viii. 18), and the constitutionalists could not do more than *promise* restitution (*Phil.* xiii. 32).



quaestor of Asia, M. Appuleius, and the quaestor of Syria, Antistius Vetus, who were returning to Rome with large supplies of money, put them into his hands: so that C. Antonius, who had been appointed, at the end of November, governor of Macedonia (an appointment cancelled on December 20), was quite over-matched by the forces which Brutus was able to bring against him, and was compelled to shut himself up in Apollonia.\* When news of these actions of Brutus reached Rome, about the end of February or beginning of March, Calenus proposed that Brutus should be deprived of his command, as he had no right to Macedonia, and as it was certain that, if honours were bestowed on one of Caesar's murderers, the veterans would be gravely offended. In answer Cicero delivered his Tenth Philippic in support of his motion that Brutus should continue to protect Illyria, Macedonia, and Greece, and should keep his army as near as possible to Italy; at the same time permission was given him to raise money and order supplies. Cicero answers the objections of Calenus by virtually admitting that Brutus had acted in violation of the strict letter of the law, but maintaining that he had, nevertheless, acted according to the opinion of the Senate and in furtherance of the best interests of the State. It is to the State that all the armies ultimately and really belong. But the most striking feature in the speech is Cicero's protest against undue submission to the veterans.†

‘What the plague is the meaning of this practice of always opposing the name of the veterans to most righteous actions? While welcoming their valour as I do, yet if they are overbearing I cannot tolerate their pride (*fastidium*). . . In short—for at length in the name of truth and self-respect I must speak out (*erumpat enim aliquando vera et me digna vox*)—

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\* Phil. x. 11–14; Plut. Brut. 24. Young Cicero in this campaign received the surrender of L. Piso who was in command of a legion, and won a victory over C. Antonius himself, who attempted to force a pass at Byllis. Mr. Strachan-Davidson (Cicero, p. 390) speaks with much feeling of the pride which Cicero must have felt in his son's exploits on behalf of the State. ‘It was a proud moment for the father when he had to announce to the Senate, amongst other good news from the East, “The legion which was commanded by L. Piso, one of the lieutenants of Antonius, has gone over to my son Cicero and placed itself at his disposal.”’ Phil. x. 13; cp. 837, 5; and vol. v., p. lxii. C. Antonius ultimately surrendered to Brutus.

† Phil. x. 18.

if the minds of this House are to be directed by the nod of the veterans, and all our deeds and words are to be regulated by their will and pleasure, we should pray for death, which Roman citizens have always preferred to slavery.'

The whole speech is pitched in a very high key and is instinct with eloquent and noble, though unfortunately impracticable, aspirations. It is little wonder that the Senate, under the spell of Cicero's eloquence, assented to his proposal.

Presently there arrived the news of the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella. Dolabella had left Rome in October to take up the government of Syria, had spent about two months in the Grecian peninsula, and advanced with one legion into Asia early in 711 (43). Here he was excluded from Smyrna by Trebonius; but, after an ostensible reconciliation and departure, he returned suddenly, broke into the town and murdered Trebonius. On receipt of the news Dolabella was promptly declared a public enemy, and thus virtually deposed from his government of Syria. To whom was it to be given? In the Eleventh Philippic, Cicero urged that Cassius should be appointed to that province with a *maius imperium* in Asia and Bithynia, and should be commissioned to carry on the war against Dolabella.\*

This proposal was rejected, though similar authority had been granted to Brutus. We think the reason for this diversity of treatment was that the Senate disapproved and feared the violent and untrustworthy character of Cassius. Some of the family of Cassius, too, objected to Cicero's motion.† Brutus seems also to have thought that the jealousy of the Caesarian party would be excited by publishing an account of the successes of Cassius.‡ The proposal finally adopted was that of Calenus supported by Pansa, that the consuls, after finishing the war in North Italy,

\* This speech becomes a Philippic from the fact that Cicero, in expressing his burning indignation against Dolabella, urged his hearers to remember that such a fate as befel Trebonius was the fate which all true citizens might expect from Dolabella's friend and colleague, Antony. It must have been a bitter blow to Cicero that the man whom Tullia had loved had now become a rebel and a murderer. 'Indeed life is of little value to me now,' says Cicero in a subsequent speech (Phil. xii. 21), 'especially as Dolabella has made death a blessing for which I must pray.'

† 823.

‡ 840. 5.

should draw lots for Asia and Syria. They naturally did not wish to forego the administration of such wealthy provinces. After the Senate broke up, Cicero delivered, at a meeting held by the tribune M. Servilius, a thundering speech, 'straining my voice to fill the whole extent of the forum, and amidst louder and more unanimous applause than I can remember.\*' He declared frankly that Cassius, if he was not formally granted the province of Syria, would take it on his own responsibility.

Cassius meanwhile, supported by Lentulus, proquaestor of Asia, with money, and by his brother L. Cassius with ships, had betaken himself to Syria. There, 'that Caecilius Bassus fellow,'† who had been in rebellion since 709 (45), was besieged in Apamea by L. Statius Mureus, governor of Syria, with three legions, and Q. Marcius Crispus, governor of Bithynia, with three more. These commanders handed over their forces to Cassius. Bassus was soon compelled by his own soldiers to surrender; and when, shortly afterwards, a legate of Dolabella, A. Allienus, who was marching through Syria with four legions from Egypt to join forces with his general, went over to Cassius, the latter had no less than twelve legions at his disposal.‡ The account of these events Cassius wrote to Cicero in a letter (822), dated March 7th, from Tarichea, a town on the south of the lake of Galilee. News of his success, however, had reached Rome previously in an official letter from Lentulus, which arrived on April 9th (839, 3).

Towards the end of February, affairs in North Italy stood thus. Octavian§ had advanced to Forum Cornelii, and Hirtius to Claterna: but Antony held a strong position at Bononia, and kept Mutina closely invested. In these circumstances the friends

\* 823, 1, *tanta contentione quantum forum est, tanto clamore consensuque populi ut nihil unquam simile viderim*: § 2 *promisi enim et prope confirmavi te non expectasse nec expectaturum decreta nostra, sed te ipsum tuo more rem p. defensurum*. This Philippic is unfortunately lost.

† Fam. xii. 18, 1 (670) *iste nescio qui Caecilius Bassus*.

‡ App. iii. 77-8; Dio Cass. xlvii. 26-28. Cassius obtained 2 legions from Bassus, 3 from Mureus, 3 from Crispus, and 4 from Allienus.

§ We hear that on January 7th Octavian was at Spolegium, and there heard that he had been appointed pro-praetor and septemvir epulo: ep. Praenestine Calendar C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 231, *Imp. Caesar Augustus Hirtio et Pansa eos. vii. vir epul. creatus est*: Phil. xi. 20; C. I. L. x. 8375, 9 (Feriale Cumanum) *vii Idus Ianuar. eo die Caesar primum fasces sumpsit. Supplicatio Iovi Sempiterno*. In the sacrifice which he offered



of D. Brutus were seriously alarmed for his safety, and feared that, if Antony succeeded in taking Mutina, Decimus would share the fate of Trebonius. The supporters of Antony, Piso and Calenus, accordingly, thought this was a favourable time to move for another embassy to be sent to Antony. In this they were successful by the aid of Pansa; and without protest at the time from Cicero, five ambassadors, representing the different parties in the Senate, Servilius Isauricus, L. Caesar, Piso, Calenus, and Cicero himself were appointed. But a night's reflection convinced Cicero of the inexpediency and futility of such a proceeding; and in the Twelfth Philippic he frankly confessed his error and urged his objections to the proposed embassy. The enthusiasm of the people, he said, would evaporate; Antony would certainly not moderate his proposals; he would be intolerable if he returned to Rome; and lastly the enmity between himself and Antony had become too bitter to admit of his taking part in any such embassy. Again Cicero's eloquence and arguments influenced the Senate, and the proposal of Piso and Calenus dropped.

On the 19th of March the Senate paid Cicero a graceful compliment, which he thus describes in a letter to Cornificius (825)—

‘On the Quinquatrus I pleaded your cause in a full Senate with the goddess of the feast propitious (*non invita Minerva*); for on that day the Senate decreed that my statue of Minerva, the guardian of the city, which had been thrown down by a storm, should be set up again.’

This whole letter is interesting, especially the words with which it concludes, and which give the keynote of all Cicero's exhortations to his friends at the time.

‘There is one ship for all good men and true, and we are doing our best to keep her course straight. Heaven grant that her voyage may

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as magistrate of the Roman State, the victims were so favourable (each of six victims having a double liver!) that the day was afterwards celebrated as a specially fortunate one in his life: cp. C. I. L. xii. 4333, 23 (the *Lex Arae Narbonensis*) *vii quoque Idus Ianuar. qua die primum imperium orbis terrarum auspicatus est*: Plin. H. N. xi. 190 *Divo Augusto Spoleti sacrificanti primo potestatis suae die sex victimarum iocinera replicata intrinsecus ab ima fibra reperta sunt: responsumque duplicaturum intra annum imperium*. Octavian had at this time five legions at his disposal, two of veterans, the Martians, and the Fourth, two of *evocati* and recruits combined, and one of recruits (App. iii. 47).

be favourable! But whatever storms arise, our pilot's skill will certainly not be wanting; and what more can virtue promise? Do you raise and lift up your heart, and hold to the thought that all your glory is bound up in the fortunes of the State.'

Soon after the middle of March, letters arrived from Lepidus, governor of Narbonensis and Hither Spain, advocating peace with Antony.\* His sympathies were with Antony ever since the murder of Caesar; and he was under special obligations to him not only for the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, but also for the thanksgiving which Antony had decreed in his honour on November 28th. But Lepidus possessed a considerable army; and the well-known instability of his character—*homo ventosissimus* is what D. Brutus calls him (847, 1)—suggested hopes that he could be dissociated from Antony; though in all his speeches and letters he appears to have declared that he was acting in concert with him (824, 4). Actuated by such hopes, Cicero had carried, among the votes of honours to D. Brutus and Octavian, on January 3, a motion that a gilded equestrian statue should be erected in honour of Lepidus as a reward for his services in negotiating with Sextus Pompeius.† For this Lepidus had never even thanked the Senate. Now, when he wrote advocating peace, Cicero replied in a decidedly curt letter (827), censuring his neglect in not thanking the Senate, reminding him that peace with slavery was unendurable, and advising him not to mix himself in these negotiations.‡ Yet when Servilius proposed a courteous answer, thanking Lepidus, but saying that the question of peace should be left to the Senate who would entertain it when Antony laid down his arms—Cicero supported the motion in the Thirteenth Philippic, dilating, with much praise of Lepidus, on the blessings of a real peace, but pointing out that peace with such a character as Antony was impossible. The greater part of the speech, however, is devoted to a vote of thanks to Sextus Pompeius for his loyal promises, and to a criticism, sentence by sentence, of a letter addressed by Antony to Hirtius and Octavian.

\* Phil. xiii. 7; 49.

† Phil. v. 40–41.

‡ 827, 2 *Itaque sapientius meo quidem iudicio facies si te in istam pacificationem non interpones quae neque senatui neque populo nec cuiquam bono probatur.*

Very different was an official letter (833) received early in April from L. Munatius Plancus, governor of Transalpine Gaul. He had shortly before advocated peace, and been gravely rebuked by Cicero, who earnestly urged him to dissociate himself from his former Caesarian allies, and to embrace the side which defended the authority of the Senate and the liberty of the people, reminding him that then only has true peace been obtained when all fear of slavery has been removed (826, 2-3). Now Plancus writes stating that he was entirely at the disposal of the Senate, and that his apparent vacillation hitherto was due to a desire to abstain from an over-hasty declaration of his policy (a fault which had brought serious trouble on Decimus Brutus), and meanwhile to convince both his army and the surrounding states\* that it was more advisable to hope for moderate rewards from the legitimate authorities than to trust the extravagant promises of Antony. He wished also to discover the sentiments of the other provincial governors, so that all might act with one accord in defence of liberty; and he desired to strengthen his own army sufficiently so that his open declaration of loyalty to the Senate should carry with it a weight and authority which it would not otherwise possess. 'From this you can see that during all this long time there has been no slumbering in my devotion to the maintenance of the vital interests of the State' (833, 5).†

This decided expression of devotion, after his long vacillation which caused even Antony to speak of him as a sharer in his designs,‡ led Cicero to propose very complimentary votes in his

\* Plancus appears to have been singularly successful in gaining the hearty co-operation of the native Gauls to his rule, by a combination of military skill, justice, and general discretion (789, 1; cp. 833, 1; 897, 2; 907, 1). But still he felt that he must be very watchful in respect of them, lest they should take Rome's difficulty for their opportunity (*ne inter aliena vitia hae gentes nostra mala suam putent occasionem*, 808, 4).

† What was the real cause of this sudden alteration of the views of Plancus, who up to this had maintained a consistent reserve, and had expressed no decided opinion against Antony? It was, as M. Jullien (p. 51) acutely sees, the demand of Antony to be given Gallia Comata (cp. above, p. xxxiii) in exchange for Cisalpine Gaul (Phil. viii. 27). Plancus had been, as the saying is, 'sitting on the hedge'; but now that one of the parties interferes vitally with his interests, he takes a side; and in this able and audacious letter he does not apologise for his vacillation, but actually makes a merit of it, and declares that he was acting all along in the interests of the State.

‡ Phil. xiii. 44.

honour. Much opposition was caused to these votes, not merely by religious scruples, urged by the praetor urbanus M. Cornutus, who adjourned the meeting on April 7th, but especially by the violent hostility of P. Servilius,—an uncompromising republican of the Catonian stamp, who did not approve of granting such extravagant honours to a man who merely did his duty—and of the tribune, P. Titius. On the 8th, notwithstanding a decided expression of dissent on the part of the Senate from the motion of Servilius, Titius vetoed Cicero's proposal. Next day Cicero delivered a violent invective—perhaps another lost Philippic\*—against Servilius, who came prepared to 'outstare the lightning' (*Iori ipsi iniquus*), and his henchman Titius, and carried his point. A main cause of the defeat of Servilius was the receipt, during the sitting, of a letter from Lentulus, pro-quaestor of Asia, relating the successes of Cassius in Syria.†

Pansa left Rome for North Italy on March 20th; and during the latter part of March, and beginning of April, there was daily expectation that a decisive engagement would soon be fought. Cicero severely censures the long delay in bringing matters to a crisis (836, 1). Hirtius and Octavian were besieging Bononia, which was held by Antony's forces.‡ They had been waiting for Pansa, and so fought no pitched battle, though they engaged the enemy in many skirmishes. When Pansa arrived at Bononia towards the middle of April, Antony's position at Mutina was very much endangered. He advanced eastwards, along the Aemilian road, against Pansa, and met him on April 15th,§ at Forum Gallorum, where, after defeating Pansa, he was in turn

\* That there were originally more than fourteen Philippics may be gathered from Arusianus Messius (Keil's Gramm. Lat. vii. 467, 17) *Disceptata lis est, Cic. Phil. xvii. non est illa dissensio disceptata bello*, ep. 15; also Schol. Bob., p. 286, *quamvis et in Philippicis mulionem Ventidium dixerit*—neither of which passages appears in our extant Philippics.

† 838, 2-4; 839, 3.

‡ Antony had two Macedonian legions, the *Alauda* which had been all along in Italy, one of *evocati*, and two of recruits; that is, six in all. Pansa brought with him four legions of recruits, and had left one at Rome. Octavian, as we have seen, had five legions. We are not sure what forces Hirtius had.

§ On the day before April 14th there seems to have been some kind of engagement between the forces of Antony and Octavian: ep. the *Feriale Cumanum* (C. I. L. x.

defeated by Hirtius. A report of this battle was sent to Cicero by Galba (841), one of the officers in the army of Pansa. The battle with the forces of Pansa was divided into three parts, one on the raised Aemilian road, and one on each side of it.\* Galba narrowly escaped with his life, and Pansa received grievous wounds. Octavian did good service in defending the camp against an attack of L. Antonius. All these commanders were saluted as imperatores by their soldiers.† A week later, on the 21st,‡ the generals fought a battle with Antony, under the walls of Mutina. We have no special details of the battle, but there is some evidence that D. Brutus made an effective sally.§ Antony was utterly defeated, and fled. On the side of the Republicans Pontius Aquila,|| a legate of Decimus, and Hirtius were killed. A few days later Pansa died at Bononia, from wounds received at

8375, 1. 14), xviii. *K. Mai eo die Caesar primum vicit. Supplicatio Victoriae Augustae*; also Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 627, *hae Mutinensia Caesar Grandine militia contudit arma sua*: cp. Mommsen, in *Hermes* xvii. (1882), p. 636, who supposes that the attack on the camp lasted two days.

\* One of the most interesting points in reference to this battle is the amazement which the recruits are said to have displayed at the stern silence and order with which the veterans fought (*App.* iii. 68). Mr. Strachan-Davidson (*Cicero* 412-3) has valuable remarks on the important effect which training had on the Italian temperament, and the slight account in which veterans held recruits.

† Cp. *Feriale Cumanum*, 1. 15, xvii. *K. Mai eo die Caesar primum imperator appellatus est. Supplicatio Felicitati Imperii*; *Phil.* xiv. 18; *Dio Cass.* xlv. 37-38.

‡ The usual date assigned to the Battle of Mutina is April 27th. Lange (*R. A.* iii. 533-4), in passing, declared that the date was wrong, but gave no reasons. The excellent and careful examination of the question by E. Schelle (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des Todeskampfes der röm. Republik*, pp. 10-17) has proved the date to be the 21st. The events then all fit together, like a dissected map. Among his arguments are—(1) 854, written on May 5th, from Dertona, presupposes knowledge of the debate at Rome, which took place on the arrival of the news of the Battle of Mutina. Dertona is nearly 400 miles from Rome, a distance which a messenger would take eight days to compass; therefore the debate must have been held about the 26th. (2) 852, 1, relates that on the 27th a discussion was held at Rome in reference to the pursuit of the Antonians, who had been declared enemies the day before. This declaration was not made until the news of the Battle of Mutina arrived: cp. 846, 4. Schelle's whole paper is well worth reading. O. E. Schmidt, in *Jahrb.* (1892), p. 326 ff., adds some further confirmatory proofs, especially one in reference to the march of Ventidius: cp. p. 1. below.‡

§ Cp. note to 857, 1; 886, 1.

|| He had driven Munatius Plancus Bursa (not to be confounded with the Governor of Transalpine Gaul) out of Pollentia (*Phil.* xi. 14; *Dio* xlv. 38).



the Battle of Forum Gallorum. A suspicion, which, however, rested on no sufficient grounds, attributed his death to poison, administered by his physician Glyco, at the instance of Octavian.\* Cicero speaks coldly of the dead consuls—‘We have lost the two consuls, good men, but no more. Hirtius fell in the moment of victory, after having won a great battle a few days before: for Pansa had taken to flight after receiving a wound which he could not bear up against.’ It was naturally regarded as of evil omen that *both* the consuls should have perished.

While affairs were in the utmost uncertainty, on April 13th, letters from M. Brutus and his prisoner, C. Antonius, were delivered at Rome by Pilus Celer, the father-in-law of Atticus (842, 3-4). The letter from Antonius bore the inscription ‘Antonius proconsul.’ So the rebel prisoner was allowed by the patriot Brutus to bear one of the highest titles of the State. Letters arrived too from ‘Dolabella Imperator’; but the friends of Dolabella had not the impudence of Pilus, and did not deliver them. The letters of M. Brutus spoke very gently of the conduct of Antonius. The senate were naturally disconcerted. It looked like treachery. What were Cicero and the other patriot friends of Brutus to do? Cicero asks Brutus himself that question—

‘Declare them false? But perhaps you would acknowledge them. Allow that they were genuine? Then they would be unworthy of your high position.’

Labeo declared them a forgery: they had not the seal of Brutus, were undated, and were unaccompanied by any private letters to the friends of Brutus. Cicero continues:—

‘From these arguments Labeo wished to infer that the letters were forgeries; and if you would know, he won credence for his theory.’

The letters were, of course, genuine. Brutus was trying to make friends with the Antonians. His real friends saved his honour by an audacious falsehood; and the defeat of Antony, which speedily followed, was a sufficient reason for Brutus to acquiesce in the course which had been taken for him, and to say nothing more about the letters.

\* Cp. note to 867, 2, and Tac. Ann. i. 10.

About the 17th, news arrived in Rome that Antony had gained a victory, and was marching on the city. Then followed three days of grave anxiety for Cicero and the constitutionalists (844, 2). Pansa was reported to have been slain, and the Antonians spread a rumour that Cicero intended to assume the consulship thereby vacant. When the rumour began to gain credence, and excitement was rising, on the 20th Cicero's good friend, the tribune Appuleius, called a meeting, and showed that such rumours were unfounded and absurd. A few hours later authentic news of the Battle of Forum Gallorum arrived, whereupon the people made a demonstration in Cicero's honour, which, as he says himself, 'amply rewarded (if true and real merit claims any reward) my days and nights of labour on their behalf.' He was carried to the Capitol 'almost in triumph'\* by the enthusiastic crowd, and again to the Rostra, applauded and congratulated, and unanimously acknowledged by the people as their saviour. 'That,' says Cicero, 'is, in my opinion, a legitimate and real triumph when an unanimous state recognizes the merits of those who have done her signal service.' †

On the 21st a meeting of the senate was held, and P. Servilius proposed that the *sagum* be laid aside, and the *toga* be resumed; and that a public thanksgiving be held in honour of the victory. Cicero, though he must have been wrought into a great state of excitement by the apparent success of his policy, in the Fourteenth Philippic deprecated the adoption of the garb of peace until the siege of Mutina was raised; but he warmly supported the proposal of Servilius, that a public thanksgiving should be held in honour of the generals, and voted that it should extend to fifty days. 'Servilius,' he said, 'by moving for a thanksgiving, has implicitly proved Antony and his followers to be enemies; for a thanksgiving has never been voted in the case of a war between citizens.' He renewed his promises to the soldiers; proposed that a monument be erected in honour of the fallen; and, after the high Roman fashion, spoke weighty and solemn words on the shortness of life and the eternity of glory.‡ This speech, the last public utterance which we have of Cicero's, is in his highest strain, and is

\* Phil. xiv. 12.

† 844, 2; Phil. xiv. 12, 13.

‡ Phil. xiv. 22, 32.

in every respect worthy of the orator who delivered it, of the language he spoke, and of the Roman name.

News of the Battle of Mutina, which was fought on the 21st, reached Rome about the evening of the 25th, and on the following day Antony and his party were formally declared public enemies. At the same time, at the instance of Cicero, extravagant honours were voted to D. Brutus, though not without opposition (854, 1). It was decreed that a thanksgiving of fifty days be held in his honour: that he should have a triumph, and—a most unusual grant in the case of a mortal man—that, as his birthday was the day on which the Battle of Mutina was fought, his name should be inserted in the Calendar ‘as an everlasting memorial of a most welcome victory.’\* To the consuls were voted statues and a public funeral, to the soldiers payment of the promised donative, and it was determined that Octavian should enter the city in ovation.†

For this ‘squandering’‡ of honours Cicero was severely criticised by Brutus, and especially censured for the distinctions which were given to Octavian. Brutus considered that Cicero’s conduct in this respect was much more ill-judged than the clemency which he himself showed to C. Antonius (857, 2). We may be well-assured that there were many in the Senate who entertained the same short-sighted and small-minded views, and who thought that they need not any longer pay heed to Octavian. Not to speak of the contrast between the triumph of Decimus and the ovation of Octavian—the facts that Decimus was officially commissioned to take command of the consular armies, and to pursue Antony; that Sext. Pompeius was appointed to take command of the fleet; and that Cassius had been ordered to pursue Dolabella, to

\* 914, 8: cp. App. iii. 74; Dio Cass. xlv. 39, 40; Vell. ii. 62, 4. Dio says a sixty days’ thanksgiving was voted.

† 914, 9; Vell. ii. 62, 5, and Appian iii. 74 are in error when they say no mention was made of Octavian at all. Appian waxes very indignant at the extravagant conduct of Cicero in his hostility to Antony—‘such frenzy and lack of dignity did he display’ (τοσοῦτος ἦν οἷστρος αὐτῷ κατ’ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἀπειροκαλία).

‡ Cp. 914, 3, *unum reprehendebas quod in honoribus decernendis essem nimius et tanquam prodigus*. This is almost the sole topic of 864 and 865. These letters are generally regarded as forgeries; but the arguments tending that way are not conclusive: see notes.



hold the province of Syria, and to have a *maius imperium* in the other provinces east of Greece—all high honours bestowed on the murderers of Caesar—must have clearly shown Octavian the course in which the Senate was proceeding to direct its policy, and must have warned him of the ‘shelving,’ if nothing worse, which awaited him if he did not act in self-defence, with judgment, energy, and decision.\*

An opportunity to exhibit that energy and decision was given by a paltry attempt of the Senate to communicate the resolution which had been passed to the soldiers of Octavian without his knowledge.† His soldiers, he knew, were thoroughly loyal to him, and brooked ill that he and they should be put in an inferior position to the soldiers of Decimus. He accordingly demanded a triumph for himself. Meanwhile he remained inactive, and took no measures to pursue Antony, or hinder Ventidius, the trusty lieutenant of Antony, from marching across country to join him; nay, he even treated stragglers of the enemy with the greatest consideration, enrolling some in his army, sending away those who wished to join their general’s forces, and in many ways making it plain that he was not by any means to be regarded as an implacable enemy of Antony’s.‡ Decimus Brutus, writing from Dertona, on May 5th, says (854, 4):—

‘If Caesar had heeded me, and crossed the Appennines, I should have reduced Antony to such straits, that he would have perished of

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\* There is a story, in Appian, iii. 75–6, that Pansa, on his death-bed, told Octavian that the Senate hoped that, when he and Antony quarrelled, they would be able to get the better of the survivor, and then, crushing the whole Caesarian party, would succeed in resuscitating that of Pompey. ‘This,’ he said, ‘was their main policy’ (τόδε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ κεφάλαιον). Pansa says further, that he and Hirtius were Caesarians at heart, but concealed their real sentiments until some restraint was put upon Antony, who was so aggressive and insolent (ἐπιπολάζοντα ὑπεροψία). We read in the same author (iii. 65) that, in the early part of the year, Hirtius divided his recruits with Octavian, and, under orders from the Senate, asked Octavian to give him some of his tried soldiers—a request which Octavian did not feel himself able to refuse.

† Cp. Vell. ii. 62, 5, *Caesaris adeo nulla habita mentio, ut legati, qui ad exercitum eius missi erant, iuberentur summoto eo milites alloqui. Non fuit tam ingratus exercitus, quam fuerat senatus; nam cum eam iniuriam dissimulando Caesar ferret, negaverunt milites sine imperatore suo ulla se audituros mandata.*

‡ App. iii. 80.

hunger, and not by the sword; but Caesar cannot be obedient himself, nor secure the obedience of his army, both most disastrous conditions of things.'

After having been released from Mutina, D. Brutus did not pursue Antony at once. This was plainly made a ground of censure,\* and Brutus feels it necessary to defend himself (859, 1):—

'I could not, my dear Cicero, pursue Antony at once, for the following reasons:—I had neither cavalry, nor pack-animals. I did not know that Hirtius, I did not know that Aquila, had fallen. I could not feel confidence in Caesar until I met him, and talked with him. Thus the first day after my release passed. The next morning I was summoned to Bononia, to see Pansa. On the way information reached me that he was dead. I hastened back to the wreckage of my forces (*ad meas copias*)—for so I must call them: they are grievously thinned, and in miserable plight from want of all necessities.† Antony got two days start of me, and marched much further each day in his flight, than I did in pursuit; for he went in disorder, I in regular marching array. Wherever he went he opened slave-jails, and carried the country-folk along with him. He never halted until he reached Vada.'

Decimus, on the 22nd, appears to have had an unsatisfactory interchange of messages with Octavian. According to Appian (iii. 73), he solicited an interview, protesting that he had been mad to join the conspiracy against Julius Caesar (ὅτι δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ἔβλαψεν). Octavian rejected the offer with rudeness and threats. 'I did not come,' he said, 'to rescue Decimus, but to fight against Antony. No scruple forbids reconciliation with *him*; but it is not in the nature of things that I should look upon the face, or listen to the words, of Decimus. Let him remain safe as long as the government at home thinks fit.' Whereupon Decimus stood at the other side of the river (Scultenna), read aloud the decree investing him with Cisalpine Gaul, and forbade Octavian to cross the river, or pursue Antony. He proudly declared that he was quite able to do that himself. He seems to have calculated that the Martian and Fourth legions would join him, in obedience to

\* 863, 2: cp. 897, 2, where Cicero attributes the futility of the victory at Mutina to the 'many faults' of Brutus.

† Cp. App. iii. 81, Δέκμῳ δ' ὁ ἀρχαῖος στρατὸς ἐνόσει πιμπλάμενος ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ τὰς γαστέρας κατερρήγγυντο, ὃ τε νεοστράτευτος ἀγύμναστος ἔτι ἦν.

the order of the senate ; but in that he was disappointed (875, 1 ; 886, 2). Nor did Octavian give him a single legion of Pansa's army (877, 4). Like so many of Appian's narratives, this story, though probably a complete fabrication, and certainly representing Octavian as expressing himself with very uncharacteristic impetuosity, doubtless represents the real feelings of the two men. We may fairly regard the conduct of Octavian at this time, in allowing Antony to escape, as indicating the turning-point in his attitude towards the senatorial party.

Antony determined not to continue the contest about Mutina. Appian (iii. 72) considers that he should have done so, and that the gods blinded him when they disposed him to retreat. But Appian gives good reasons why he did retreat. He feared that Octavian, if he remained where he was, would surround him. His cavalry being useless, he would suffer a defeat ; and in that case, Lepidus and Plancus would scorn him ;\* while, by retiring, he would be able to unite with Ventidius, and afterwards with Lepidus and Plancus. Accordingly, he left Mutina on April 22nd, with what remained of his six legions, marched south into Etruria, gathered together every man he could, and struck across country westwards towards Vada Sabatia, a coast-town, about thirty miles west of Genoa. He wanted to be near Lepidus, whom he knew how to influence. This was one of the occasions on which Antony showed in the highest degree his promptitude in action and his other soldier-like qualities. Shakespeare, in some energetic verses, has represented Octavius Caesar, when Antony in his later days was sunk in luxury and weakness, as calling to mind the recollection of these, his days of privation and strength :—

‘ Antony,  
Leave thy lascivious wassails. When thou once  
Wast beaten from Modena, where thou slew'st  
Hirtius and Pansa, consuls, at thy heel  
Did famine follow ; whom thou fought'st against,  
Though daintily brought up, with patience more  
Than savages could suffer : thou didst drink  
The stale of horses, and the gilded puddle

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\* Cp. 847, 2, *Plancum quoque confirmetis oro, quem spero, pulso Antonio, rei p. non defuturum* ; App. iii. 72, ὑπερβρεταί με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἡττώμενον.

Which beasts would cough at : thy palate then did deign  
 The roughest berry on the rudest hedge :  
 Yea, like the stag, when snow the pasture sheets,  
 The barks of trees thou browsed'st ; on the Alps  
 It is reported thou didst eat strange flesh,  
 Which some did die to look on : and all this—  
 It wounds thine honour that I speak it now—  
 Was borne so like a soldier, that thy cheek  
 So much as lank'd not.\*

And he was ably seconded by his lieutenant, Ventidius. This competent subordinate was probably at Faventia during the battles about Mutina, and now made a most brilliant and rapid march across the Appennines, with three legions, joining Antony at Vada about May 3rd or 4th.† Thus joined, they proceeded across the Maritime Alps to the south of the province, where Lepidus lay near Forum Voconii, and encamped at Forum Julii, about twenty-four Roman miles distant. In the passage of the Alps not only was Antony not hindered by Culleo, the lieutenant of Lepidus, but that officer actually deserted to him.‡ When Antony arrived at

\* Antony and Cleopatra, i. 4, 56 ff. : ep. Plut. Ant. 17, from whom these details are taken.

† Ventidius, one of the stock examples of the successful man—from car-driver (*mulio*) to triumphator—was a devoted follower of Antony. He did not go with him to Gaul in December, 710 (44), but remained (perhaps collecting soldiers) in Apulia, or Campania. At the beginning of March, 711 (43), he appears to have been at Aneona (Phil. xii. 23, delivered March 8th). He had three veteran legions (890, 4) ; but he failed to prevent Pansa from reaching Mutina, for the latter went by the Via Cassia, which joins the Via Aemilia at Bononia, and not by the Via Flaminia. On seeing that Pansa had eluded him, Ventidius appears to have marched up the Via Aemilia as far as Faventia, where he was posted when the Battle of Mutina was fought, on April 21st. From Faventia to Vada is at least 200 Roman miles ; therefore Ventidius marched about seventeen miles a-day on an average, which was very good marching across mountains (*trans Appenninum itinere facto difficillimo*, 854, 3). Caesar's march along the high road, from Corfinium to Brundisium, about 320 miles, in sixteen days, was considered a great feat. See a fine article by O. E. Schmidt on Ventidius, in *Philologus* (1892), pp. 198–213. (We have an interesting glimpse of Ventidius, the prudent subordinate, in Shakespeare, Ant. and Cleop. iii. 1.) If we suppose that the Battle of Mutina was fought on April 27th, we have the absurd result, that Ventidius marched across the mountains at the rate of thirty-five miles a-day, for six consecutive days. That Ventidius had joined Antony at Vada on May 3rd, is proved from 854, 3, written from Dertona, about eighty miles from Vada, on the 5th.

‡ 869, 2 ; App. iii. 83.

Forum Julii, Lepidus moved up closer to him, to the river Argenteus, and the soldiers of the two commanders began to hold intercourse with one another.\* One of his officers, Silanus (son of the notorious Servilia, mother of M. Brutus), had fought on the side of Antony at Forum Gallorum and Mutina; but Lepidus, who was utterly averse from any kind of effort, did not think that it was incumbent on him to do anything more than refuse to give Silanus any command. Still Lepidus was apparently loyal to the State, and was earnestly supported in that course by his lieutenant Laterensis. Lepidus continued to appear to co-operate with Plancus, who would seem at this time to have been much more staunch in his allegiance, and, if we may judge from his letters, to have been very solicitous to retain Lepidus in his loyalty; but he was sore perplexed; he feared both disaffection in the army of Lepidus, and treachery in their general—the ulcerous place was but skinned and filmed, as he expresses it.†

The disappointment of Cicero at the escape of Antony is shown especially in his correspondence with Plancus. Cicero reminds him that a foe's final destruction is as sweet as his first repulse, and urges him to leave not a spark of this most horrible war alive. 'Whoever crushes Antony will be the finisher of the war. Homer, remember, does not style Ajax or Achilles but Ulysses as the "city-taker."' Vigorous action is what is required. Plancus should not refer any matters to the Senate where his proposals will meet with opposition. No, he must be self-reliant. 'Be your own Senate: follow where the interests of the State lead you, and see that we hear of the accomplishment of some signal success before we think of its possibility.'‡

Plancus had crossed to Rhone on the 26th of April (845; 855, 1), and received news of the Battle of Mutina a few days later, while still in the territory of the Allobroges. He wrote to Cicero, almost assuming that Lepidus would join with Antony. His view in brief is this (848, 2)—'If Antony has no forces to

\* 869, 1; 872, 1. Antony appears to have sent messengers to Pollio and Plancus also, to solicit their assistance (855, 1).

† 870, 3, *sed non possum non exhorrescere, si quid intra cutem subest vulneris, quod prius nocere potest quam sciri curarique possit.*

‡ 881, 2; cp. 853, 1; 858, 2; 879, 2; 884, 3.



speak of, I shall be easily able to hold my own against him and Lepidus; but if he has any troops with him, especially if he secures the Tenth Legion, I think I shall be able to avert disaster if forces are sent me from Rome. Meanwhile I am doing all I can to keep Lepidus loyal.\* When he heard that Antony, his brother Lucius with a force of cavalry, and Ventidius had arrived in the south of the province, he crossed the Isara on May 12th, and had marched two days' journey south, when he received a notification from Lepidus that he was to come no nearer, as he could finish the business by himself (861, 2 *se posse per se conficere negotium*). Plancus retired to the Isara; but on the 18th again marched south (861, 2),

‘as I thought I could not detract aught from the glory of that paltry (*ieiuni*) creature (i.e. Lepidus), and in order that I might be in the neighbourhood, so as to be able to bring assistance with rapidity, if any difficulty should arise.’

Lepidus still continued to pretend to be loyal, and wrote both to Plancus, proposing concerted action,† and to Cicero, assuring him of his devotion to the State (869; 876); yet on the 29th he joined forces with Antony, after making some pretence of being coerced into taking this step. The forces thus united now amounted to ten full, and six fragmentary, legions. Lepidus had seven (among them the Tenth), Ventidius three, and Antony the six fragmentary ones. In his official letter (885) to the Senate, Lepidus says:—

‘The whole army, in continuance of its practice of preserving the Roman citizens, and maintaining a general peace, mutinied, and compelled me to support the cause of the lives and civil rights of such a number of Roman citizens.’‡

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\* Plancus continued to ask urgently for reinforcements, 861, 6.

† 870, 2; 872, 3. He sent his trusty freedman, Apella, as a hostage and token of his loyalty; and also sent some officers to negotiate with him; but these Plancus refused to receive (895, 5).

‡ 885, 1, where see note. This was the usual plea for deserting the State: cp. 861, 4. The rather ridiculous story told in Plut. Ant. 18 represents Lepidus as being more loyal. It is certain that a large portion of the army of Lepidus had been for a long time disaffected and alienated from the Senate (860, 3; 870, 2). Velleius, ii. 63, gives the following account of the affair—*Interim Antonius, fuga transgressus Alpes, primo*

The really loyal Laterensis killed himself before the whole army.\* Plancus retreated hastily to Cularo (Grenoble), on the Isara, where we find him on June 4th (895, 3). There about a week later, apparently on the 12th, he was joined by Decimus Brutus.

After his meeting with Octavian, on the 22nd, Decimus proceeded, on the 23rd, towards Bononia, hoping to see Pansa. Hearing on the journey that Pansa was dead, Brutus returned to Mutina, and started next day, along the Aemilian road, to Regium Lepidi. He reached that town on the 25th, but found his army so ill and weakened, after their long privations in Mutina,† and so badly off for supplies and transport, that he had to delay there some days, probably till about the 29th. He wrote to Cicero (847), urging that the home government should send messages to that ‘weather-cock’ (*hominem ventosissimum*) Lepidus, to Asinius Pollio, and to Plancus, urging them to continue loyal to the State, and not to have any dealings with Antony. On the 30th he was at Parma (849), and on May 5th at Dertona (854). On the 6th he wrote from the borders of Aquae Statiellae, and on the 10th from Pollentia (859). He had succeeded in getting possession of that town just before a detachment of Antony’s troops, under Trebellius, arrived before it. On this success he appears to have laid considerable weight: it would seem that he did not expect that Antony would cross the Alps. But when he saw that such was Antony’s intention, he felt sure that Lepidus was in communication with him. Accordingly he struck up north to join Plancus. On the 21st he wrote from Vercellae (875), and on the 24th and 25th from Eporedia (877, 878). He appears to have had some slight hopes of the loyalty of Lepidus, and stated that he would not leave Italy unless it was absolutely imperative for him to do so. From Eporedia he advanced to Vitricium, from which place he appears to have written 892, after having heard of

*per colloquia repulsus a M. Lepido, qui pontifex maximus in C. Caesaris locum furto creatus decreta sibi Hispania adhuc in Gallia morabatur, mox saepius in conspectum veniens militum (cum et Lepido omnes imperatores forent meliores et multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius) per aversa castrorum proruto vallo a militibus receptus est.*

\* Dio Cass. xlv. 51, 3.

† Cp. p. xlviii above.

the union of Antony and Lepidus; and crossing the Graian Alps, joined Plancus at Cularo about the 12th.\*

Meanwhile, the Senate were somewhat perplexed as to the manner in which they should treat Octavian, and also as to the effective method of fulfilling their promises to the soldiers. Cicero proposed the bestowal of some additional honour on the young man (886, 1), of which we are not further informed.† As early as April, Cicero, while acknowledging the marvellous manliness of nature in Octavian, had begun to feel doubts as to his power to guide him (844, 1); and he appears to have angered Octavian grievously by a terse and alliterative expression or 'jingle' (*cantilenam*) as to the policy which should be adopted with regard to him—a policy of 'lauding, applauding, discarding.'‡ Octavian said he would see that he wasn't 'discarded.' As regards the soldiers the Senate appointed a Commission of Ten (which included Cicero) to distribute lands to them, but emphasised its lack of appreciation of the feelings of the soldiers by putting neither Octavian nor Decimus on the Commission; so that we are not surprised to learn that the soldiers were 'mightily indignant.'§

\* Cp. note to 900.

† It was not the grant of the *ornamenta consularia*, and a seat and vote in the Senate among the *consulares*, as Dio says (xlv. 46, 3): cp. p. xxx above.

‡ 877, 1, *laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum*. The sentence is, in a measure, untranslatable, and the alliteration cannot be wholly maintained, as English has not a dissyllabic termination for any part of the verb. But, as far as meaning goes, the translation given is nearly adequate: *tollere adolescentem* used absolutely cannot mean anything else but 'shelving,' or 'removing,' or 'making away with' the young man: it cannot mean 'raise to honour' without some additional words (e.g. *tergeminis tollere honoribus*, Hor. Od. i. 1, 8), any more than 'to raise' with us can have such a meaning without an addition. Velleius, however, would seem to hold that *tollere* could be used absolutely in this sense of 'honouring,' ii. 62, 6, *Cicero insito amore Pompeianarum partium Caesarem laudandum et tollendum censebat cum aliud diceret aliud intellegi vellet*, as well as 'making away with.' If it could have that meaning, 'lauding, applauding, and rewarding' (get his reward), would then go somewhat near the actual meaning.

§ *maxime indignari*, 877, 1. In this letter, §§ 2, 4, it is interesting to note the solicitude which Decimus expresses for Cicero—'I would have you be careful, and on the watch against treachery; for I do not regard or prize anything more highly than your life. I write for love of you, and desire for peace, which cannot exist without you.' He advocates a policy of conciliation towards the veterans as far as possible. Besides this commission to distribute lands, there would appear to have been another



To face the united forces of Lepidus and Antony, the Senate had no armies immediately available except those of Plancus and D. Brutus.\* They ordered Titus Sextius, governor of Numidia, to send two legions, and to put the remaining legion which he had under the command of Cornificius, governor of Africa. They recalled Asinius Pollio from Further Spain. Pollio professed himself loyal to the Senate; 'I do not wish,' he says, 'to fail in aiding or to survive the Republic' (890, 5). But his forces were small, only three legions, and were being influenced by extravagant promises on the part of Antony; and it was exceedingly difficult for him to make his way into Italy by land if Lepidus and Antony opposed him (890, 2; 896, 4). But not only did the Senate want forces; it was also in the most grievous straits for money. Benevolences were no longer forthcoming: there was an ill-response to a property-tax of one per cent.—the first which had been raised since the Battle of Pydna—and the most shameless statements of property were made by the wealthy.† The amount raised was comparatively trifling. Cicero says that it was scarcely sufficient to pay the bounties of two legions. What money was available had been voted to D. Brutus on June 6th.‡ The Treasury was bankrupt; and there were greedy legionaries everywhere clamouring for rewards; even Plancus had repeatedly urged that *his* soldiers, too, should receive something, so that they might not be influenced by the extravagant promises of Antony. There was no way to get money but by spoliation. The Triumvirs afterwards saw this; and their need of money was the main cause of the proscriptions.

commission appointed to inquire into the public acts of Antony, which Appian (iii. 82, 85, 86) says was a preliminary step towards the reversal of Caesar's decrees. But perhaps Appian has confused this commission with the other, which he does not mention; and Caesar's decrees seem to have been dealt with as the Senate wished by the laws of Pansa, passed in February: cp. p. xxxiv above.

\* Plancus appears to have had three veteran legions, and one of recruits, which he declares was the finest of them all (*vel luculentissima ex omnibus*). In 833, 6, he speaks of five legions; but in 860, 3, only of four. D. Brutus had one veteran legion, one of soldiers who had served for two years, and eight of recruits: cp. 916, 3.

† Cp. 915, 5, written on July 27th.

‡ Decimus had spent all his own large fortune, and had induced many of his friends to lend him considerable sums. 'I cannot,' he says (854, 5), 'if I had all Varro's treasures, meet the expenses which I have to incur.'

Towards the end of May, Cicero wrote sadly to Decimus (886, 1, 3):—

‘My efforts, dear Brutus, are paralysed (*plane iam, Brute, frigeo*): for the Senate was my instrument, and it is now shattered. So great a hope of assured victory did your glorious sally from Mutina, and the flight of Antony with broken forces arouse, that the spirits of all at once became supine, and all those passionate efforts of mine seemed as of one that beateth the air (*tanquam σκιαμαχίαι*) . . . You have written to me that you are in receipt of letters from Plancus stating that Antony has not been received by Lepidus. If this is so, our whole course is easier; but if not, it is a serious matter. The end of it has no terrors for me: it is you who will have to play the part. I can do no more than I have done. However, as it is my hope, so it is my desire, that I may see you, of all men, in the greatest and most illustrious position.’

The news of the juncture of Antony and Lepidus must have reached Rome about June 8th, and caused sore perplexity. The party led by Cicero were still for energetic measures and for declaring Lepidus an enemy at once. But besides the Antonian party in the Senate, Lepidus had an important friend in his brother-in-law Marcus Brutus. Dio Cassius (xlii. 50) says that the reply of the Senate to Lepidus was an order to co-operate with Plancus in settling at Lugudunum the colonists of Vienna (Vienne) who had been expelled by the Allobroges. This was afterwards effected by Plancus.\* Octavian, according to Appian (iii. 85), was ordered to conduct the war against Antony, along with Decimus Brutus—in Appian’s judgment a most unseemly order (*μαλ’ ἀπρεπῶς*); but his legions, the Fourth and the Martian, refused positively to join Decimus. The Senate had repeatedly passed decrees that M. Brutus, Cassius, and Sext. Pompeius should

\* The subsequent outlawry of Lepidus precluded his taking any part in the foundation. The first steps were taken by Plancus about August. No account of this business is found in Cicero’s Correspondence. The colonists planted in Lugudunum appear to have been the Roman colonists planted by Caesar at Vienne, probably about 709 (45), who were driven out by the native Allobroges early in 711 (43). The fact that the Allobroges seem to have been loyal to the senatorial commanders (900, 4), induced the Senate to acquiesce in their recovery of Vienne, and to look elsewhere for lands on which to plant the expelled Romans (cp. E. Jullien, *Le fondateur de Lyon* chap. iv. and p. lxxi below).

return, but these decrees had been vetoed.\* Finally, on June 30, the Senate summoned up courage to pass a decree declaring Lepidus a public enemy, and confiscating his property. This was of course very proper: but they ought to have taken more decided steps to enforce this decree and to inflict punishment on the enemies of the State. Yet they could do nothing but pass decrees.† It would seem that they trusted to Decimus and Plancus on the one hand, and to Octavian on the other, and fancied that they would attack Lepidus and Antony from both sides, while Pollio might lend assistance by an assault from the rear. But all these hopes were bitterly disappointed.

During the whole of July, Plancus and Decimus did not stir. The fact was, they could not trust their soldiers. No reward had been given by the Senate to their legions, and the most extravagant promises had been made them by Antony.‡ The forces, too, of Plancus and Decimus consisted so largely of recruits that they feared to risk a battle; and further, notwithstanding urgent appeals from Plancus, Octavian did not proceed to his assistance. The blame for the whole position, according to Plancus, rested with Octavian. While professing much regard for the young man, he adds (916, 6):—

‘but—and what I write, I write rather in sorrow than in anger—that Antony is alive to-day, that Lepidus has joined him, that they have an army far from contemptible, that they are full of hopes and daring—all this is due to Caesar.’

Antony and Lepidus also did not stir. They knew that it was only a matter of time to draw over to themselves the armies of Plancus and Decimus. Marcus Brutus most unaccountably did not make any reply to the urgent appeals from the Senate to return to Italy.§ Cicero also wrote to Cassius urging him to

\* Cp. 897, 1, *senatus auctoritate*. Appian (iii. 85) says the Ciceronian party sent secretly (κρύφα) to M. Brutus, urging his return.

† Dio Cass. xlv. 50, 5, ἀσθενέστατα γὰρ ἤδη τὰ ψηφίσματα πρὸς τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντας ἦγετο.

‡ See above, p. lv.

§ 897, 1; 909, 2. Though Brutus made no motion to help Cicero and his party in the city who were in sore need, he wrote very urgently to him, appealing to their mutual friendship and his own constant kindness to Cicero, that no severe measures be taken

return.\* In July Cicero appears to have expected the arrival of Brutus almost immediately.† But none of all these commanders made any move. The young man who was to be ‘discarded,’ but who declared that he would take care he should not be so treated, was the first to make a decided step. He sent an embassy of 400 of his soldiers and centurions to Rome to demand for themselves the promised rewards and the consulship for their general. ‡

This was not the first the Senate had heard of a demand by a boy of eighteen years for an office which it was not customary to hold before the ripe age of forty-three. The State had remained for some months without consuls, not merely owing to the technical difficulties as to the proper means of electing them—now that it was no longer possible to have recourse to a dictator, nor feasible to appoint an interrex§—but also to the keen canvass (854, 2). The high position of Cicero, and his well-known desire for office, pointed him out as a likely aspirant; and M. Brutus, as early as May, heard a rumour that he was actually elected. In the same letter Brutus had expressed fears that Octavian, if made consul, would never afterwards submit to play a subordinate part (866, 4). In the later historians—there is no hint in Cicero—we hear of a proposal of Octavian that he and Cicero should be the new consuls.||

against the children of Lepidus; and praying that their kinship with Brutus (his sister was married to Lepidus) might outweigh the fact that they were the children of Lepidus. It is characteristic of the irritable arrogance of Brutus that he says he cannot, and ought not, to be expected to write at greater length owing to his anxiety and vexation (908, 1–2). Though in theory approving of the execution of the law in all its strictness on the children of the traitor, in reality Cicero used his influence for their preservation (914, 11, 12; 915, 6). Perhaps 914, 12 was a specially private letter to Brutus, while §§ 3 to 11 were rather of the nature of a document which he wished to be made public.

\* 898, 2; 904, 2; 910, 2–4.

† 910, 4: cp. 913, 2; 914, 12.

‡ App. iii. 87.

§ See note to 852, 4.

|| Appian (iii. 82) says that when Octavian made this proposal to Cicero, the latter, owing to his love of office (*διὰ φιλαρχίαν*), advised the Senate to make a friend of Octavian as he had an army, and to give him as colleague a judicious elderly statesman (*τῶν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἐμφορῶν*). But the Senate laughed at Cicero for his love of office; and the relations of the tyrannicides opposed the candidature of Octavian; for, they knew he would, if elected, avenge the murder of Caesar: cp. Dio Cass. xlv. 42, 2; Plut. Cic. 45 fin.

Whatever the truth of this may be, it is certain that Octavian had set himself to obtain the consulship before the year was out, so that he might have, as counterbalance to his youth, in addition to his strong military forces, a strong constitutional position which would enable him to act on equal terms either as friend or foe with the other commanders who were his seniors and at the head of considerable armies. Moreover he had many supporters among the people at Rome, though none in the Senate (897, 3). Cicero earnestly dissuaded him from his aspirations and disclosed in the Senate 'the source of these most criminal designs.'\* In this letter Cicero says that he never saw the Senate better; not a single senator, or magistrate, or private member was found to urge Octavian's claim. But still the State was agitated;

'for we are flouted, my dear Brutus, as well by the supercilious demands (*delictis*) of the soldiers as by the extravagance of the general. Each one claims to have influence in the State proportional to the forces under his command. No weight is attached to reason, moderation, statute law, custom, duty; none to the expressed judgment, the deliberate opinion of the citizens; none to respect for after ages.'†

Even in July, Cicero was not hopeless that he would be able to influence Octavian, though he acknowledges that he must bring up all his engines to his aid in this matter (915, 4). It would appear that the Senate compromised the matter by allowing him to stand for the praetorship.‡ Probably it was on receipt of this offer that Octavian, after delivering a fine indignant speech, sent the embassy of centurions and soldiers.§

But the Senate refused this embassy their demand of the consulship for Octavian, and said nothing decisive about the money.|| The embassy made a third demand that the vote

\* 897, 3, *sceleratissimorum consiliorum fontes*, cp. note.

† Plancus speaks of the pressing demands of Octavian for the consulship as 'fatuous' (*insulsa cum efflagitatione*, 916, 6).

‡ Dio xlv. 41, 3.

§ App. iii. 86-87; Suet. Aug. 26.

|| The centurions urged as precedents for the grant of consulship before the legal age the cases of Scipio, Pompey, and Dolabella (App. iii. 88). A story is told that one of the centurions, on leaving the Senate, grasped his sword and said, 'If *you* will not give Caesar the consulship, *this* will.' To which Cicero replied sarcastically, 'If you press your demand in this way, he will obtain it' (*ἂν οὕτως παρακαλῇτε, λήψεται αὐτὸν*). And this, says Dio, caused Cicero's death (xlv. 43, 4).



declaring Antony an enemy should be repealed. This should have opened the eyes of the Senate to the fact that Octavian and Antony were already in concert, and shown them that submission alone was possible. On the return of the soldiers, early in August, Octavian promptly crossed the Rubicon and with eight legions, and their cavalry and auxiliaries, marched down on Rome.\*

The last full letter written by Cicero which is extant is addressed to M. Brutus, and bears date July 27. It was written just before the crisis. The history of the events which occurred during August must be gathered from Appian who follows authorities bitterly hostile to Cicero and his policy. According to him, messengers from the Senate met Octavian with money to pay the donatives, but were frightened away by his orders, as he feared that they might cause disaffection in his army. On their arrival in the city, a panic ensued, and 'as happens in times of alarm everyone blamed his fellow,' and the various slights which they had put on Octavian stood out in all their glaring folly. Cicero, who was up to that time prominent (*ὅς τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπύλαζεν*), did not even appear. In their alarm the Senate granted, in increased measure, all Octavian's demands, and sent ambassadors to apprise him of the grant. But speedily a reaction ensued, and Cicero again appeared. The Senate became conscious of their unmanly panic; they reflected that they should not permit mere military rule without a struggle; that it was their duty to urge Octavian to act within the laws, in the event of his refusal to hold out until assistance came, and in the last resort to fight to the death like the Romans of old rather than submit to a slavery which was essentially irremediable (*ἄνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον*).†

At this moment the two legions arrived from Africa. It seemed as if some slight hope was still remaining for the cause of freedom. Pansa had left one legion of recruits; and the Senate proceeded to dispose those three legions for the guardianship of the city. Their hope that the Caesarians would support them, as their Caesar had transgressed the laws, proved futile; and the

\* Dio xlv. 43; App. iii. 88.

† App. iii. 90. This reads very like a Ciceronian speech.

discovery that Caesar's mother and sister, important hostages, were not to be found, served to create a new alarm. Octavian occupied the portions of the city beyond the Quirinal without any trouble, the populace flocked to him, the three legions deserted to him. The praetor urbanus, Cornutus, a staunch republican, killed himself; the rest made their peace with the victor. Through Octavian's friends Cicero procured an interview and laid strong claim to indulgence because he had proposed in the Senate that Octavian should be made consul. Octavian replied with a scoff, that he was the last of his friends to come and see him.\*

That same night a rumour spread that the Fourth and the Martian legions had renounced allegiance to Octavian on the ground that they had been misinformed of their commander's intention and led against the Senate under a misapprehension. The Praetors and the Senate 'without the slightest difficulty' (*πάμπαν ἀταλαιπώρως*) believed the report. A hasty concourse of the Senate gathered in the Senate-house, Cicero welcoming them at the door. The report was soon discovered to be false, and Cicero disappeared in a litter.

Put this way, Cicero's conduct in the crisis appears contemptible. But even granting the truth of Appian's statements (a very large admission), we must remember that it is the duty of a leader to incur no needless danger and to be at his post when he can be of any service. Because he spoke fair to a marauder when in grievous danger, he was hardly bound to remain neutral when there appeared a hope of making an effective resistance to that marauder. Much allowance, too, must be made for the terrific excitement of the crisis in which was consummated the dissolution of the Roman Republic. Still Cicero must have known that his failure was complete. Pollio had gone over to Antony, and by Pollio's aid a reconciliation was effected between Antony and Plancus. Cicero's earnest efforts to keep these self-seekers loyal had all miscarried, and his passionate zeal for the Republic had not averted ruin and disaster; he had no more hopes left to be disappointed, and he departed for ever from the city which he had failed

\* App. iii. 92, ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκόπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος εἰνυγχάνοι.



to save. We hardly hear of him between the final entry of Octavian in the middle of August and the closing scene. Just one fragment of a letter remains addressed by the old and defeated statesman to the young and victorious soldier shortly after his election to the consulship. 'I feel a twofold joy at your grant of leave of absence to me and Philippus: it betokens pardon for the past, and indulgence for the future.'\* Taking the position of affairs into account, there is nothing more affecting in the whole correspondence. Cicero retired to Tusculum. He was hardly yet prepared to meet the bitterness of death; and death or submission with the best grace possible were the sole alternatives.

We need not dwell on the election of Octavian to the consulship on August 19, and the fatal meeting of the triumvirs near Bononia in November, when the proscriptions were arranged. There is something horrible about these murders; they were so cold-blooded and business-like. They were committed partly to rid the triumvirs of troublesome enemies, but mainly to get money. Cicero was among the first sacrificed to the hatred of Antony, and at the same time his brother Quintus and young Quintus perished together. The closing scene has been painted once for all by Plutarch (Cic. 47-48):—

'During the progress of these events (i.e. the arranging for the proscriptions), Cicero was in his country seat at Tusculum, and his brother Quintus with him. On learning of the proscriptions they determined to go to Astura, where Cicero had a villa on the sea-coast, and from thence to sail to Macedonia, to Brutus; for already a report was gaining ground that he was in a strong position. They were carried in litters, worn out with distress, and during the journey they frequently stopped, and bringing their litters close together, they bewailed their misfortunes to one another. Quintus was especially distressed, and he began to reflect on his destitute condition; for he said he had brought nothing from home, and Marcus too had but a scanty supply of money for the journey. Accordingly, he considered that it was best that Marcus should escape before him, and that he would hasten after, when he had got some supplies from home. This they decided was the best course. So after embracing one another, with tears they separated. Not many days after—

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\* Ad Caes. Iun. i. frag. 15, *quod mihi et Philippo vacationem das, bis gaudeo: nam et praeteritis ignoscis et concedis futura.*

wards Quintus was betrayed by his servants to those who were in quest of them, and was killed along with his son.\*

‘Cicero, when he arrived at Astura, and found a boat, at once embarked, and, with a favourable wind, sailed along the coast as far as Circeii. But when the sailors wished to put out to sea straightway from that place, whether it was that he feared the sea,† or did not yet wholly give up all trust in Caesar, he disembarked, and proceeded by land about a hundred stadia towards Rome. But again becoming distracted (ἀλύων), and changing his mind, he returned to the sea-coast at Astura. There he passed the night in terrible and desperate reflections: he thought even of going into Caesar’s house secretly, and slaying himself on the hearth, so as to bring a curse (ἀλάστορα) on it. But fear of torture diverted him from this course. Forming other wild and distracted (παλιντροπα) plans, he allowed his servants to carry him by sea to Caieta, where he had a villa, and a pleasant retreat during the heat of summer, when the Etesian winds blow deliciously. The village had a temple of Apollo a little above the sea. From thence came a flock of crows, which settled, screaming, on Cicero’s boat, as it was coming to land. Sitting on each side of the yard-arm, some kept cawing, others plucked at the ends of the ropes; and all on board considered it an omen of ill. However, Cicero landed, and going to his villa, lay down to take some rest. Then the greater part of the crows sat on the window, screaming noisily, and one perched on the bed where Cicero lay covered up, and tried little by little, with its beak, to draw the coverlet from his face. When Cicero’s servants saw this, they reproached themselves for waiting to see their master slain; the lower animals, they said, were helping and caring for him in his undeserved troubles, yet they themselves were doing nothing for his protection.‡ Then partly by entreaties, and partly by force, they succeeded in taking him and conveying him in a litter towards the sea.

‘But now the murderers were at hand—a centurion named Herennius, and a tribune Popilius (whom Cicero had defended when charged with parricide), with attendant soldiers. Finding the door locked, they broke it open. When they did not find Cicero there, and those who were in the house said they did not know where he was, it is stated that a young man to whom Cicero had given a liberal education in literature and science, a freedman of his brother Quintus, called Philologus,§ told the tribune that

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\* Father and son each begged to be killed before the other. The murderers killed them both at the same moment (App. iv. 20).

† οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, App. iv. 19.

‡ The devotion of his slaves to the gentle and humane Marcus may be contrasted with the hatred which those of Quintus felt for their irascible master, a hatred so great that they betrayed him to the assassins.

§ Appian (iv. 19), who reproduces several of the details of Cicero’s death, says that the person who pointed out the road to the murderers was a shoemaker, a client of

the litter was being carried by rough woodland paths to the sea. The tribune then took a few men with him, and hastened to the end of the wood. When Herennius came running along the path, Cicero saw him, and ordered his servants to lay the litter down on the ground. Then, as was his wont, grasping his chin with his left hand, he looked fixedly on the assassins. When they saw him, all dishevelled and unkempt, his face haggard from anxiety, most of them covered their faces while Herennius slew him. He stretched his neck out of the litter, and was thus slain, in his 64th year. Herennius cut off his head, and, at the order of Antony, the hands which wrote the Philippics. When these were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an election of magistrates, and when he heard and saw what was done, he cried aloud that the main object of the proscriptions had been attained.\* He ordered Cicero's head and hands to be fixed above the rostra—a sight at which the Romans shuddered, for they seemed to see there, not the face of Cicero, but the image of Antony's soul.'

He bore none of his misfortunes as a man should except his death. So judged the fair-minded Livy.† Lack of steadfastness in the face of danger, lack of patience in the day of misfortune—these were the capital defects in Cicero's character. Everyone has his faults, says Seneca; Cato lacked moderation, Cicero firmness.‡ This was a characteristic possessed by the Republican heroes of the Empire whom Tacitus delighted to honour; so we are not surprised that in his historical works he only once mentions Cicero, whose literary style he disliked, and whose weakness he probably despised.§ But every man has the faults of his qualities; and we could not have the liveliness, brightness, quick sympathy, and delightfully mercurial temperament of Cicero

Clodius. Plutarch (Cic. 49) states that Philologus was said to have been given over to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus, who tortured him, compelling him to cut off portions of his flesh, roast them, and eat them. But Plutarch adds that Tiro is silent about the treachery of Philologus.

\* Cp. Vell. ii. 64, 4, *Tribuni [Cannutii] sanguine commissa proscriptio, Ciceronis velut satiatio Antonio paene finita.*

† Livy cxx., quoted by Senec. Suas. v. 22, *omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem.* The whole section is, as Seneca says, a funeral oration (ἐπιτάφιος) on Cicero.

‡ Controv. ii. 4, 4, *Nemo sine vitio est: in Catoe moderatio, in Cicerone constantia . . . desideratur.* See also the elaborate criticism of Pollio on Cicero given below, p. lxxxvi, in the sketch of Pollio.

§ Ann. iv. 34, 7, where his 'Cato' is mentioned.

without at the same time the timidity and instability which must accompany such highly-strung nerves, and such a delicately constituted organism. Yet it was only physical danger before which Cicero quailed. He had no lack of moral courage when he saw his way clearly. But his quick intellect, his capacity of seeing every side of a question, which, with his great powers of language, made him such an eminent advocate, made him at the same time a most severe critic of the conduct of others, and rendered his adoption of any course of action a perplexing and painful process. In the struggle between Caesar and Pompey, his judgment and his heart were divided one against the other: how then could the whole man act any strong part? But once Cicero saw his way clearly, he exhibited as much strength as can be demanded of human nature.\* And he always tried to direct his conduct by principles, and principles which tended to the greater glory of his country. Vulgar selfishness was never one of his faults, however much he may have been enthralled by fame, that last infirmity of noble mind. He had a real love of excellence no matter who exhibited it; and he was rich in that most beautiful gift that is given to man, perfect freedom from jealousy.† Cicero was perpetually boastful and vain, but it was a harmless vanity‡: he was occasionally ungrateful, for example to Caesar—

\* Quintil. xii. 1, 17, *Parum fortis videtur quibusdam quibus optime respondit ipse non se timidum in suscipiendis sed in providendis periculis; quod probavit morte quoque ipse quam praestantissimo suscepit animo.*

† Plut. Cic. 24, *καίπερ οὕτως ἀκράτῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ συνὼν ἀπὸ πᾶσιν τοῦ φθονεῖν ἐτέροις ἀφθονώτατος ὢν ἐν τῷ τοῦς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦς καθ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ἐγκωμιάζειν.*

‡ Cp. Mr. Strachan-Davidson, 'Cicero,' pp. 192 ff. 'Cicero's vanity is essentially of the innocuous and peacock-like kind.' Dio Cassius (xxxviii. 12) draws a very exaggerated picture of Cicero's faults. He notices that Cicero made many enemies by the pungency of his witticisms (cp. Phil. ii. 39; Macrob. Sat. ii. 3, 7); and, as it is in accordance with human nature to feel indignation at injuries more strongly than gratitude for favours, Cicero was more feared than loved. 'He also made most bitter enemies by always trying to eclipse the chief men in the State, and by adopting towards all alike a freedom of speech which was unmeasured and wearisome (τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ χρώμενος); and he strove to gain the reputation of being able to understand and say what no one else could, thus aiming at the semblance rather than the reality of excellence. On this account, and because he used to boast himself above all men, and consider no one his equal, but, both in his speeches alike and in his conduct, used to despise everyone and consider no one good enough for him (καὶ ἰσοδύνατος οὐδενὶ ἡξίου εἶναι), he became offensive and disagreeable



but Caesar was in his eyes a tyrant and traitor to the constitution : he was once mean, in his conduct towards Publilia. On the other hand, his strong affection for his family and friends shows the warm tenderness of his heart ; and with those of them who were unruly and violent, he was temperate and forbearing, though often sorely tried. But we need not proceed to estimate his merits further. ‘ He was a great and noteworthy man,’ said Livy, ‘ and it would require a Cicero to praise him.’\* We have not a Cicero to call on : but we may not unfitly conclude a long study of Cicero’s career by quoting from a historian, who combines rich eloquence with deep feeling and insight, a mature and well-considered judgment on Cicero’s character and on the real significance of his life and his work (Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, iii. 212, ed. 1865).

‘ But while Cicero stands justly charged with many grave infirmities of temper and defects of principle ; while we remark with a sigh the vanity, the inconstancy, and the ingratitude he so often manifested ; while we lament his ignoble subserviences and his ferocious resentments, the high standard by which we claim to judge him is in itself the fullest acknowledgment of his transcendent merit. For, undoubtedly, had he not placed himself on a higher moral level than the statesmen and sages of his day, we should pass over many of his weaknesses in silence, and allow his pretensions to our esteem to pass almost unchallenged. But we demand a nearer approach to the perfection of human wisdom and virtue in one who sought to approve himself the greatest of their teachers. Nor need we scruple to admit that the judgment of the ancients on Cicero was, for the most part, unfavourable. The moralists of antiquity required in their heroes virtues with which we can readily dispense ; and they, too, had less sympathy with many qualities which a truer religion and a wider experience have taught us to love and admire. Nor were they capable, from their position, of estimating the silent effects upon human happiness of the lessons which Cicero enforced.

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(φορτικός τε καὶ ἐπαχθής), and from these causes he was regarded even by those of his own party with jealousy and hatred.’ Such feeling of superiority on Cicero’s part does not appear in his correspondence, and did not exist. The miserable nobility felt their inferiority to the brilliant parvenu, and regarded as offensive and intolerable a man with noble thoughts and aspirations, or, indeed, anyone who possessed a mind not absolutely paltry and contemptible : cp. Plut. Cic. 24.

\* Livy l. c. *vir magnus ac memorabilis fuit et in cuius laudes exsequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit.*

After all the severe judgments we are compelled to pass on his conduct, we must acknowledge that there remains a residue of what is amiable in his character, and noble in his teaching, beyond all ancient example. Cicero lived and died in faith. He has made converts to the belief in virtue, and had disciples in the wisdom of love. There have been dark periods in the history of man, when the feeble ray of religious instruction paled before the torch of his generous philanthropy. The praise which the great critic pronounced upon his excellence in oratory may be justly extended to the qualities of his heart, and even in our enlightened days it may be held no mean advance in virtue to venerate the master of Roman philosophy.\*

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\* Quintil. x. 1, 112 *ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit*. Cp. St. Augustin, Confessions iii. 4, 7 (*Ciceronis*) *cuius linguam fere omnes mirantur, pectus non ita*—the celebrated passage in which he attributes the first step in his conversion to reading the *Hortensius* of Cicero.



## II.—CICERO'S CORRESPONDENTS.

## 1. L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.\*

EVERYTHING is said to come to the man who can wait: and though this maxim does not generally come true, it came true in the case of Plancus. He was a good waiter. But he had other qualities, too, useful for the man who wants to get on. He was a consummate 'artist in flattery,' to use Seneca's description of him.† A secondary person himself, he was able to flatter the great men who guided the destinies of the world. As long as fortune stood by them, he was their faithful servant: but when she shook her wings, he followed her and became the earnest servant of his former enemies. Destitute of principle, absorbed in one idea of being successful, he changed from one party to another with no scruple or pang whatever—constitutionally a traitor (*morbo proditor*).‡

L. Munatius Plancus was born about 667 (87). His father was a friend of Cicero's (789, 2). We hear of three of his brothers, Munatius Plancus Bursa, one of Cicero's bitterest enemies; Gaius, who was adopted by a rich Roman, L. Plotius, and of whom a touching story is told;§ and Gnaeus who led, in

\* In this sketch we have had the advantage of M. Emil Jullien's treatise *Le fondateur de Lyon* (Paris, 1892). He traces, in 215 pages, the career of Plancus with much learning, judgment, and discrimination. His arrangement is admirable, and his style lucid and flowing.

† N. Q. iv. praef. 5, *Plancus (adulationis) artifex ante Villeium maximus*.

‡ So Velleius (83, 1) describes him. Velleius was an enemy, and wrote when the children of Plancus were in disgrace: but the expression is hardly too strong.

§ Pliny, H. N. xiii. 25, mentions, with severity, that he was the first Roman who introduced the use of perfumes, and thinks that the sin of the proscriptions was wholly expiated by the fact that they visited him with death (*quo dedecore tota absoluta proscriptio est*). The judgment is severe. Hear the other side. Gaius was proscribed on account of his wealth: doubtless Lucius was compelled to consent to his death, but he gave him timely notice that he was proscribed so that he was able to escape. His pursuers after some time discovered where he was concealed—Pliny says by the odour

711 (43), a colony to Buthrotum.\* Lucius was one of Caesar's legati in Gaul in 700 (54), and in 705 (49) was with C. Fabius in command of Caesar's forces at Ilerda.† In the African war, 708 (46), he wrote to Considius, the commander of Hadrumetum, urging him to play the traitor.‡ During the winter of that year, when Caesar went to Spain, Plancus was one of the eight prefects of the city, appointed to administer the State, at the head of which was that ponderous nonentity, Lepidus. Plancus appears to have had the administration of the finances; and, in the course of his work in this department, was very nearly compelled to sell up Antony, who was reluctant to pay for Pompey's house, which he had bought in the sale of confiscated goods.§ The first letter, which is extant, from Cicero to Plancus was written about this time. It has reference to the property of a deceased Pompeian, one Antistius, which he left to Ateius Capito, but which was adjudged the property of the State because Antistius was a Pompeian. Cicero asks Plancus to use his influence with Caesar to secure the estate for Capito. We do not know the result.|| As finance official, Plancus was also director of the mint and coined many gold pieces of which we have not a few remaining.¶ Caesar next made Plancus Septemvir Epulo, and promised him the consulship for 712 (42); meanwhile he was to administer Gallia Comata (*i.e.*, all Gaul except Narbonensis).

of the perfumes. They tortured his slaves to find out from them the exact spot where their master was hidden, but no tortures could wring from them an answer. He, however, witnessed from concealment their sufferings and constancy, and voluntarily gave himself up to the executioners (Val. Max. vi. 8, 5).

\* Att. xvi. 16 A, B (767, 777).

† Caes. B. G. v. 24; B.C. i. 40.

‡ Bell. Afr. 4: Plancus asked Caesar to allow him to endeavour to bring Considius to his senses (*perduci ad sanitatem*).

§ Cic. Phil. ii. 78.

|| Fam. xiii. 29 (457). M. Jullien thinks it probable that Cicero gained his request—(1) because Caesar was inclined to conciliate Cicero, (2) because the correspondence of Cicero with Plancus, when it reappears, reads as if the intimacy of the two had ripened.

¶ They bear an image of Victory with the inscription C. CAESAR DIC. TER and on the reverse L. PLANC. PR. (or PRAEF.) VRB. M. Babelon (*Monnaies de la république*, ii. 239) thinks that the figure of Victory is a portrait of Calpurnia, wife of Caesar. If so, she was the first Roman lady who had her image on coins.

Plancus was still in Rome on the Ides of March. He took part in the debate on the 17th in favour of amnesty, but soon left for his province. Here he assumed the title of proconsul, and, by a judicious and conciliatory administration, won the hearts of the provincials. We constantly hear of their loyalty and devotion to him,\* and he soon got together a large body of cavalry and five legions. During the summer he founded a colony at Raurica, now Augst, near Basle, and made war on the Celtic Raeti. These he conquered, and assumed the title of imperator; later, at the end of 711 (43), he celebrated a triumph in honour of the victory. The correspondence of Cicero and Plancus, which is found in the Tenth Book *ad Familiares*, opens about the middle of September 710 (44), when Cicero was smarting under the treatment which he had received from Antony. He begins the series of letters addressed to the provincial governors, exhorting them to loyalty, by a letter to Plancus of whom he entertained a high opinion. Plancus frequently replied, and we have twelve of the letters of Plancus still extant. The cultivated style of these letters has deservedly excited the admiration of all scholars. Scaliger says that he considers nothing could be more finished than they are, nothing more refined, nothing more elegant or better rounded, and that without any trace of affectation or feeble imitation. They show, he thinks, how admirably Plancus caught the style of his master.† Certainly Plancus is the best stylist of all Cicero's correspondents, and shows himself, in this respect also, rarely gifted in powers of adaptation.

We have attempted, in the previous chapter, to treat of the position of Plancus in the troubled year from September 710 (44) to September 711 (43); and we have seen him at first a lukewarm supporter of the Senate; afterwards, when Antony cast covetous eyes on Gaul, their vigorous supporter, attempting to draw Lepidus over to their side, and acting in concert with Decimus Brutus; and lastly, when Antony and Lepidus had united their

\* 833, 6; 836, 1; 897, 2; 907, 1.

† Animad. ad Eusebii Chronicon, p. 168, quoted by M. Jullien, p. 43, 'Quantum vero Plancus sub tali magistro (i.e. Cicerone) profecerit ostendunt epistolae eius ad ipsum magistrum quibus ego iudico nihil absolutius esse, nihil castius, elegantius, rotundius, sine ulla putiditate et cacoelia.'

forces, and three months later Octavian had taken possession of Rome and crushed the republican party, a deserter from that cause and an active member of the dominant party. With the natural feelings of a renegade, he vigorously opposed the side he deserted.

But before September 711 (43), a decree of the Senate had been passed, probably in June, that certain Roman soldiers, who had been located at Vienne by Caesar, probably in 709 (45), but who had been driven out by the native population of the tribe of the Allobroges early in 710 (44), should be established in a new colony by Lepidus and Plancus.\* Caesar had planted in colonies in the Narbonese considerable masses of soldiers who had served together and were thus used to act in concert—generally men of the same legion,† and Vienne was one of these foundations. The Senate did not dispossess the Allobroges who had driven out the Roman soldiers, because, the factions of the city having penetrated into the provincial towns,‡ the veterans (as always) were Caesarians, and accordingly the Allobroges professed, and indeed exhibited (855, 1: 900, 4), loyalty to the Government. The Senate, however, in order to maintain the dignity of the Republic, and also to conciliate the veterans, ordered that new lands should be assigned them. Plancus executed the commission, and the flourishing colony of Lugudunum was the result.§

\* Why was Lepidus chosen to co-operate with Plancus when he had joined forces with Antony previously on May 29? The fact was the Senate, during June, were at their wits' end to know how to treat Lepidus. They did not support Cicero cordially, as his policy, especially with regard to Octavian, looked like a failure. Lepidus had a considerable party supporting him in the Senate, and it was known that Marcus Brutus would not favour any strong measures which might be taken against him. The chief aim of the Senate was to gain time to keep Lepidus from immediately marching into Italy. Accordingly they gave him orders to join with Plancus in founding the colony. Vienne was in Narbonese, and the new colony was to be founded in the territory of Plancus. But Lepidus did not participate in the honours of the foundation; the colony always regarded Plancus alone as the founder. Possibly the first formal acts of the foundation took place between June 30, when Lepidus was outlawed, and August or September when the sentence of outlawry was annulled. Or we may suppose that Lepidus did not take any part in the ceremony, though he had the right to do so, and accordingly could not be regarded as the founder. But it is better to consider that the formal ceremony took place early in August. No mention is made of it in the last letter from Plancus, dated July 28 (916).

† Thus the veterans of the X. legion were settled at Narbonne; those of the VIII. at Forum Julii, &c.

‡ Cp. the factions at Pompeii, Cic. *Sull.* 60, 61.

§ See Jullien, chap. 4.

While the horrors of the proscriptions were everywhere, and his brother was either dead or flying for his life, Plancus, on December 29th, celebrated a triumph *ex Gallia*,\* in commemoration of which he placed in the Capitol a picture by a great artist Nicomachus, representing victory raising his chariot aloft.† Three days later Plancus entered on the consulship for the year 712 (42). Horace was then a hot-blooded young spark of 22, not ready to submit to any insult (Hor. Od. iii., 14, 27, *Non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa Consule Planco*). During his consulship Plancus carried a praiseworthy law which mitigated the proscriptions and allowed many of those who were condemned, but had escaped, to return. He showed much judgment and adroitness in quelling a military *émeute* by summarily executing some slaves who had joined with the soldiers in plundering‡; and probably to this time is to be assigned his division of lands at Beneventum. In the Perusian war he stood by Fulvia, and performed the only meritorious military achievement of that party; he cut to pieces a legion of Octavian. When the catastrophe came, he escaped with Fulvia to the East. He was received with much favour by Antony, and returned with him to Italy. During the journey, with characteristic caution, he advised Antony not to trust himself to Ahenobarbus, who had been persuaded by Pollio to put his fleet at the disposal of Antony. Antony, with equally characteristic generosity and recklessness, declared it better to die by treachery than live after showing himself a coward; and he was rewarded for his courage.§ It was during the time of these events that Plancus is supposed to have governed Asia; but, as we have seen, he was otherwise occupied, so that it is best to infer that the Plancus who governed Asia was one of his brothers, perhaps Cicero's old enemy, Bursa.

Plancus returned to the East with Antony where he showed his versatility by becoming one of the chief authorities on the *cuisine* of Antony's court.|| He was judge of the celebrated bet

\* Fast. Triumph. in C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 179; cp. Vell. ii. 67, 4, *De germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant consules* (Lepidus and Plancus), a satirical verse sung by the soldiers at their triumph. Lepidus allowed his brother Paullus to be proscribed.

† Plin. H. N. xxxv. 108.

‡ App. iv. 35, 37, 45.

§ App. v. 33, 55.

|| Cp. Schol. on Hor. Sat. ii. 2, 49 *Ciconiarum Rufus iste conditor Illic est duobus elegantior Plancis*.



made by Cleopatra that she would drink 10,000 sesterces at a draught; and the triumphator is said to have publicly danced a pantomime called Glaucus.\* But he also did more serious work. His excellent literary style was used in the composition, or, at all events, the correction, of Antony's speeches and edicts. We know what a very poor stylist Antony was. Generous and unsuspecting, Antony reposed the utmost confidence in Plancus, and even entrusted him with his seal, which was tantamount to giving him entire power to act on his behalf.

In 718 (36) Plancus was governor of Syria; and during his administration of that province, he received the title of imperator for some trifling successes. He is said to have plundered the province—a stock charge, which may, or may not, be true; and to have forfeited the good opinion of Antony for so doing—which is absurd. His real ground of quarrel with Antony was that Antony was gradually surrendering himself more and more, body and soul, to Cleopatra. Of this Plancus seriously disapproved, with the result that he became hateful to Cleopatra;† and when, finally, Cleopatra, in her endeavour to provoke a contest between the rulers of the East and West, urged Antony to divorce Octavia—then it was that Plancus felt that the crisis had come, and he had to choose between Rome and Egypt. He escaped with his nephew Titius to Rome in the middle of 722 (32), and was soon followed by many more of those who had previously been staunch friends of Antony.

Plancus now surpassed himself in meanness. As Antony's private secretary he knew of Antony's will, and had even been a witness to it. He knew how damaging some of the clauses in it might be to Antony, and urged that it should be published. Plancus knew that it had been lodged, as wills often were, with the Vestals. They refused to give it up. Caesar took it. Antony's recognition of Caesarion as son of Julius, and his grant of extravagant gifts to his own sons by Cleopatra, excited deep indignation.‡ Plancus related in the Senate the dotage deeds of the love-sick Antony, with such meanness and in such detail that a senator said, 'Antony must have committed a vast number of infamous acts the day before your departure,' indicating sarcastically

\* Plin. H. N. ix. 12; Vell. ii. 83.

† Plut. Ant. 58.

‡ Dio Cass. 1, 3.



that of course otherwise the rigidly righteous Planeus would have left him long before.\*

In the war which he had thus contributed to excite, Planeus doubtless took part, but we do not hear in what capacity. After the victory at Actium he retired into private life. There does not appear to have been any place for him in the administration of the State. In melancholy mood, he thought of retiring to Greece, whither so many of those had repaired who were discontented with the state of politics at Rome. Horace urges him not to leave Italy, but to repair to the shade of his Tibur, and drown his sorrows with mellow wine. The noble language and the ignoble thought of that celebrated ode (i. 7) are familiar to all. Planeus did not go to Greece; but he did not take to drink either. He applied his versatile talent to oratory, and attained some measure of success.† After being a friend of Pollio, he quarrelled with him. Pollio wrote an invective which, in somewhat cowardly style, he did not intend to publish until Planeus was dead. It got out, however. ‘Only shadows fight against the dead,’ said Planeus, a sarcasm which did grievous damage to the reputation of Pollio.‡

Yet Planeus appears a few times more in the field of public life after the battle of Actium. In 727 (27) he proposed, with much adroitness, that the title of Augustus should be bestowed on Octavian. Augustus did not wish to be regarded as a god at Rome, yet this title raised him perceptibly above the level of man.§ Planeus rebuilt the temple of Saturn certainly after 719 (35), perhaps after the battle of Actium, when so many other buildings were

\* Vell. ii. 83, 3, *Haud absurde Coponius . . . cum recens transfuga multa ac nefanda Planeus absenti Antonio in senatu diceret, ‘Multa,’ inquit, ‘mercurius fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relinqueres.’*

† In Seneca Cont. i. 8, 15, we should read *summus amator Latronis* for *summus declamator Latronis*: but St. Jerome speaks of Planeus as *orator insignis*.

‡ Plin. H. N. praef. 31, *Nec Planeus illepidi, cum diceretur Asinius Pollio orationes in eum parare quae ab ipso aut liberis post mortem Planci ederentur, ne respondere posset: cum mortuis non nisi larvas luctari; quo dicto sic repercutit illas ut apud eruditos nil impudentius indicetur.*

§ Suet. Aug. 7, *non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine, quod loca quoque religiosa et in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur.* Cp. Ovid Fast. i. 609 ff.

erected at Rome.\* In 731 (23) Plancus was censor with Aemilius Paullus, but they could not agree. They were the last censors who were ordinary citizens, and henceforth the great office may be said to have been abolished.† The date of the death of Plancus is not known. The inscription on his tomb—probably composed by himself, as there is no notice of the length of time he lived—is preserved at Gaeta (C. I. L. x. 6087). *L. Munatius L. f. L. n. L. pron(epos) Plancus cos. cens. imp. iter (um) vivir epulon(um) triumph(hator) ex Raetis aedem Saturni fecit de manib(iis) agros divisit in Italia Beneventi in Gallia colonias deduxit Lugudunum et Rauricam.* The tomb is now called the Torre d'Orlando, and is the chief object of interest at Gaeta. It 'consists of a huge circular structure of travertine blocks, resembling that of Caecilia Metella at Rome. Round the top runs a frieze with warlike emblems. A more magnificent site for such a monument cannot well be conceived.'‡ To Plancus, in his life, and death, and memory, Fortune has been a faithful mistress.

He had three children—Munatius Plancus, with whom Horace was on friendly terms (Epist. i. 3, 31), and who seems to have been consul in 767 (13)§; a daughter, little known (Tac. Ann. ii. 75); and the notorious Plancina. The good fortune of the father deserted the children.

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## 2. DECIMUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.

On the reading of Caesar's will, says Appian, a painful effect was caused when Decimus Brutus, who had been a prominent member of the conspiracy, was found to be one of Caesar's second heirs.||

\* The inscription on the temple was (C. I. L. vi. 1316) *L. Plancus L. f. cos. imp. it(erum) f(ecit) de manib(iis)*. Plancus was saluted imperator for the second time in 719 (35).

† Claudius, Vespasian, and Domitian renewed the office, but retained it in their own hands.

‡ Bäder, Southern Italy, p. 18.

§ He was roughly handled by the soldiers of Germanicus when he was sent to them by the Senate (Tac. Ann. i. 39).

|| App. ii. 143, οἰκτιστον δὲ ἐφάνη μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Δέκμος ὁ

Human nature cannot, and should not, condone ingratitude : it is the unpardonable sin. Caesar had a strong regard for Decimus : he treated him as one of his family ; and not only was Decimus base enough to join in the conspiracy, but he even made use of the ‘dear, dear love’ which he professed to have for Caesar to urge him to come to the Senate on the fatal Ides.\* We must approve of the conduct of Octavian in refusing to have any friendly relations at any time with Decimus, and forbear to censure Antony, whose besetting sin was certainly not ingratitude, for insisting that he should pay with his life a just punishment for his treachery. The very rank and file of the soldiers singled out Decimus for especial hostility.†

Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus was son of the Decimus Junius Brutus who distinguished himself in opposing Saturninus and subsequently was consul in 677 (77), and the brilliant but notorious Sempronius.‡ He was adopted by Aulus Postumius Albinus, consul in 655 (99), and from him obtained the additional cognomen of Albinus. He was young in 698 (56), when we first hear of him as being appointed by Caesar to be admiral of the fleet. In this position he acted with success against the Veneti. He doubtless continued to serve in Gaul under Caesar, but he is not mentioned again till 702 (52), when he took part in the campaign against Vereingetorix.§ Returning to Rome in 704 (50) he married Paulla Valeria,|| but soon went back to Caesar. Once more, in 705 (49), Caesar put him in command of the fleet which was besieging Massilia ; and again Decimus, acting under the auspices of a commanding mind, fulfilled the duties of his position with skill and success. He gained a victory in a battle, and ultimately the town surrendered.¶ Next year he was appointed

Βροῦτος ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις κληρονόμοις ἐγγράπτο παῖς . . . ἐφ’ ᾧ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον συνεταρ-  
άσσοντο, καὶ δεῖνόν καὶ ἀθέμιστον ἡγοῦντο καὶ Δέκμον ἐπιβουλευσαὶ Καίσαρι, παῖδα  
αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον εἶναι.

\* Plut. Caes. 64.

† Phil. x. 15. *Etsi est enim Brutorum commune factum et laudis societas aequa, Decimo tamen iratiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri debuisse.*

‡ Cic. Rabir. 21 : Brut. 175 : Sallust Cat. 25, 40.

§ Caes. B. G. iii. 11, 14 ; vii. 9, 87.

|| Fam. viii. 7 (243).

¶ Caes. B. C. i. 36, 56-58 : ii. 3, 5, 6, 22.

by Caesar to the Governorship of Transalpine Gaul; and a year or two afterwards he successfully put down a revolt of the Bellovaci, one of the most warlike of the Belgic tribes.\* Meritorious as these actions were, they were not in themselves the ground for the special favour with which Caesar always regarded Decimus, and which was shown in a striking manner by his choosing him along with Antony and Octavian to accompany him in his chariot on his return from Spain to Italy in 709 (45)†: no, Caesar had a real affection for him. He was promised the praetorship for 710 (44), and subsequently the government of Cisalpine Gaul; and he was to hold the consulship in 712 (42).

The motives which urged Decimus to join the conspiracy can only be conjectured. Possibly he was jealous of the great favour shown by Caesar to Octavian and Antony. We have seen that, along with Octavian, these two were especial favourites of Caesar. Shakespeare represents Decimus (or Decius as he calls him) as being the first to suggest that Caesar be not the only victim—

*Dec.* Shall no man else be touched but only Caesar?

*Cass.* Decius, well urged: I think it is not meet

Mark Antony, so well beloved of Caesar,

Should outlive Caesar.‡

It was Decimus, to whom was assigned the duty of keeping Antony in conversation while the murder was being perpetrated.§ Decimus is said to have hesitated about joining the conspiracy when first solicited by Cassius and Labeo; but when he understood that Marcus Brutus was at the head of it, he promised him his hearty co-operation.||

After the murder of Caesar, Decimus was able to lend some assistance to his fellow-conspirators, as he had at his disposal a band of gladiators, whom he had collected for a show which was shortly to be given. Further, Decimus, as Governor of Cisalpine Gaul, had a considerable military force under his command, though it had, as Appian says (ii. 124), lost much of its spirit, owing to the severe labour it had recently undergone. He could, therefore, have

\* Liv. Epit. 114.

† Plut. Ant. 11.

‡ Jul. Caes. ii. 1, 155.

§ Plut. Caes. 66.

|| Plut. Brut. 12.

played a considerable part in public affairs immediately after the Ides if he had been a man of large views or even one of resolute courage. But in a letter written to M. Brutus and Cassius on the morning of March 17th, we find him feeble, despondent, and irresolute at the first decided opposition on the part of Antony. That vigorous man, who, until the days of Cleopatra, always rose to the occasion, declared that he, as consul, would not allow Decimus to take his province, and that Decimus had better leave the city on account of the violent state of indignation which the people felt towards the tyrannicides. In his perplexity Decimus thinks of asking for a *legatio libera*, is uncertain whether it will be granted, fears sentence of exile even if it is granted, proposes retirement to Rhodes or Mitylene, contemplates even the possibility of having recourse to the last refuge for human ills. He thinks that the only safety for the conspirators lay with Sextus Pompeius or Caecilius Bassus, the enemies of their country. Finally, after a talk with Hirtius, he, with a certain note of querulousness, determines to ask the consul to allow him to remain at Rome under police protection.\* This letter is in the highest degree characteristic. It shows the irresolution, faint-heartedness, and peevishness which marked the man even to his last moments. As long as he had some master-mind on whom he could rely for support and guidance, he was able and efficient; but thrown on his own resources he was most miserably wanting.†

Within a fortnight, Decimus left for his province. Cicero, at Puteoli on April 26, heard that he had joined his army in Cisalpine Gaul.‡ There, during the summer, he set his legions to the task of harrying the Inalpini and other Alpine tribes. The soldiers were probably not unwilling to engage in such warfare, and they became more attached to their commander and better disciplined. As the result of these raids, Decimus appealed for the honour of a triumph.§ But meanwhile Antony had succeeded in having Cisalpine Gaul transferred to him: he did not, however,

\* Fam. xi. 1 (700).

† Cp. Plut. Brut. 12, τὸν ἕτερον Βροῦτον ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀλβίνον, ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ὄντα δέκτην οὐδὲ θαρραλέον.

‡ Att. xiv. 13, 2 (718).

§ Fam. xi. 4 (796).



make any effort to take it until the next year. The siege of Mutina that followed, the sally of Decimus, the defeat of Antony, the relief of the town, the delay of Decimus to pursue Antony, his futile march in pursuit, and his final junction with Plancus in Gaul about the middle of June, have been related in detail in the previous chapter (pp. xliii–liv), and need not be repeated here.

When Octavian was elected consul with Pedius on August 18, 711 (43), Decimus was one of the first to be deprived of his command and sentenced to death, while Antony and Lepidus were virtually rehabilitated, though the sentence of outlawry was not formally rescinded until some time afterwards. Pollio, marching up from Spain, had joined Antony, and used his influence to draw Plancus over to the same side. Decimus was thus left unsupported. He made an attempt to work his way round through the territory of the Helvetii, and the Rhaetian and Carnic Alps to the East. But his soldiers, mostly recruits, would not face the difficulties of the journey: besides Decimus had spent nearly all his money\* ; and soldiers who would support a cause without very reasonable hope of being paid for it were not very numerous in those days. They deserted by degrees, in ever increasing numbers—the recruits to Octavian, the veterans to Antony†—until his army of ten legions was reduced to three hundred cavalry, and finally to ten horsemen. He disguised himself as a Celt, but was taken by brigands. He knew their chief Camilus, and had done him good service on a previous occasion. Camilus pretended to return the kindness, but sent to acquaint Antony that Decimus was his prisoner.‡ It was treachery to a benefactor; but Decimus was the last person who could with justice condemn such treatment. Even Antony was moved at the changes of fortune, but sent back an order for the head of Decimus. The story goes that at the last moment Decimus showed most un-Roman weakness. A friend,

\* Strabo. iv. 7, p. 205, says that D. Brutus, ‘when flying from Mutina,’ was compelled by the Salassi, who lived about Eporodia, to pay a drachma a man for permission to pass. This probably refers to his march up to join Plancus.

† Appian (iii. 97) says that Decimus voluntarily allowed them to depart, and gave them what money he still possessed.

‡ Liv. Epit. 120; Vell. ii. 64.



Helvius Blasio killed himself to give his general courage.\* “Stretch out your neck,” said the executioner. “Upon my life, I will do so,” answered Decimus, paltering before the inevitable: and posterity remembered the death of the traitor as a subject not for pity, but for a jest and a laugh.†

### 3. C. ASINIUS POLLIO.

The elder brother of C. Asinius Pollio possessed some little sleight of hand, and used that gift to steal napkins when he went out to dinner. Catullus assured him that the practice was a silly and ugly one, not at all amusing; and that his brother Pollio would tell him so, for ‘that boy, with his clear idea of what is charm and wit,’‡ considers his brother deserving of a good trouncing for his vulgarity.

At the time Catullus wrote this poem, young Pollio was about 15, having been born in 678 (76). He appears to have studied rhetoric diligently, and when only 22 he had the courage to attack C. Cato, a creature of the triumvirs, who played a considerable part in politics about the time of the second consulship of Pompey and Crassus.§ Cato was acquitted, but Pollio accomplished his purpose of making ‘his mark’ among the rising pleaders of the day. For his prosecution of Cato did not mean that Pollio was an ardent republican: he probably at that time had no politics. Four years

\* Dio Cass. xlv. 53. Another story of a loyal friend to Decimus is told in Val. Max. iv. 7, 6; but it may be only a different account of the story told by Dio.

† App. iii. 97, 98; Dio l.c.; Senec. Epist. 82, 12, *Brutus qui cum periturus mortis moras quaereret ad exonerandum ventrem secussit et evocatus ad mortem iussusque praebere cervicem ‘Praebebo’ inquit ‘ita vivam.’ Quae demencia est fugere cum retro ire non possis.* Brutus did not remember that Caesar had said, as they sat together at dinner on the day before the Ides, that the best death was the quickest (App. ii. 115).

‡ Catull. 12, 9, *leporum disertus puer et facetiarum.* So we should read with Ellis and the mss.; not *differtus*, with Passerat. The meaning of *disertus* is ‘clear,’ ‘lucid,’ with the genitive ‘clear in respect of,’ like the genit. found after such words as *doctus*, *peritus*. For Pollio’s wit cp. Quintil. vi. 3, 110, *de Pollione Asinio seriis iocisque pariter accommodato dictum est esse eum omnium hominum.*

§ Fam. i. 2, 4 (96); 5 a. 2 (99), cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 15 (53), *adolescens nullius consilii sed tamen civis Romanus et Cato.*

later we find him with Caesar, and in 705 (49) he crossed the Rubicon with his general.\* Caesar sent him with Curio to Sicily and Africa, and Pollio did good service, after the disastrous fight at Ruspina in which Curio lost his life, in gathering together the remnants of the army.† After this he crossed with Caesar to Greece, and fought at Pharsalia. Viewing the slain of the senatorial party after the battle, Caesar said to Pollio (Suet. Caes. 30):—‘They *would* have it so: after all my services I, Gaius Caesar, should have been condemned if I had not called the army to my assistance.’

Returning to Rome, Pollio was tribune for 707 (47), and opposed the foolish socialistic proceedings of Dolabella. But the trumpet again sounded, and Pollio crossed again to Africa, where we hear that, by bringing timely aid on one occasion, he and Caesar prevented a really serious disaster.‡ Next year he wrote to Cicero from Spain.§ He fought at Munda, and appears to have returned home with Caesar, and to have been appointed praetor.|| But he was speedily despatched back again to Spain to keep in check Sext. Pompeius, who had begun once more to collect forces. Velleius says that his campaign was ‘most glorious’; but Dio Cassius says that he was defeated, and only escaped ruin by the reconciliation effected by Lepidus between Sextus and the government after the death of Caesar. Dio (xlv. 10) tells a story that Pollio fled from the field, and in order to escape notice threw away his cloak, and disappeared for a time; that a distinguished cavalry officer named Pollio was reported among the slain; and that a combination of these two facts led both armies to consider that the commander-in-chief had fallen, the result being that the Romans surrendered.

After the death of Caesar, Pollio still continued to govern Further Spain with three legions, having his residence at Corduba. In the three letters (824, 890, 896) which he wrote to Cicero in the first half of 711 (43), he professed adherence to the government; ‘there is no danger which I shall avoid or shrink from or refuse in defence of liberty’; but he adduces many

\* Plut. Caes. 32.

† App. ii. 40, 45, 46.

‡ Plut. Ant. 9; Caes. 52.

§ Att. xii. 38 a. 2 (581).

|| Vell. ii. 73.

reasons for his taking no decisive steps in the war against Antony. The consuls had sent him no instructions, neither had Cicero; Lepidus was acting in concert with Antony, and blocked the way against any march from Spain into Italy: his own legions were being influenced by lavish promises on the part of Antony. Still he declared that he would remain loyal to the government and would not surrender his province to anyone except the governor appointed from Rome. He professed determined enmity to anything like despotic power, and a resolution not to survive the free state. At the same time he expressed himself most desirous of peace, and full of longing for the pleasant and cultivated society of his friends in the capital. On the 8th of July he started to march to the scene of conflict: but it was a long way from Corduba; and when he arrived at the Rhone, Octavian was master of Rome, and Antony master of 20 legions. Pollio is not to be censured for having joined the stronger side. He was cordially received, and negotiated so effectively with Plancus, that he too was absorbed in the Antonian multitude.

In 712 (42) Pollio was appointed governor of Transpadane Gaul by Antony, and succeeded in saving Virgil's farm at Andes from confiscation. Next year 713 (41) L. Antonius and Fulvia raised the insurrection against Octavian, which culminated at Perusia. Pollio again temporized. He was ostensibly on the side of the revolt; but, like Ventidius and Plancus, was very uncertain as to the view Marcus Antonius would take of his brother's action. Accordingly he did not advance to the assistance of Lucius Antonius further than Ravenna. There he remained until the event was decided. He was pardoned by Octavian: but a more trusty governor, Alfenus Varus was appointed to Transpadane Gaul. Next year 714 (40) Pollio took part with Coecilius and Maecenas in negotiating the Treaty of Brundisium. Returning to Rome with the reconciled masters of East and West, he was rewarded with the consulship for a portion of the year. It was in the hopes of a return of tranquillity and order which were inspired by this reconciliation that Virgil wrote the famous Fourth Eclogue, the Pollio.\*

\* Cp. Ecl. 4, 11, *Teque adeo decus hoc ævi, te consule inibit, Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses.*

Pollio still remained Antony's lieutenant, and next year was sent by him against the Parthians in Dalmatia.\* Pollio conducted the expedition with success, took their town of Salonae, and returning to Rome celebrated his Dalmatian triumph.† He had now fulfilled all that was fairly to be demanded from him of service to the State; and he was at liberty to retire from active political service, and devote himself to the more congenial pursuits of poetry, history, and oratory. He often spoke in the Senate and in the Courts; but his public life was over. In 722 (32) when Caesar marched against Antony, he asked Pollio to accompany him. Pollio pleaded in excuse 'my services to Antony are greater, but his kindness to me better known: accordingly, I shall withdraw myself from the struggle between you and fall a prey to the victor.'‡ He died about 4 A.D., aged 80, in his villa at Tusculum.

Roman literature and art owed much to Pollio. Not only was he patron of Horace and Virgil, but he established the first public library at Rome, and made a large collection of works of art to which he admitted the public.§ The practice of reciting literary works which was so common under the Empire was introduced by Pollio.|| But besides this, Pollio was distinguished as a poet, an historian, an orator, and a critic.¶ Of his poetry we have only the biassed and official opinions of Horace and Virgil.\*\* One half-line of Pollio remains, quoted by Charisius (i. p. 100, 24 K.)—

Veneris antistita Cupra,

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\* Scodra, in Illyricum, was the limit which divided the territories of the two greater triumvirs, Lepidus having to content himself with Africa.

† Dio xlviii. 41; Hor. Od. ii. 1, 15, *Cui laurus aeternos honores Delmatico peperit triumpho*; cp. the fine lines in Virg. Ecl. 8, 8-13, a poem also addressed to Pollio. Pollio called his son, born in this year, Saloninus, in honour of his own achievement in this war.

‡ Vell. ii. 86, 3, *discrimini vestro me subtraham et ero praeda victoris*.

§ Plin. H. N. xxxv. 10, xxxvi. 33.

|| Seneca Controv. iv. praef. 2, *Pollio Asinius nunquam admissa multitudo declamavit; nec illi ambitio in studiis defuit: primus enim omnium Romanorum advocatis hominibus scripta sua recitavit*.

¶ We hear that Pollio, great worker as he was, never did anything, never even read a letter, after the tenth hour: cp. Senec. De Tranquill. Animi, 17.

\*\* Hor. Od. ii. 1, 10 (for tragedies which were apparently acted), *Paullum severae Musa tragoediae Desit theatris*. Cp. Sat. i. 10, 42, *Pollio regum Facta canit pede ter*

but without having something more than this, we refuse to reconstruct the poet. In his historical work on the civil wars from the consulship of Metellus to the year 712 (42), he exhibited much independence, and generally a sincere love of truth. He spoke rationally of the numbers slain on the senatorial side at Pharsalia, and in high terms of Brutus and Cassius.\* The history of Pollio was much used by Plutarch and Appian, and is by some scholars supposed to be the original authority from which a rhetor composed Brut. i. 16, 17 (864, 865). Pollio affected the use of archaic words; and Ateius, the grammarian, warned him against the obscure and extravagant style of Sallust, advising him to use no other than the ordinary, common, and recognised terms to express his ideas.† Both in style and method Pollio served as a model for some of the great writers of the Empire: ‘and it is to me quite certain,’ says Schmalz (Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio, p. 6), ‘that Pollio, in other respects too (besides Book vii. of the Hist. Nat.), was the model of Pliny; and if we had Pollio’s Histories as well as Pliny’s work on Germany, a regular connexion between Pollio, Pliny, and Tacitus would be established, a connexion in respect not merely of contents, but also of systematic continuance of the opposition which Pollio inaugurated to the prevailing literary style of his day.’

Pollio was exceptionally, even unduly, careful in his composition; yet, though vigorous, it was often rough and unfinished, ‘so dry and hard he is,’ says Tacitus in one place. He was fond of introducing quotations from the older writers, Accius and Pacuvius. Quintilian says that, “notwithstanding his carefulness, judgment, and vigour, he was so far from the brightness and charm of Cicero, that he seems to belong to a previous generation.”‡

*percusso*, where it is possible that *Fata* should be read; see Palmer ad loc: Virg. Ecl. 3, 86; 8, 10, *Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno*. He also appears to have written erotic poems: Plin. Ep. v. 3, 5.

\* App. ii. 82; Tac. Ann. iv. 34.

† Suet. Gramm. 10.

‡ Tac. Dial. 21, *adeo durus et siccus est*: Quintil. x. 1, 113, *Multa in Asinio Pollione inventio, summa diligentia, adeo ut quibusdam etiam nimia videatur, et consilii et animi satis; a nitore et incunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest, ut videri possit saceulo prior*: ep. i. 8, 11; x. 2, 25; 17 *tristes ac iciuni Pollionem aemulantur*. Tacitus (Dial. 25) characterises the chief orators as follows:—*Adstrictior Calvus, numerosior Pollio*



Seneca, the philosopher (Epist. 100, 7), draws a pointed contrast between the two:—

‘Read Cicero: his style is uniform; it marches along slowly and softly without sinking to effeminacy. But Pollio’s, on the contrary, is rugged and jerky (*salebrosa et exsiliens*), and, just where you least expect it, sure to fail you. Finally, all Cicero’s periods come to a regular conclusion (*desinunt*), Pollio’s to a sudden collapse (*cadunt*), with the exception of a very few passages which are composed according to a definite rule and an uniform model.’

Pollio was one of the most influential, if not the most influential, of the opponents of the Ciceronian style; but his aggressive and arrogant nature\* was irritated to the last degree by the increasing favour accorded to the lucidity and charm of Cicero’s language and style of oratory; and in his irritation he transcended all bounds of fair criticism, actually descending to downright dishonesty. He passed for the most hostile of all the ancients to the renown of Cicero†; but that was no excuse for his publishing in his speech for Lamia—for they who heard the speech declare that he did not utter the words—such a gross and scandalous lie as that

‘Cicero was quite ready to disown the speeches which he had delivered with all his heart and soul against Antony; to publish many times as many speeches of a contrary tenour; and even himself to deliver them in public to a meeting.’

On condition that Antony should spare his life, Pollio added many more degrading charges, but so absurd were they that nobody believed them. He did not, however, venture to insert such statements in his histories.‡ We happily have the judgment

*Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero.* If the mss did not forbid, we should wish (with Meiser and Gudeman) to read *nervosior Asinius*. His style was eminently ‘muscular.’ Valerius Maximus (viii. 13 ext. 4) speaks of Pollio as *nervosae vivacitatis* (‘longevity’) *haud parvum exemplum*.

\* Seneca Controv. iv. prae f. 4, *Pollionem contumacem natura*: cp. Tac. Ann. i. 12, *Asinii ferociam*. We read that the cross-grained historian Timagenes who attacked the whole imperial family, after Augustus renounced friendship with him, lived at Pollio’s house: cp. Senec. De Ira iii. 23.

† Seneca Suas. 6, 14, *infestissimus famae Ciceronis permansit*.

‡ Senec. Suas. 6, 14–15. The whole of this sixth Suasoria is on the subject, ‘*Deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur*.’



preserved which Pollio, as a historian, passed on Cicero. He thought fit indeed to contrast the courage shown by Verres in the face of death with the pusillanimity of Cicero—of which by the way there is no evidence; but, ‘however unwilling,’ as Seneca says, he finally sums up Cicero’s character in these words :—

‘When so many and such important works of Cicero are destined to live for all time, to speak of his genius and industry is superfluous. Nature and Fortune alike were kind to him; he had a handsome face, and up to old age he always enjoyed good health. Moreover it was his good fortune to live during a long period of peace, in all the arts of which he was a master. For when trials were conducted with the strictness of ancient times a great crop of criminals sprang up, whom, when they were accused, he by his advocacy restored to freedom. He was most fortunate in the conditions under which he stood for the consulship, and, in the conduct of it, the gods were very bountiful to him owing to his judgment and energy. I would fain that he could have borne prosperity with greater moderation, and adversity with greater firmness. For when either fortune fell to his lot, he thought no change was possible: hence the storms of unpopularity rose violently around him, and his enemies were emboldened to attack him with greater confidence, for he courted hostilities with greater spirit than he faced them. But since no human being is of absolute virtue, our judgment of a man must be on the side on which his life and character show the greater balance: and I would never call the end he met with pitiable had he not himself thought that death was such a calamity.’

The praise, such as it is, is niggardly and grudging; and we refuse to assent to Seneca’s criticism when he says :—

‘I can assure you there is no passage in Pollio’s Histories more eloquent than the one I have quoted: he seems to me there, not only to have praised Cicero, but to have rivalled Cicero.’

Both language and manner are entirely un-Ciceronian. When Cicero praised, he praised with the whole of his warm and enthusiastic heart.

Pollio was a severe critic\*: he was also a hard, unfeeling man. He considered it a thing to boast of that he took his dinner as usual on the day his son died. His hostility to the memory of Cicero warped his moral sense, and even over-mastered his temper so completely, that, according to a well-known story, he became

\* Many examples are to be found in Seneca the Rhetorician: see Kiessling’s Index.

quite boorish in his manners when praise was rendered to his former friend. An indifferent poet, one Sextilius Ena, recited a poem on Cicero in Messalla's house. When some applause greeted the verse

Defendus Cicero Latiaequae silentia linguae,

Pollio, who was one of the guests, started up and said:—‘Of course, Messalla, you may allow what you think fit in your own house. I certainly will not listen to that man who considers me unable to speak,’\* and forthwith left the room. He had the bad taste to declare in his speech for the heirs of Urbinia that the very fact that the opposing counsel was Labienus was a positive argument that his opponents' case was a bad one.† The severity of his criticism was notorious, and he was very ready to censure others for faults, of which he was equally guilty himself.‡ Thus he censured Sallust for using strange words, an error to which he himself was signally prone§; and it was Pollio who accused Livy of “Patavinity,” which, to judge from the context of the passage in Quintilian, must have had reference to the introduction of strange words.||

Yet Pollio was a very considerable personality, with strong opinions, which he liked to express strongly; and he exercised no small influence on oratory, history, and literature, as we may

\* Senec. Suas. 6, 27.

† Quintil. iv. 1, 11. The cause of his hatred to Labienus may have been that he said, ‘The old gentleman (Pollio) has won a triumph, but he never has had the courage to publish any of his theses’: cp. Senec. Controv. iv., praef. 2, *ille triumphalis senex ἀποδοῦναι suas nunquam populo commisit*.

‡ Senec. Controv. iv. praef. § 3, *illud strictum eius et asperum et nimis iratum in censendo* (so Jahn rightly for *incendio*) *iudicium adeo cessabat ut in multis illi venia opus esset quae ab ipso vix impetrabatur*.

§ Suet. Gramm. 10: cp. Gell. x. 26, where it is said that Pollio criticised Sallust for using *transgressors* of soldiers who crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, as *transgredi* should be used only in the case of walking.

|| Talking of foreign words which had come into the language Quintilian i. 5, 26, says:—*Taceo de Tuscis et Sabinis et Praenestinis quoque: nam ut eorum sermone utentem Vettium Lucilius insectatur, quemadmodum Pollio reprehendit in Livio Patavinitatem, licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam*; cp. viii. 1, 3. Livy appears to have previously made some remarks about those orators *qui verba antiqua et sordida consectantur et orationis obscuritatem severitatem putant* (Senec. Controv. ix. 25, 26), and Pollio probably did not fail to see and feel their reference.

judge from the frequent quotations from his works in Seneca and Quintilian. It was well that beside the Ciceronian exuberance another more terse and less ornate style should have come into vogue even if it did lead at times to dulness and hardness. Where personal interests were not involved, Pollio was as solicitous for the accuracy of the thing said as for the adequacy of the manner in which it was said. And thus his influence was twofold. It made itself felt, as we have seen, in the productions of two of the greatest Roman writers of the Empire—in the encyclopædic and accurate, but ill-digested, erudition of Pliny, and in the epigrammatic and mature wisdom of ‘the philosophic historian whose writings will instruct the last generations of mankind,’ Tacitus.

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#### 4. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.

This Lentulus Spintner was the son of the Lentulus to whom Cicero owed his restoration from exile,\* and to whom he wrote most of the letters of Fam. i. He was educated for public life, principally in rhetoric.† When 16 years of age, in 697 (57), he was elected augur.‡ Cicero was present at the inaugural banquet given by the elder Lentulus on this occasion, and was not the better for it.§ In 698 (56), when the tribune C. Cato proposed that the elder Lentulus, who was governing Cilicia, should be deprived of his imperium, the younger Lentulus, in order to excite pity, put on mourning.|| In 707 (47) he was at Alexandria, and in 709 (45) at Rome, when he divorced his profligate wife

\* Sest. 144, *P. Lentulum cuius ego patrem deum ac parentem fortunæ et nominis mei.*

† Fam. i. 7, 11 (114); 9, 23, 24 (153).

‡ This was in violation of a law that two members of the same gens should not belong to the College; and Faustus Sulla, one of the Cornelian gens, was already a member. In order to obviate this difficulty, Lentulus was adopted by Manlius Torquatus into the Manlian gens (Dio Cass. xxxix. 17); but he did not in after-life make any use of his adoptive name.

§ Fam. vii. 26, 2 (94).

|| Q. Fr. ii. 3, 1 (102); Sest. 144.

Metella.\* After Caesar's murder Lentulus was one of those who, though they had no part in the deed, yet tried to gain credit for being participators in it.† On April 21, he had an interview with Cicero.‡ He was appointed Proquaestor of Trebonius in Asia by the influence of M. and L. Antonius (883, 7), and undertook the administration of that province after the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella. His services to the State in that capacity, his pursuit of Dolabella, and his support of Cassius are related by him in an official letter to the Senate and Magistrates (882), and in a private letter to Cicero (883). What Lentulus wanted was to be confirmed in the government of Asia, until Hirtius and Pansa, to whom the province had been assigned, could find time to take it up. Lentulus would appear to have certainly made as much of his services as they deserved (cp. especially 883, 6); for they are not mentioned by Cassius (822), nor by Brutus (837), nor by Dio Cassius (xlvii. 26). Yet there is no need to deny that he performed the duties which were expected from an ordinary official with tolerable efficiency. Later we find him holding a command against Rhodes—which must have pleased him, as he had a grudge against the Rhodians—and directing operations at Myra in Lycia.§ Plutarch says that, as he was one of those who claimed to have participated in the murder of Caesar, he was put to death by Antony and Octavian. This is very probable, as in any case of amnesty to their opponents they always expressly excepted the murderers of Caesar.||

Lentulus appears to have been a man who aspired to play a considerable part in public affairs, but did not succeed in rising above mediocrity. His literary style is very good, and betokens a careful and finished training.¶

\* Att. xii. 52, 2 (599); xiii. 7, 1 (619). She committed adultery with the son of the actor Æsopus, Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 239: cp. Att. xi. 15, 3 (430), *filius Æsopi me exercebat*; and apparently with Dolabella, xi. 23, 3 (437).

† Plut. Caes. 67: cp. 883, 6.

‡ Att. xiv. 11, fin. (714).

§ App. iv. 72, 82: cp. 882, 2-4.

¶ Caes. 67. The coin with the legend, AVGVSTVS DIVI F., Reverse LENTVLVS SPINTHER, with augural emblems, should not be referred to this Lentulus, but probably belongs to his son. The coins which Lentulus himself struck under the rule of Brutus and Cassius have on them LIBERTAS: cp. Babelon i. 427 f. It is hardly likely that a man who claimed to be a murderer of Caesar, and who made such a parade of opposition to his successors, would have been pardoned.

¶ See Dr. Albrecht Köhler, *Ueber die Sprache der Briefe des P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther*, Nürnberg, 1890.

5. GAIUS FURNIUS.

Gaius Furnius was probably born about 672 (82), as his normal year for standing for the praetorship was 712 (42): cp. 880 (2). We first hear of him in 704 (50), when he was tribune. When Cicero went to Cilicia, Furnius undertook to oppose the prolongation of Cicero's tenure of the governorship beyond the year. He seems to have fulfilled his promise, though Cicero did not approve of a proviso that the governors of Cilicia and Syria should not leave their provinces if the Parthians assumed a hostile attitude before July.\* He also aided Caelius in his efforts to obtain a *supplicatio* for Cicero. Furnius was a sensible, but not a rabid, opponent of Caesar.† When the Civil War broke out he appeared on Caesar's side, and carried some letters between Caesar and Cicero.‡ We hear nothing more about him until 710 (44), when we find him on the staff of Plancus (787, 4), in Gaul. He carried letters from Plancus to Rome at the end of 710 (44), and afterwards conducted negotiations on behalf of Plancus with Lepidus. Cicero wrote two letters to Furnius (880, 907) in 711 (43), dissuading him from returning to Rome to canvass for the praetorship. Furnius was anxious to come, lest, if he remained in Gaul, he should 'continue to risk his life and be a fool.'§ He joined Antony along with Plancus, and stood faithfully by L. Antonius at Perusia, and was one of those who were besieged in that town. He was sent to negotiate terms of capitulation with Octavian, and had a private interview with him.|| In 715 (39) he was still in the service of Antony, and was sent by him to Libya to bring thence forces to the East for the Parthian War. As Governor of Asia for Antony in 719 (35), he suffered some defeats from Sextus Pompeius. When that able man was reduced to extremities, he wished to negotiate a surrender with Furnius, whom he trusted, rather than with Titius, whom Antony had sent with a

\* Att. v. 2, 1 (185); 18, 3 (218); Fam. xv. 14, 1 (241); Att. vi. 1, 11 (252).

† Fam. viii. 11, 3 (267); 10, 3 (226).

‡ Att. ix. 6, 6 (360); 11 A. 1, (266).

§ 907, 1, *ne diutius cum periculo fatuus sis*. The folly, doubtless, was letting slip his chance of the praetorship.

|| App. v. 40.



large army to effect his capture.\* Furnius refused to receive the surrender, and finally Sextus had to yield to Titius, by whom he was put to death.

After the battle of Actium Furnius was pardoned by Octavian at the intercession of his son,† and was promised the consulship. But he never held that office, owing to the number of claimants who had to be satisfied. In 725 (29), however, he was given the rank of consularis. Plutarch speaks of Furnius as a man of great reputation and the ablest speaker at Rome.‡ He was certainly a capable, sensible, and upright man. Whether he was the “candide Furni” addressed by Horace in Sat. i. 10, 86, or not, we cannot say.

#### 6. C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Many small-minded historians have misrepresented the motives of Cassius in joining the conspiracy against Caesar. According to them, being a passionate man, he was inflamed with resentment for some trifling personal injury,§—perhaps because Caesar gave the urban praetorship to Brutus, though he acknowledged that Cassius had the better claim, or because Caesar seized some lions which Cassius had prepared for his aedilician show.

‘But they are wrong,’ says Plutarch (Brut. 9): ‘for from the very beginning of his life Cassius felt hatred and hostility towards the whole class of tyrants, as he showed when he was still a boy and went to the same school as Faustus, the son of Sulla. Among the boys Faustus was boasting of and glorifying the despotic power of his father, when Cassius

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\* App. v. 140, ἡξίωσεν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γε γεινημένῳ καὶ ἀξιώσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιωτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.

† Seneca (Benef. ii. 25) notices a charming reply of young Furnius to the Emperor when he granted the pardon: ‘You have done me but one wrong, Caesar; you have made it impossible for me to show my gratitude either in life or death’ (*hanc unam, Caesar, habeo iniuriam tuam; effecisti ut viverem et morerer ingratus*). It was probably this young Furnius who conducted the war against the Asturians and Cantabrians in 732 (22): cp. Dio Cass. liv. 5.

‡ Ant. 58, ὅς ἦν ἀξιωματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότητος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων.

§ Plut. Brut. 8, Κάσσιος ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς καὶ μᾶλλον ἰδίᾳ μισοκαῖσαρ ἢ κοινῇ μισοτύραννος.

rose up and struck him with his fist. When the guardians and relations of Faustus wished to follow the matter up and punish him, Pompey prevented them; and, confronting the boys with one another, investigated the matter. Then the story goes that Cassius said, "Come, Faustus, dare to repeat before Pompey here those words at which I was provoked, that I may break your mouth again (*ἵνα σοῦ πάλιν ἐγὼ συντρίψω τὸ στόμα*)."<sup>\*</sup> That was the kind of man Cassius was.'

Born some years before Brutus, he first appears prominently as quaestor of Crassus in the East; and there he displayed that sound judgment in military matters which always characterized him.\* He recommended Crassus not to cross the Euphrates and leave the river; and again, when the battle came on, and he was in command of one of the wings, he advised that the line should be extended, and the wings strengthened by the cavalry. In both matters his advice was disregarded, with disastrous results. With much skill he led the defeated army back to Carrhae. There the soldiers offered him the chief command, but he refused it. Distrusting the guides who proposed to conduct the retreating army, he managed to escape with 500 horsemen into Syria, where he collected the remnants of the Roman forces, and prepared to defend the province against the Parthians. The judgment, skill and caution which he displayed on that occasion are worthy of every praise.†

Next year he drove back a small force of Parthians, who, however, returned in greater force in 703 (51) under Osaces. Cassius threw himself into Antioch. The Parthians failed to take the town, and retreated in the beginning of autumn. Cassius followed, and inflicted a severe defeat on them at the river Orontes, Osaces dying of his wounds.‡ Cicero, who was in Cilicia, at this time wrote to congratulate him for 'the great exploits he had performed.' Writing to Atticus, Cicero appears to consider that his own approach contributed in a marked degree to the defeat of Osaces; and to Appius Claudius he hints that the Parthians were

\* Plutarch notices that Cassius was hot-tempered and rather too fond of sarcastic jokes among his acquaintances; cp. Brut. 29, *ὀργῇ δὲ τραχὺν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ὑγρότερον* ('inclined to') *τῷ γελοίῳ καὶ φιλοσκώπτῃν*.

† Plut. Crass. 22 ff.

‡ Dio Cass. xl. 28, 29.

nothing but Bedouins dressed up in Parthian costume—a rumour which seems to have prevailed in Rome at this time.\* There was probably not much truth in this; for Cassius was a true Roman in his military capacity, and no charlatan like Bibulus. But he was also a true Roman in his plundering of provincials, and in amassing money any way and every way. He would appear to have used his official position to make a ‘corner’ in Syrian merchandise, and thereby to have earned the nickname of *Caryota*, ‘the Date.’† He returned home in 704 (50), and was succeeded by Bibulus. He seems to have anticipated accusation for extortion; but the civil war broke out, and more important matters required attention.‡

During the next year Cassius commanded the fleet of Pompey, destroyed several of the enemy’s ships off Messana, and ravaged the coast of Italy. On receiving news of the defeat at Pharsalia, he sailed to the East. In the Hellespont he fell in with Caesar, and though he had superior numbers, surrendered. Was it treachery? At any rate Caesar made him one of his legates. It is uncertain whether he served in the Alexandrian War. He certainly took part in the campaign against Pharnaces. During 708, 709 (46, 45), he remained in the south of Italy, chiefly at Brundisium, and carried on a pleasant correspondence with Cicero, in the course of which the two friends wrote much to one another on certain elementary principles of the Epicurean philosophy, which they treat in a rather superficial style.§ Cassius did not take any active part in Caesar’s later campaigns, as he did not wish to stand in arms against his old friends: for the Pompeian party were his old friends, and Caesar was his old enemy. Many a time during those long months of enforced idleness, the passionate and ambitious soul of Cassius must have writhed at seeing Caesar advancing from victory to victory, until he bestrode the world like a Colossus; he must have found the fault in himself that he was an

\* Fam. xv. 14, 3 (241) *pro rerum magnitudine*: Att. v. 20, 3 (228); Fam. iii. 8, 10 (222); viii. 10, 3 (226).

† Aurel. Victor 83, 3, *Deinde quod coemptis Syriacis mereibus foedissime negotiaretur Caryota cognominatus est*.

‡ Cp. Fam. xv. 14, 4 (241), *si quae sunt onera tuorum*, perhaps, refers to an attack on Gaius as well as on Quintus Cassius.

§ Fam. xv. 16–19 (530, 531, 541, 542). In Att. xiii. 22, 2 (635) we hear that Cassius wrote to Cicero about the death of Marcellus.

underling ; reflected that men at some times are masters of their fate ; and remembered, like a true Roman, how in the olden days an ancient Roman

would have brooked  
Th' eternal devil to keep his state in Rome  
As easily as a king.

And Caesar was but mortal. Thus began the fire of the conspiracy in the master-mind, and it found discontent and disappointed ambition everywhere to feed its flame.

Cassius was much mistrusted by Caesar. Shakespeare, following Plutarch,\* makes Caesar say (Jul. Caes. i. 2, 200) :—

I do not know the man I should avoid  
So soon as the spare Cassius. He reads much ;  
He is a great observer, and he looks  
Quite through the deeds of men.

Yet Caesar made him praetor peregrinus : and when he said that Cassius deserved the more honourable office of the urban praetorship, he probably meant that to be a graceful solace for the trifling frustration of his desires. Yet Cassius worked hard to organize the conspiracy, and infused into the mass of selfishness which formed it the fire of his own passionate nature. When the deed was being done he is reported to have cried to an unnerved comrade—‘ Strike, strike, even through me.’†

He was no statesman. His passion blinded his vision beyond the moment when his enemy should lie before him. And he was no match for the combined courage and cunning of Antony. Whenever Antony crossed his path Cassius was sure to lose his cause, just as the better cunning of Antony was sure to ‘ faint under the chance ’ of Octavius.‡ In June, Antony succeeded in having Cassius and Brutus appointed commissioners of corn, and thus removed them from Italy. Cicero gives us a lively account of a meeting he had at Antium with Brutus and Cassius, at which several ladies, Servilia, Tertulla, Porcia, were present. Cicero advised Brutus and Cassius to accept the commissionership and

\* Brut. 8 ; Caes. 62 ; Ant. 11.

† Aurel. Victor 83, 5, *vel per me, inquit, feri.*

‡ Cp. Plut. Ant. 33 ; Shakespeare, Ant. and Cleop. ii. 3, 20 ff.

make a virtue of necessity. Cassius, ‘with flashing eyes, you would fancy he was breathing out fire and slaughter,’\* declared he would not go. Cicero, however, tells Atticus that he thinks he will go : and go he did, but not, however, as a corn-commissioner to Sicily, but as a military commander to Syria, the scene of his old victories, which province had been promised to him by Caesar. Antony had succeeded in having that province legally granted to Dolabella by the people, but Cassius hastened to secure it first. Here he collected a large army (see above, p. xxxviii) : and when Dolabella came to take up the government of Syria, Cassius blockaded him in Liodicea, where he was reduced to such extremities that he killed himself,† and thus the murder of Trebonius was avenged. Cassius was preparing to march against Cleopatra—the Egyptian treasures were tempting, and Cassius had an ‘itching palm’—when he was recalled to Asia Minor by Brutus. He left his brother in command in Syria, and joined Brutus at Smyrna. They arranged to plunder Asia Minor, which was favourably disposed to the Caesarians. Cassius took Rhodes by the help of traitors within the walls, and exacted 8500 talents from the inhabitants. Ten years’ tribute in advance was demanded from the towns of Asia Minor. Brutus, ‘the honourable man,’ practised such extortion in Lycia that the Xanthians, as long before in the Persian invasion, buried themselves in the ashes of their town. Yet Brutus was very severe about the peculation of public money by an inferior ; and he nearly quarrelled at Sardis with Cassius, who wished that indulgence should be shown to one L. Pella who was guilty of embezzling public funds.‡ When they had crossed over to Sestos, some of the soldiers who had been Caesar’s veterans expressed unwillingness to serve against his nephew. Cassius made a speech in justification of the war they were waging against him, and by the help of lavish bribes succeeded in confirming the veterans in their obedience.§ When Brutus and Cassius occupied a strong position on the hills at Philippi, Cassius wished that no engagement should be commenced ;|| as the difficulty which the triumvirs would

\* Att. xv. 11, 1 (744), *fortibus sanc oculis, Cassius,—Martem spirare diceres.*

† Cp. 882, 883, 891, 901 ; Dio Cass. xlvii. 30.

‡ Plut. Brut. 28–35.

§ App. iv. 89 ff.

|| App. iv. 133 declares that Cassius thought of the war, and the war only, like a



experience in getting provisions would soon break up their army. Cassius wished also to draw the war over into Asia; but Brutus overruled him. When the battle came on, Cassius on the left wing was defeated by Antony, and retired to a hill. Brutus, who had defeated Octavian and the left wing of the enemy's army, sent a body of troops under Titinius to discover how Cassius had fared. Cassius, who was short-sighted,\* thought that they were the enemy, and mistook the cries of joy from his own soldiers for signs that they had been taken prisoners. He retired to his tent, and called his freedman Pindarus, whom he had with him, even in the Parthian war eleven years before, to do him the last service if it should be needed. The time was come now; and wrapping his cloak round his head he bared his neck to the blow. Pindarus did the last service and disappeared. Brutus soon arrived and mourned with bitter grief over his friend, 'Thou last of all the Romans, fare thee well'—intimating, says Plutarch, that Rome would never produce another such great spirit.†

Perhaps Rome never did in after ages produce a man who united such military skill and courage with unrelenting hostility to the monarchy: Corbulo, for example, who bears some similarity to Cassius, was an obedient servant, even unto death, to the contemptible Nero. Cassius was an ancient Roman also in the fact that he had all the narrow ideas and passionate selfishness of the aristocrats of the old *régime*. But the old order was changing, yielding place to new; and the old order made its last stand on the field at Philippi. Thus the men of after ages who looked back to the times of the Republic as the times when Rome was really Rome, had good reason to echo the lament of Brutus; and, some of them, even at the risk of their lives, were found to pay honour to Cassius as the 'last of the Romans.' ‡

gladiator; whereas Brutus, as being liberally educated and eager for learning, liked to see and hear about everything wherever he went. Concentration of purpose was certainly a characteristic of Cassius.

\* Plut. Brut. 43.

† Plut. Brut. 44. προσπαγορεύσας ἔσχατον ἄνδρα Ρωμαίων τὸν Κάσσιον. ὡς οὐκ ἔτι τῇ πόλει τηλικούτου φρονήματος ἐγγενέσθαι δυναμένου.

‡ Tac. Ann. iv. 34. Cremutius Cordus postulatur, novo ac tum primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset.

7. MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.

General opinion regards Marcus Brutus as an 'honourable man,' who, from the highest motives of Roman patriotism, slew his benefactor when that benefactor raised himself above the level of a citizen, and who died a martyr to the cause of republican freedom. It may be well to sketch briefly the career of Brutus and examine how far the general opinion is justifiable.

Rumour or scandal asserted in the generation which succeeded the death of Brutus—for there is no account in the contemporary Nicolaus of Damascus—that he was the son of Caesar. There is no question at all that Cato's sister Servilia, the wife of Marcus Brutus, who was lieutenant of Lepidus in his attack on the Sullan constitution, was the mother of Brutus and was passionately in love with Caesar.\* Neither is there any difficulty as to the age of Caesar when Brutus was born. Velleius (ii. 72) says explicitly that Brutus was 37 years of age at his death;† therefore he was born in 675 (79), when Caesar was 21. This definite statement must be considered as outweighing the indefinite remark of Cicero (Brut. 324) that Hortensius began to speak *ten* years before Brutus was born, which would fix the birth of Brutus to 669 (85), when Caesar was only 15; and there are independent reasons for supposing that the number given by Cicero is erroneous.‡ Schmidt points out that both the friends and the enemies of Brutus were interested in spreading this rumour; the friends as thereby exalting the patriotism of their hero, who sacrificed natural affection for his country; and his enemies, as deepening the guilt of one who added parricide to ingratitude. This fact that there was every

\* See the story in Plut. Brut. 5, who says: ἐγνώκει γὰρ, ὡς εἶκε, νεανίας ὦν ἔτι τὴν Σεβιλίαν ἐπιμανεῖσαν αὐτῷ: cp. Appian, ii. 112.

† Cp. Livy, Epit. 124, *annorum erat circiter XL*.

‡ Cic. Brut. 324, *Annis ante decem causas agere coepit quam tu es natus*. Nipperdey (Rhein. Mus. xix. 291) wishes to read *sedecim* for *decem*, in order to bring Cicero into accord with Velleius. He argues that the order in which the orators are named in the *Dialogue on Orators* is that of date of birth; and if this is so, Brutus was born after Calvus. But Calvus seems to have been born about the same time as Curio, i.e. 672 (82), and after Caelius, 669 (85); cp. Brut. 279, 272. Accordingly Brutus was born after 672 (82).

reason for the invention of the story makes us hesitate to accept it; and Caesar's regard for Brutus can be adequately explained by the influence of Servilia, whose favour with Caesar remained so considerable even to the last,\* that all kinds of stories arose as to the methods which she adopted to retain it.† The matter still remains uncertain.

But it is certain that Servilia's relations with Caesar were of material assistance to young Brutus when we first hear of him. During Caesar's consulship, the informer Vettius accused him of plotting with others to murder Pompey, but Vettius withdrew his name, apparently, as Cicero suggests, at the direction of Caesar and by the influence of Servilia.‡ Shortly afterwards, perhaps in consequence of this affair, Brutus left for Greece, where he appears to have been when, in 697 (57), he was summoned by his uncle Cato to help him in the unpleasant duty of confiscating the property of the King of Cyprus. Brutus, 'though young and a student, and considering the business dishonourable and unsuitable to himself,'§ answered the summons: and there invested his money (as we might say) in 'Cappadocians' and 'Cyprians,' lending, at the most exorbitant interest, large sums to the insolvent King of Cappadocia (already over head and ears in debt to Pompey), and to the towns of Cyprus. In those regions Brutus remained during the Governorship of Cilicia and Cyprus by Appius Claudius, finding it probably more profitable to watch over his investments there under a congenial governor than to accept the position of quaestor in Gaul offered him by Caesar. Brutus appears to have conducted his monetary affairs with astuteness, and probably within the bounds of legality, for he was not mentioned in the case

\* Cp. Att. xiv. 21, 3 (728), *multa ὑποσβολικα. Pontii Neapolitanum a matre tyrannoctoni possideri.*

† Cp. Suet. Jul. 50, and vol. iii., p. xxvii.

‡ Att. ii. 24, 3 (51), *Primum Caepionem de oratione sua sustulit, quem in senatu acerrime nominarat, ut appareret noctem et nocturnam deprecationem intercessisse.* In formal language Brutus was called Q. Caepio Brutus, as having been adopted by his uncle, Q. Servilius Caepio: cp. Phil. x. 25.

§ Plut. Brut. 3, *καὶ ὅλως τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ διοίκησιν, ἅτε δὴ νέος καὶ σχολαστής, οὐκ ἐλευθέριον οὐδ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος.* For a year or two he appears to have studied in Greece; cp. Aurel. Victor, 82, 1, *Athenis philosophiam, Rhodi eloquentiam didicit.*

for extortion directed against Appius Claudius.\* He had returned to Rome before Cicero went to Cilicia, and doubtless expected that the parvenu governor (even though he was an ex-consul) would not venture to hesitate about enforcing such contracts as Roman nobles had made with subjects. When he found that Cicero was hesitating in the matter, he wrote in an arrogant *de haut en bas* manner, which Cicero justly resented.† The history of the relations of Cicero and Brutus in these affairs has been related in vol. III., pp. xxviii-xxxii. Business is business; but it is perhaps pressing business claims a little too far when debtors are starved to death.‡ To an Antonius or a Dolabella such might be only a regrettable incident; but we should have expected from the philosophic Brutus that he would have instantly dismissed agents whose zeal carried them to such lengths. But Brutus, besides being a philosopher, was a Roman, and Romans had very strong views about business; and the Salaminians were provincials. But perhaps we must not be excessively indignant when we remember that excellent people of the present day cheerfully invest their money in companies who work their employés, men and women, fourteen hours a-day with results at which even dividend drawers are sometimes disconcerted.§

\* Cp. Aurel. Vict. 82, 3, *Quaestor in Galliam proficisci <Caesari> noluit quod is bonis omnibus displicebat. Cum Appio Claudio in Cilicia fuit et cum ille repetundarum accusaretur ipse ne verbo quidem infamatus est.* It is probable that the writer is stating what was the fact; but we must always be on our guard against him when we find such a statement as the following, in his Life of Cicero, § 3, *Aedilis C. Verrem repetundarum damnarit, praetor Ciliciam latrocinii liberavit, consul coniuratos capite punivit*; and in his Life of Antony, § 2, *Augustum perfidiose tractavit, a quo apud Mutinam victus, Persiae fame domitus in Galliam fugit. Ibi Lepidum sibi collegam adiunxit.*

† Att. vi. 3, 7 (264); vi. 7, 1 (270).

‡ Att. vi. 1, 6 (252).

§ About this time Cicero, writing to Appius Claudius, father-in-law of Brutus, speaks of him warmly as ‘long since the first of the younger men; soon, I trust, to be first of the state,’ Fam. iii. 11, 3 (265). Such official judgments of Cicero’s must not be taken as his cool and deliberate opinions. Similarly, when he says of Brutus, in the *Orator*, ‘Who was ever more respected than you, or more genial (*dulcior*)?’ we should not regard this as more than the merest compliment. So too, in Brut. 330, Cicero speaks of his ‘most delightful’ (*suavissimis*) letters, and in a rather formal communication to Dolabella, shortly after the death of Caesar, Fam. ix. 14, 5 (722), he delivers quite a panegyric on Brutus, *semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum propter eius sumnum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem sibi tatem et constantiam*. For the difference between the official and real opinions of Cicero on public men, contrast what he says about Piso in Planc. 12 and Att. i. 13, 2 (19).



When Cicero left his province in the middle of 704 (50) Brutus appears to have at once hastened thither, along with the new governor, Sestius, in order to see how his demands could most effectively be realized. He had to be recalled by his uncle Cato to take his place in the Pompeian army.\*

During the spring of 706 (48) Cicero, writing from Pompey's camp, relates that Brutus was acting with great vigour, adding that prudence forbids him to say more.† But Brutus does not appear to have considered that his loyalty need be proof against defeat. Accordingly, after the battle of Pharsalia, he escaped by night to Larissa, and from that place wrote to Caesar, who, as Plutarch says, was delighted that he was alive. Caesar ordered him to come to him, acquitted him of all blame, and even showed him especial honour.‡ Brutus repaid this by informing Caesar whither Pompey had fled.§ Loyalty appears to have been a virtue unknown to Brutus. Dante was right to put him in the very jaws of Satan (*Inferno*, Canto xxxiv.).

We hear nothing more of Brutus until the late summer of 47. About that time he defended Deiotarus before Caesar, at Nicæa, in a vigorous speech. It was on this occasion that Caesar made the celebrated criticism on Brutus—*quidquid vult valde vult*.||

About the same time he wrote to Cicero, apparently informing him that he need not fear a continuance of Caesar's displeasure. The letter was, no doubt, written in a tone different from the usual cold and superior manner of Brutus. In the *Brutus* Cicero describes, with an emphasis all his own, the delight which this

\* Aurel. Vict. 82, 5, *Civili bello a Catone ex Cilicia retractus Pompeium secutus est*.

† Att. xi. 4, 2 (413), *Brutus amicus <tuus> in causa versatur acriter. Hactenus fuit quod caute a me scribi posset*. We have added *tuus*: cp. Att. vi. 1, 25 (252).

‡ Schmidt (*Grenzboten*, p. 367) justly says that Caesar showed as much regard for the old nobility as Napoleon did for the *ancienne noblesse*.

§ Plutarch, Brut. 6.

|| The speech appeared to Tacitus to have had little enduring merit and no real vigour; cp. Dial. de Orat. 21, *nisi forte quisquam . . . Brutus pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis libros legit*. Yet the speech was certainly vigorous and outspoken, *valde vehementer eum visum et libere dicere*, Att. xiv. 1, 2 (703). Cicero, Brut. 21, says that he heard that the defence of Deiotarus had been conducted by Brutus *ornatissime* and *copiosissime*, terms which it is surprising to find applied to the oratory of Brutus, and which it is impossible to regard as anything more than expressions of effusive politeness.



letter afforded him. 'I seemed once more to be recalled to the light of day from a long-continued disorder of my whole constitution.' But we must not lay too much stress on such language in a work dedicated to Brutus, and written by Cicero, especially when we read in the next clause an equally effusive statement that the gift of the *Annals* of Atticus was beyond anything pleasing and appropriate, and roused him from his prostrate condition.\*

During the two years which followed, Brutus in public life acted as one of Caesar's ministers, and at the same time was on friendly relations with Cicero and others of the republican party. It is not at all necessary, or even desirable, that a politician should have no private friendship with these who hold opposite views as to the administration of the State. Accordingly we find ourselves unable to accept the original and ingenious theory of Prof. O. E. Schmidt,† that the letter addressed by Brutus to Caesar in 47 was written at Caesar's orders, and that Brutus, as 'decoy-duck,' had been entrusted with the task of drawing over the moderate republicans to acquiescence in Caesar's rule. We think that a person like Brutus, who, with all his respectability and ancient name, was so stiff, so dogged, and so ungracious, was not by any means suited for a duty which required much *finesse*, flexibility of mind, and attractiveness of manner.

We have positive evidence that Caesar never put any restrictions on his followers in respect of their choice of friends. In the celebrated letter of Matius to Cicero, which is instinct with loyalty and truth, Matius says, Fam. xi. 28, 7 (785):—

Caesar numquam interpellavit quin quibus vellem atque etiam quos ipse non diligebat tamen eis uter.

And, no doubt, Caesar left as much freedom to Brutus as he did to Matius. That Caesar was generous to literary men, even to those

\* Cic. Brut. 12, *Me istis scito litteris ex diuturna perturbatione totius valetudinis tamquam ad aspiciendam lucem esse revocatum . . .* 13. *An mihi potuit esse aut gratior ulla salutatio aut ad hoc tempus aptior quam illius libri quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit?* cp. § 330.

† M. Junius Brutus, in 'Verhandlungen der 40 Philologenversammlung,' Görlitz, 1889, pp. 165–185. It is to this work that reference is principally made. 'Ein falscher Freiheitsheld des Alterthums,' in Grenzböten, 1889, Nos. 8, 9, pp. 362–369, 407–414. 'Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero,' Leipz. 1893. The services of Schmidt, as

who attacked him with unmeasured virulence, is proved from his treatment of Catullus (cp. Suet. Jul. 73). Though Caesar was not as great in 55 as he was in 45, yet even at the former date he was a very influential personage; he was, as Calvus, who gave the note to Catullus, said, the *magnus quem metuunt omnes*. Much more, therefore, would he abstain from interfering with the private friendships of his friend Brutus; and the connexion of Brutus with Cicero and other republicans was mainly one of social and literary intercourse, not one of united political action.

During the two years which followed Cicero's return to Rome in November, 47, he devoted himself vigorously to literary work, confining himself chiefly to the subject-matter, oratorical theory or philosophy as the case might be; but occasionally, in order to soothe his conscience, he let drop a word or two to show that, though he did not resist, yet he did not sympathise with, the Caesarian régime. First, he composed the *Brutus*, then a panegyric on *Cato*, after that the *Orator*. The first and third were dedicated to Marcus Brutus, who at this time held the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul, a post which he filled with conspicuous success (Plut. Brut. 6). Schmidt is of opinion that Brutus asked Cicero to write something in favour of the new government, and that Cicero did so in the *Brutus*; but, far from being favourable to Caesar's party, that treatise exhibited sympathy with the ruined republic. For instance, it declares that Hortensius was happy in dying before the republic fell (§§ 4, 5), and that Marcellus was living a noble life in exile (250), &c.; cp. §§ 53, 266, 273, 331\*.

Brutus then gave Cicero a second chance of writing a Caesarian pamphlet, when he suggested an essay on *Cato*. But this *Cato*, when it appeared, was no less republican and anti-monarchical than the *Brutus*. We can hardly imagine, however, that Brutus, if a Caesarian agent, after his previous failure in the *Brutus*, would not have asked to see the *Cato* before it was published; and when he had seen the lines on which it was written, would not have used

regards the chronology and elucidation of Cicero's epistles, cannot be over-estimated, and many of his emendations are admirable. It is disconcerting to find oneself at variance with any of his opinions on a historical point. On the subject of 'M. Brutus as Caesarian' a fuller discussion than we have given here will be found in *Hermathena* ix. (1896), pp. 369-384.

\* For these passages we are indebted to Schmidt.

his influence to ensure that it should not be given to the world. In connexion with these two works, Schmidt excellently refers (p. 174, note 4) to a fragment of a letter from Cicero to Brutus, quoted by Quintilian (v. 10, 9):—

Veritus fortasse ne nos in *Catonem* nostrum transferremus illum (sc. from the *Brutus*) mali quid, etsi argumentum simile non erat.

Brutus rightly thought it more politic that Cicero should avoid needless attacks on the Caesarian party. Cicero himself thought so too; a little before he had said to Paetus: ‘The work for me to do is not foolishly to say any rash word or do any rash deed against the dominant party.’\*

Cicero had no reason to dread Caesar’s wrath: there were really no grounds to fear that he would ‘in boorish fashion make his retort with the sword.’† Not only was Caesar wise enough to know that considerable latitude in such circumstances was advisable, and that the moderate republicans might discharge their republican sympathies in that way, and so be less dangerous in the sphere of politics; but we must also remember that Caesar was no ordinary Caesarian, and ‘that he still cherished at heart the magnificent dream of a free commonwealth, although he was unable to transfer it either to his adversaries or to his adherents’ (Mommsen, R. H. iv. 321). Caesar determined to answer the republican *Catos* with the pen, and not with the sword. As a sort of an outline sketch (*πρόπλασμα*) of what Caesar’s work would be like, Hirtius, in the spring of 709 (45), wrote an invective against Cato, with much praise of Cicero (Att. xii. 40, 1 (584)); and some time later Caesar, notwithstanding all his duties, wrote two *Anti-Catos* (Tac. Ann. iv. 34; Juv. vi. 338). In these works he praised Cicero’s life and eloquence as most resembling those of Pericles and Theramenes.‡

\* Fam. ix. 16, 5 (472).

† Cp. Fam. xv. 19, 4 (542), *Vereor ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι*.

‡ Cp. Plut. Cic. 39. The praise is high. The judgment on Theramenes as a politician contained in the *Constitution of Athens*, c. 28, is that a diversity of opinion exists about him, the forms of government at his time being subject to much confusion; ‘yet he seems to writers who are not superficial to have been a man who did not (the charge commonly brought against him) destroy every form of government, but

In a letter to Balbus Caesar appears to have spoken much about the *Catos* of Cicero and Brutus; and with some irony declared that while, from a frequent perusal of the former, he had obtained a more flowing style (*copiosiore factum*), after reading the work of Brutus, he considered himself an eloquent man (*disertum*). The language of Brutus was certainly, as a rule, heavy and cold.\*

Caesar was large-minded enough to bear with even Brutus when he wrote a panegyric on his uncle Cato, just as he did not resent his words of eulogy on Marcellus (see Senec. *Helv.* 9. 4). He appears to ignore the subject-matter of the *Catos* of Cicero and Brutus, and to criticise only the style. But the *Cato* of Brutus was a poor work. Not only was it full of errors, but in an ungracious, paltry, and jealous manner, he tried to minimize the merits of Cicero in the Catilinarian conspiracy.†

About June, 709 (45), Brutus divorced his wife Claudia, daughter of Appius Claudius, to whom he had been married for many years. He does not appear to have had any fault to find with her, and he incurred some censure for the divorce.‡ His reason was that he wanted to marry Cato's daughter, Porcia, widow of Bibulus. This was an event which might well have disquieted Caesar; but he, perhaps, reflected that it was merely a love match, as it probably was, though it was, in our opinion, also fraught with most important results. We cannot help thinking that Porcia, who was a woman of strong natural affection, devoted to her husband, and full of high spirit and sound judgment,§ influenced Brutus so far that the anti-monarchical energy and vehemence of Cassius, when they came to operate on his weaker companion, found a disposition not wholly averse from his projects.

In June, shortly after the marriage, Cicero left his Tusculanum, and went to Arpinum, plainly to avoid Brutus, who was con-

rather one who furthered every form within the limits of legality, thinking that he could take his part as a citizen under any of them (and this is the duty of a good citizen), but not tolerating, rather condemning, forms of government when they ran counter to law.'

\* Att. xiii. 46, 2 (663): cp. Att. xv. 1 B., 2 (731).

† Cp. Att. xii. 21, 1 (557).

‡ Att. xiii. 9, 2 (623): cp. 10, 3 (624).

§ Plut. Brut. 13: φιλόστοργος δ' ἡ Πορκία καὶ φίλανδρος οὖσα καὶ μεστὴ φρονήματος νοῦν ἔχοντος.

stantly visiting him.\* Cicero admired Brutus in many ways and at a distance; he could tolerate his company for a short time; but continued personal intercourse with such a rigid, persistent, ungracious man was a burden†; and he expresses that feeling in the most courteous way possible to Atticus, who was a close friend of Brutus. We cannot think, with Schmidt (p. 176, Briefwechsel, pp. 322-4), that Cicero was afraid that Brutus was suspected of hatching republican schemes because he had just married Cato's daughter, and that he (Cicero) might compromise himself with the Caesarians if he should be observed to have frequent interviews with the supposed conspirator. But Caesar does not appear to have had any suspicion of Brutus at this time: the kind of caution which Schmidt attributes to Cicero was not characteristic of Cicero: and it is hard to believe that in a private letter to Atticus he would not have expressed himself more explicitly.

When Caesar returned from Spain, Brutus communicated to Atticus—apparently in a letter written early in August, Att. xiii. 40, 1 (660)—his belief that Caesar was intending to return to the policy of the Optimates, probably because Caesar had stated that, instead of the *praefecti urbis*, the ordinary magistrates would be appointed. The hope which arose when Marcellus was pardoned, but which had been speedily dispelled, now only very slightly moved even the impulsive Cicero‡:—

‘So Brutus announces the conversion of Caesar to the cause of the Optimates. Three cheers! But where will he find them? Unless, indeed, he hangs himself (and goes to join them in the other world). But what is Brutus himself going to do? (Is he going to oppose Caesar?) You say ‘it is idle to expect it.’ Where, then, do you leave that *chef d’œuvre* of yours, the family tree which exhibits the ancestors of Brutus as far

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\* Att. xiii. 11, 1 (625): *Ne magnum onus observantiae Bruto nostro imponerem. . . . Hoc autem tempore cum ille me cotidie videre vellet, ego ad illum ire non possem, privabatur omni delectatione Tuseulani.*

† Cp. Att. xii. 29. 1 (565) of a previous occasion: *Nec ego Brutum vito nec tamen ab eo levationem ullam exspecto, sed erant causae cur hoc tempore istic esse nollem, quae si manebunt, quaerenda erit exsolutio apud Brutum et, ut nunc est, mansurae videntur.*

‡ *Itane nuntiat Brutus illum ad bonos viros? Εὐαγγέλια. Sed ubi eos? Nisi forte se suspendit. Hic autem? Tu ‘futilum est.’* [The mss give *ut fultum est*. Schmidt admirably suggests *futilum*. We have ventured to alter *ut* into *tu*.] *Ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum, quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam et Brutum? Sed quid faciat?*



back as Ahala the tyrannicide and Brutus the first consul, and which I have seen in the room which Brutus calls his Parthenon? (i. e., do you not at all take into account the effect of family tradition on Brutus?) But after all what can he do?’

This would lead us to suppose that Cicero thought it possible that Brutus might be so far influenced by his ancestors as to dissociate himself from the monarchy; and that he sympathized with such a project, but reflected that Brutus could do but little, as there was no Optimate party existing. Still the passage is a proof that the restoration of the republic was a consummation towards which Cicero (and, accordingly, perhaps others) thought that Brutus *might* contribute. Yet Brutus still continued to act openly as a Caesarian, and, as we have seen, was made urban praetor for 44. But the real contradiction of his life was now beginning. Up to this, wherever his sympathies may have lain, he had *acted* loyally for Caesar; now his action becomes twofold, openly for the monarchy, secretly against it.

For the conspiracy was already afoot. We read that, in the summer of 45, Trebonius met Antony at Narbo, and sounded him on the subject.\* The full details of the conspiracy are not known, but the special jealousy of a number of Caesar's lieutenants, who did not think that they had received sufficient rewards, doubtless formed the basis; and the grave dissatisfaction which appeared to have been widely felt at many of Caesar's recent acts of despotism, caused them to think that the main body of the people were hostile to Caesar, and that, once he was removed, the machine of government would return to its ordinary working. The ancient name of Brutus, honourable in the history of freedom, and the abnormally high reputation for respectability and learning which attached to him made him an admirable figure-head for the conspiracy. Originally with republican sympathies where his own interest was not concerned, having those sympathies quickened by Porcia, stimulated by Cassius, and excited by various anonymous appeals that he should, like his ancestors, save his country, the stiff and ungracious student, who was educated beyond his powers in all sorts of fantastic Greek notions about the virtue of tyrannicides, was driven

\* Cic. Phil. ii. 34; Plut. Ant. 13.

into the position of nominal leader of the plot. And there may have been the additional reason, ingeniously suggested by Schmidt (pp. 177-178), that, as Caesar had in the autumn of 45 adopted Octavian, all hopes that Brutus would be Caesar's heir had vanished; and to a man who had received great favours from Caesar, and who was deficient in generosity and loyalty, as was Brutus, such a motive need not have been without its influence.\* Still the fact that Marcus Brutus was not made even a *second* heir in Caesar's will, while Decimus Brutus was nominated as such, makes us hesitate to adopt this suggestion; yet there is certainly evidence, as Schmidt points out (though it does not appear until long after the Brutus-legend had been developed) that it was surmised by the friends of Brutus that he would be Caesar's heir, or at any rate the first man in Rome after Caesar: cp. Plutarch, Brut. 8:—

‘When certain people denounced Brutus and bid Caesar be on his guard against him, touching his body with his hand, Caesar said: ‘What? Do you think that Brutus cannot wait until this frail body (*σαρκίον*) shall pass away?’ implying that no one else had a right to his plenitude of power after him except Brutus. And it does seem that Brutus would have been assuredly the first man in the city if he had waited but a short time until Caesar sank to a secondary place, and if he had allowed Caesar's glory to fade and the renown of his actions to wither away.’

It is difficult to take this view of the matter. Rather it would seem that Caesar, with his profound insight into character, saw the great qualities of Octavian, and the absence of anything really great in Brutus; accordingly, he designated the former as his successor, while he considered that he had already bestowed sufficiently ample favours on the latter.† No further reasons than these are necessary to account for the fact that Brutus joined the conspiracy, or for the prominent part he took in it.

The deed of blood once done, it was the duty of Brutus to take

\* We should like to know what attitude Servilia took up towards the conspiracy. We fancy one of disapproval. She was certainly not friendly to Porcia, cp. Att. xiii. 22, 4 (635); and she may have retained much of her passion for Caesar. But, as she appears to have never wearied in the interests of her son—cp. Att. xv. 10 (743); 11, 2 (744); 17, 2 (749); Brut. i, 18, 1 (915)—she certainly kept silence.

† See vol. v., p. xxxii.

the first place in the government. He was quite unfitted for the task ; but for the next two years he was unquestionably regarded as the chief man in the Republic—it was to him in the last resort that the State always looked. It would be superfluous to tell over again the story of how Brutus and Cassius were out-manceuvred by Antony and finally compelled to leave for the East. Brutus professed himself willing to go as it conduced to peace, but he really went to prepare war. We have already traced in full (cp. p. xxxv ff.) his actions up to the consulship of Octavian, and recorded the vacillation, hardly short of disloyalty, which characterized his attitude towards C. Antonius and Lepidus, and his persistent disregard of Cicero's urgent appeals for help. The bitter manner in which he criticised Cicero's conduct towards Octavian may, perhaps, be considered justified by the result ; but it is none the less proof of the ungraciousness of the style of Brutus. His perpetual cry of Peace, Peace, when peace was impossible,\* shows his inability to grasp the situation. Even his panegyrists allow that he felt some shame at having deserted Cicero ;† but at length he saw that war was inevitable. Then he acted like the most ordinary general ; he plundered and pillaged the provincials to such an extent that the people of Xanthus in Lycia, 'inflamed with a passion for death,' burned their city and themselves sooner than fall into his hands.‡ Just before the battle of Philippi he promised his soldiers the plunder of Thessalonica and Sparta. Even Plutarch expresses himself with severity on these actions of his hero.§ When no hope was left, Brutus died with Roman courage ; and in his dying

\* Cp. 842, 1, *Recenti illo tempore tu omnia ad pacem, quae oratione confici non poterat, ego omnia ad libertatem, quae sine pace nulla est, pacem ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar.* Brutus certainly did desire peace, just as he desired, in the case of the conspiracy, to shed as little blood as possible. This must be put to his credit in some measure. But he would have done better for his party, and caused less general misery, if he had let Antony fall as well as Caesar, and had vigorously prepared military defence after the deed was done: cp. Att. xiv. 2, 3 (704), *Habes igitur φαλάκρωμα inimicissimum otii, id est Bruti.*

† Plut. Brut. 28, Βροῦτος δὲ τῆς Κικέρωνος τελευτῆς τῇ αἰτίᾳ φησὶν αἰσχύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ πάθει συναλγεῖν, ἐγκαλεῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ Ρώμης φίλοις· δουλεῦν γὰρ αὐτῶν αἰτίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τυραννούντων καὶ καρτερεῖν ὀρώντας καὶ παρέντας ἃ μὴδ' ἀκούειν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκτὸν ἦν—remarks both unfeeling and unjust.

‡ Plut. Brut. 31, ἔρωτι θανάτου.

§ Brut. 46, τοῦτο τῷ Βρούτου βίῳ μόνον ἔνεστι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀναπολόγητον.

breath declared his renunciation of all belief in the virtue which he fancied he had sincerely followed,

Poor Virtue—a mere name, yet as the truth  
I ever served thee; yet thou'rt Fortune's slave.\*

This shows the smallness of the depth to which philosophy had sunk in that superficial and arid mind. It was not virtue that was a name, but Brutus's conception of virtue that was a sham. 'He seems to have been,' says Mr. Long, 'one of those who deceive themselves into a belief of their own virtues, because they are free from other people's vices.' Brutus was a man of cold feelings, temperate fancies.† He did not pass a tumultuous youth, like so many of his contemporaries‡; nor a vigorous, bracing, active life: instead, he devoted himself to study, and loaded his memory, if not his mind, with the maxims of philosophy. But they remained only maxims, and did not become part and parcel of his nature. Of noble birth, well educated, austere and cold-hearted, persistent and obstinate when he took an idea into his head, and one who made considerable parade of principle in unessentials,§ he was the very model of Roman respectability; and it is to this respectability he owed his influence.|| But he was

\* Dion Cass. xlvii. 49, καὶ ἀναβόησας τοῦτο δὴ τὸ 'Ἡράκλειον' ('this exclamation of Hercules')—

ὦ τλήμων ἀρετῇ, λόγος ἔρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε  
ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἔρ' ἐδούλευες τύχη.

It is not known from what poet these lines come: cp. Nauck, p. 910. Plutarch, the panegyrist of Brutus, relates (c. 52) that, when bidding farewell to those who were around him, he gave his hand to each quite cheerfully, and declared that he felt great pleasure that none of his friends had ever deceived him. This is quite the most attractive story that is told of Brutus.

† Hence the dulness and want of vigour in his oratory: see above, p. civ. 'In Latin oratory,' says Plutarch, 'he was adequately trained for speeches and altercations; but in Greek he practised the sententious Laconic style of brevity which appears sometimes in his letters.' He gives some examples (Brut. 2).

‡ Yet he did not escape calumnious strokes: cp. Aurel. Vict. 82, 2, *Cytherida mimam cum Antonio et Gallo poeta amavit*.

§ Cp. Plut. Brut. 35.

|| According to Plutarch (Brut. 29), Brutus was 'extraordinarily mild and high-minded, and unmoved by anger, pleasure, or love of aggrandizement (πλεονεξίαν), keeping his judgment straight and unbending in defence of justice and honour; but

nothing but respectable. He was destitute of practical wisdom of the highest kind, he was an incompetent general, and when compelled to take the helm of state in wild times he ran his ship straight upon the rocks. But we think of him chiefly in connexion with Cicero, the unemotional in connexion with the impulsive, the austere in connexion with the tolerant, the rigid in connexion with the gracious. Ungraciousness, lack of charm characterized his whole being. A story is told that at a banquet Brutus,

‘wishing to encourage his followers, called for a larger cup, and taking it, without any apparent relevancy he chanted forth the line

Stern Fate and Leto’s son have laid me low.

Further, they relate that when he was going forth to the last battle, at Philippi, he gave as the watch word to his soldiers “Apollo.” Wherefore they think that his utterance of that verse was an omen of his misfortune.\*

And perhaps in a deeper sense we may consider how true it was that the lack of that power and influence which belongs to the Apolline nature, to what is bright and gracious and charming, rendered the aims and aspirations of Brutus, with all that they had to further them, disappointed, nugatory, and futile.

what chiefly contributed towards winning him popularity and renown was confidence in his principles (ἡ τῆς προαιρέσεως πίστις).’ This is the idealized representation of the Stoical wise man; but it is not Brutus. Yet it would be most unjust to deny that Brutus had some of the good qualities of his faults. If he was severe and outspoken, he was generally sincere in what he said: cp. Tac. Dial. 25, *solum inter hos* (Calvus, Pollio, Cicero), *arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia sed simpliciter et ingenue iudicium animi sui detexisse*: cp. Quintil. x. 1, 123 *scias eum sentire quae dicit*.

\* Plut. Brut. 24: cp. Hom. Il. xvi. 849, ἀλλά με μοῖρ’ ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν νῖός.



### III.—THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH M. BRUTUS.

The genuineness of Cicero's correspondence with Brutus was first seriously questioned in 1741 by Tunstall in an 'Epistola ad virum eruditum Conyers Middleton.\*' Middleton replied two years later by an edition of the letters in which their genuineness was defended, and to this Tunstall made a rejoinder in 1744. In 1745, Markland, in a vigorous work,† with many scoffs at the forger, supported Tunstall's view, mainly on the ground of inaccuracy of language; and the question seemed decided that the Epistles to Brutus must go the way of the Epistles of Phalaris. That seemed to be so fully taken for granted that Niebuhr (1828) and Drumann (1838) speak of the correspondence as spurious, the latter with contempt,‡ the former with considerable reserve.§ Orelli also in his edition (1831) regarded it as spurious.

\* Erasmus, writing to Rhenanus in 1520, says (Ep. i. 1), 'Porro, quas (epistolas) nobis reliquit nescio quis *Bruti* nomine, nomine *Phalaridis*, nomine *Senecae et Pauli*, quid aliud censi possunt quam declamatiunculae.'

† Remarks on the Epistles of Cicero to Brutus, and of Brutus to Cicero, in a letter to a friend, 1845.

‡ Geschichte Roms. iv. 40, 'die Sammlung welche grobe Verstösse gegen die Geschichte und besonders gegen die Zeitfolge enthält.'

§ Niebuhr, Lectures on the History of Rome (iii. 91-2 Eng. Trans.):—

'The letters to Brutus refer to the same period (i.e. the last of Cicero's life). They consist of two parts: an earlier one, which is found in the same manuscripts as the letters of Cicero to his brother Quintus; and a later one, which was first published in the *editio Cratandrina*, and was, I believe, discovered in Germany. Whether the letters contained in the second part were forged in the 16th century, or are ancient and genuine, is a question which I cannot answer. If they are a forgery, it is a masterly one. The genuineness even of the first part, which has come down to us in very ancient manuscripts, is likewise very doubtful. They are of great interest to those who have Cicero's history at heart. They were unquestionably written at a very early period, and belong probably to the first century of our era. I am almost inclined to consider them as a production of the first century, perhaps of the time of Augustus or Tiberius. Their author was evidently a man of talent, and perfectly familiar with the circumstances of the period to which they relate. The question respecting their genuineness was raised about a hundred years ago by English critics, and I know that F. A. Wolf was decidedly of opinion that they are a fabrication, but I cannot express myself with the same certainty. I should like to see them proved to be spurious, as I am morally convinced that they are; but there are some serious considerations opposed

But the wheel was in course of revolution. In 1844 K. F. Hermann published *Vindiciae Latinitatis epistularum Ciceronis ad M. Brutum et Bruti ad Ciceronem*, in which the Latinity of the Epistles is defended. Next year appeared two long disquisitions by the same author, *Zur Rechtfertigung der Aechtheit des erhaltenen Briefwechsels zwischen Cicero und M. Brutus*, in which the supposed mistakes in history are examined, and it is shown, as Niebuhr stated, that the author was a man intimately versed in the history of the times. Zumpt\* at once replied, and the same year K. F. Hermann answered him in *Vindiciarum Brutinarum epimetrum*. These masterly works of Hermann have altered the whole state of the question. They are, perhaps, not altogether satisfactory as the chronology of the letters of Fam. x., xi., xii. had not been properly settled in his time; but he showed that more cogent arguments than had previously been advanced must in future be adduced if the spuriousness of the correspondence was to be maintained.

For the next thirty years the question seems to have excited little interest. Nipperdey and Teuffel seemed to consider that the correspondence, except i. 16, 17, was genuine; but the editors, Baiter and Kayser, Klotz and Wesenberg spoke of the epistles as 'subditivae,' and were followed by Nake, Bardt, and Bernhardt. R. Heine, in 1875, while urging reasons against the genuineness of i. 16, 17, considered that no objection on the score of Latinity could be made against the rest.† In 1877 O. E. Schmidt began the series of his signal services to the cause of Cicero's Epistles by his Dissertation *De Epistulis et a Cassio et ad Cassium . . . datis*, (Leipzig), in which he ranged himself on the side of K. F. Hermann, and contended (page 2) for the genuineness, if not of all, at least of

to this view. The letters to Brutus show a certain difference of feeling between Cicero and Brutus; and if a person of talent contrasts the psychological natures of the two men, that want of harmony would naturally present itself to him as the result of his comparison. But in whatever manner the letters may have been composed, their author lived so near the time to which they refer, and their substance is based on such authentic documents, that we may take them as trustworthy sources of history.'

\* A. W. Zumpt, *De M. Tullii Ciceronis ad M. Brutum et Bruti ad Ciceronem epistulis quae vulgo feruntur*, Berlin, 1845; *Berliner Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1845, II., No. 91-94.

† Heine, *Quaestionum de M. Tulli Ciceronis et M. Bruti mutuis epistulis capita duo*, Leipzig Dissertation, 1875.

the greater number of the letters to and from Brutus. Cobet, in *Mnemosyne*, vii. (1879), 262–297, defended the correspondence with the greatest vigour. In 1881 followed the most methodical and elaborate attack ever made on these Epistles in a somewhat diffuse but very painstaking work by Paul Meyer of Zurich\* and F. Becher in the *Rheinisches Museum* (1882), pages 576–597,† impugned their genuineness on the score of language. These treatises drew forth, in 1883, an exceedingly powerful and concise historical dissertation from Edmond Ruete of Strasbourg, *Die Correspondenz Cicero in den Jahren 44 und 43*, and an elaborate and masterly treatise from L. Gurlitt, *Die Briefe Cicero's ad M. Brutus auf ihre Echtheit geprüft*, *Philologus Suppl.* iv. (1883), 551–630. Since then practically no stand has been made by the attacking party. Meyer, in a review of Gurlitt's work in the *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1884), like a true scholar, retired from an indefensible position, and allowed that the question as to the Brutus letters must now be only how much is genuine and how much spurious (page 424).§ O. E. Schmidt and Gurlitt have made many and various studies of great value in this portion

\* Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cicero ad Brutum.

† Previously Becher wrote a somewhat superficial Dissertation 'De Ciceronis quae feruntur ad Brutum Epistulis,' Harburg, 1876; but later he published an elaborate article in *Philologus* (1885), pp. 471–501, 'Die sprachliche Eigenart der Briefe ad Brutum,' of which, as well as of his article in *Rh. Mus.*, we have had frequent occasion to make use. We do not know what Becher's present opinion is as regards the question, whether he has effected a compromise or is still, 'like Horatius' (as Gurlitt *Jahrb.* 1884, p. 856, says) 'keeping the bridge alone.'

‡ In the same year Karl Schirmer published a valuable programme, *Ueber die Sprache des M. Brutus*, Metz, 1884.

§ In 1895 an attack was made on the authenticity of the correspondence by an Italian scholar, Vincenzo d'Addozio (*De M. Bruti vita et studiis doctrinae*, Naples, 1895). His views have been refuted with great thoroughness by Dr. Emil Schelle ('Der neueste Angriff auf die Echtheit der Briefe ad M. Brutum,' *Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Annenschule*, 1896–7, Dresden), who has done such good service to history in fixing the exact date of the Battle of Mutina (see p. xliii†). Schelle, we are glad to say, upholds the genuineness of i. 16, 17 (864, 865): but we cannot assent to his numerous additions, consisting of multiples of 16 letters (which he considers to have been the length of a line in the archetype): most of these additions appear quite unnecessary. His emendation of the corrupt passage, i. 15, 3 (914), *Quod si ita est utriusque rei meum iudicium studeo tibi esse notissimum neque soloecum <p>ut<o>. Solonis dictum usurpare* (Mss. *usurpen*), though very bold, is undoubtedly brilliant.

of the correspondence, and have defended all with the exception of i. 16, 17, and perhaps i. 15, §§ 3–11. The contributions which these scholars have rendered to the better understanding of Cicero's Epistles cannot be too highly praised, and their energy is still active.\*

What is called the First Book of the Epistles to Brutus is found in most of the mss. which contain the Epp. ad Q. Fr. and ad Att.† It is really the Ninth Book of the correspondence of Cicero and Brutus as the quotation from Nonius (421. 31) shows. What is generally called the Second Book has no extant mss authority. 'Cratander, on Brut. ii. 1, says:—*Hanc et sequentes quinque epistolas ad Brutum quod a Ciceroniana dictione abhorrere non videbantur et in vetusto codice primum locum obtinent nos haudquaquam praetermittendas existimavimus.*' An interesting proof that Cratander was telling the truth has been found by O. E. Schmidt (*Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung*, &c., p. 49) in a catalogue of the Library of the Visconti at Pavia. No. 610 runs thus:—'*Tullii Epistole ad Aticum coperte corio rubeo albicato. Incipiunt quam contemplationem et finiuntur atque etiam rogo.*' The words *quam contemplationem* occur at the end of Brut. ii. 5 (842). So we may infer that in some early archetype from which ms this was copied, the epistles of Book ii. were torn off, but the

Less brilliant, but noteworthy, is his suggestion, i. 4. 3 (866), *neu semper primi cuiusque mali excludendi causa fiat ut aliud renascatur illo peius*. On grounds which do not carry conviction, Schelle labours to prove that i. 3 (902) does not refer to Porcia, but to some young child, probably a daughter of Brutus, who had recently died.

\* O. E. Schmidt, *Die letzten Kämpfe der römischen Republik*, Leipzig, 1884.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistularum ad M. Brutum Liber i., Versuch einer Rekonstruktion, *Philologus* (1890), pp. 38–48—the subjects of correspondence between Brutus and Cicero during 704 (50), mostly derived from allusions in Att. v. and vi. (A somewhat similar attempt had been previously made, but not so successfully, by C. Wermuth, *Quaestiones de M. Tullii Ciceronis epistularum ad M. Brutum libris novem*, Basle, 1887.)

Zu Cicero's Briefen an M. Brutus (Jahrb. 1889, pp. 179–184).

Beiträge zur Kritik der Briefe Ciceros an M. Brutus und zur Geschichte des mutinensischen Krieges (Jahrb. 1890, pp. 109–138).

L. Gurlitt, *Der Archetypus der Brutusbriefe* (Jahrb. 1885, pp. 561–576).

Nochmals der Archetypus (Jahrb. 1892, pp. 410–416). Drei Suasorien in Briefform (*Philologus*, Suppl. v. (1886), pp. 591–626).

† It is established that in the Tornesianus the Brutus letters did not appear (*Lehmann, De epp. ad Att. recensendis*, p. 115).



last few words of the book remained on a new page; and some very conscientious copyist copied out the fragmentary words instead of beginning at the next full letter.

For what is called Book ii. stood before Book i., and both together formed Book ix. of Cicero ad Brutum. Thus joined they make what is the normal complement of a book. Gurlitt considers (Jahrb. 1885, p. 564) that about the fourth or fifth century the separate books of Cicero's correspondence, till then in rolls, were formed into volumes of four books each. The first eight books of Cicero ad Brutum are wholly lost: and the ninth was joined to the three books ad Quintum fratrem to make up a volume of four books.\* That the ninth book consists of both ii. and i. is incidentally proved by the fact that i. 1, with which M begins, has no statement of what book it belongs to nor any coloured initial letter, but there are some leaves at the beginning which are not filled†.

There was considerable disorder and loss in the archetype of the Brutus epistles, just as there was in the Epp. ad Q. Fr. (see vol. II.). The nature of the disorder and loss is set forth in the notes to 839, 3; 843, introd.; 857, 3; cp. 840, 3; 865, 7. But it is to be carefully noticed, as Gurlitt has pointed out, that all the disorder in the Brutus letters is merely mechanical, *i. e.* disarrangement or loss of whole pages. The order of the letters of ii. and part of i., as they appeared in the archetype, is thus given by O. E. Schmidt (Jahrb., 1890, p. 115), who is virtually in agreement with Gurlitt.

Fol. 1 ii. 1 *Cum haec* to § 3 *forte converterit*.

„ 2 ii. 1 § 3 *maiores autem* to end. 2. *Planci animum* to *in republica sed est quo\*\**

„ 3 (Lost: contained the end of 2).

„ 4 ii. 3 *Litteras tuas* to § 5 *hoc magis doleo Asiam*.

„ 5 ii. 3 § 5 *nos amisisse quam* to the end. 4. *Datis mane* to end *mihi crede non erit. Pridie Id. April*.

„ 6 (Lost: contained the beginning of ii. 5) †

\* Similarly, perhaps, the nine books to Hirtius and the three to Pansa (cp. Nonius 450. 2: 92. 18) formed three volumes.

† Gurlitt l. c., p. 567; Schmidt l. c., p. 5.

‡ This is Schmidt's arrangement of fol. 5 and 6. We do not think it necessary to assume this loss or to suppose that ii. consisted of six letters. See note to 840, 3.



- „ 7 ii. 5 (= ii. 4 § 3) *at in Asiam censeo* to end *a te eum diligere*. 6. (= 5)  
*Quae litterae* to *nemini concedo*.
- „ 8 ii. 6 (= ii. 5, Ep. 842) § 1 *sed nihil* to § 2 *mei, declarant*.
- „ 9 ii. 6 (= ii. 5) § 2 *quod si tuis* to § 5 *elementine*.
- „ 10 ii. 6 (= ii. 5) § 2 *nunc quid* to end. i. 1. *L. Clodius* to *iudicatum*.
- „ 11 i. 1 § 1 *multa eius* to end. 2. 1 (Ep. 874) *Scripta et obsignata* to § 2 *quam tua*\*\*
- „ 12 (Lost: contained conclusion of 874 and beginning of 843).
- „ 13 i. 2 § 3 (843) *Te benevolentiam* to end. 3. *Nostrae res* to § 2 *civitas tota*.
- „ 14 1, 3 § 2 (844) *ad te se* to *v. Kal. Maius*.†
- „ 15 (Lost: contained a letter in which Cicero informed Brutus of the victory at Mutina immediately after the news had arrived, but before it was known that both the consuls had died; cp. 857, 1.)††
- „ 16 i. 4 § 1 (857) *Quanta sim* to § 3 *cum me docueris*.\*\*
- „ 17 (Lost: contained end of 857 and beginning of 866).
- „ 18 i. 4 § 3 (866) *Nunc, Cicero* to § 6 *mihi rempublicam*.
- „ 19 i. 4 § 6 *iustam et iam* to end. 5. § 1 *A. d. v. Kal. Maius* to § 3 *posse haberi*.

The rest of the book runs on without the loss or disorder of any sheets.

We are strongly of opinion that the correspondence with Brutus, with the possible exception of i. 16, 17 (864, 865), is genuine.‡

† Schmidt reads *x*; but he would probably change *x* to *v*, now that Schelle has proved that the Battle of Mutina was fought on April 21st; see Gurlitt, *Jahrb.* 1892, p. 410: cp. *Introd.* note to 846.

†† Perhaps it is hardly necessary to assume this.

‡ Even as regards these we think that the balance of probability is that they are genuine: see *Introd.* note to 864; and we are glad to find that this view is maintained by C. F. W. Müller, in his Teubner text of the 2nd volume of Cicero's *Epistles* (1898); and by E. Schelle in his review of d'Addozio. If a man impugns the conduct of a colleague in a formal document (which often takes the form of a letter), that document is of quite a different nature from his ordinary letters—the range of ideas is strictly circumscribed to the point at issue, and, if the charge is a violation of principle, the style will almost certainly be somewhat rhetorical. Again, a *suasoria* written on the same subject will, of course, reproduce the same ideas and present them in the same manner, according to the accuracy with which the writer has been able to grasp the style and point of view of his model; the copy may be almost indistinguishable from the original. So that it is very difficult on general grounds to say whether i. 16, 17 are genuine or not. We do not know enough about the verbal style of Brutus to make sure that these documents could not have been written by him; and what we do know about his

As we have written a commentary on the letters it is not necessary here to go into the various historical and linguistic points which have been raised in the course of the discussion. We have tried to examine them all with the help of the distinguished scholars who have done so much for this portion of the correspondence, especially Gurlitt, Ruete, and O. E. Schmidt.

character and the general tone of his correspondence would certainly incline us to consider them the works of Brutus and not school exercises. We can hardly think that in a school exercise Brutus would be represented as writing in such a rude manner as he does to Atticus in 867, 3. A later writer would, we think, have indulged in many more rhetorical flourishes and written in a smoother style; and he would have represented Brutus as very much better or very much worse than he appears in the letter which we now possess.



## PART X.

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EGO CERTE REI PUBLICAE NON DEERO.





## PART X.

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LETTERS FROM THE RETURN OF CICERO TO ROME TO RESIST  
ANTONY TO THE BATTLE OF MUTINA.

EPP. DCCLXXXVII.-DCCCXLIV.

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A. U. C. . . . .	710, 711
B. C. . . . .	44, 43
AET. CIC. . . . .	62, 63



# CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

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## DCCLXXXVII. CICERO TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS (FAM. X. 1).

ROME ; SEPTEMBER (BEGINNING) ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

Invehitur Cicero in M. Antonii nimiam potentiam et L. Planco, Galliae Transalpinae praesidi, rem publicam commendat : de Furnio benigne suscepto gratias agit.

### CICERO PLANCO.

1. Et afui proficiscens in Graeciam, et postea quam de medio cursu rei publicae sum voce revocatus, numquam per M. Antonium

For an account of Plancus, see Introduction. He was at this time governor of Gallia Comata, i.e. Transalpine Gaul with the exception of the Provincia. Hirtius had administered the whole of Transalpine Gaul in 709 (45); in the April of that year Cicero received from him a letter, cp. Att. xii. 37, 4 (580), from Narbo, the capital of the undivided province. In 710 (44) Caesar divided that large district into two provinces, Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Comata; and he assigned the government of the former to Lepidus, and that of the latter to Plancus. Between the departure of Hirtius and the arrival of Plancus, Gallia Comata was administered by Aurelius, the quaestor of Hirtius: cp. Att. xiv. 9, 3 (712).

On Fam. x. M. Gitlbauer has written two articles, in the Wiener Studien, i. 75-97, 246-268, which contain suggestions that are occasionally of some value.

1. *medio*] So Manutius and all editors for *meo*: cp. Off. iii. 121, *ipse venissem Athenas . . . nisi me e medio cursu clara*

*voce patria revocasset*; ad Brut. i. 15, 5 (914), in *medio Achaico cursu*.

*rei p. . . voce*] This personification of the State is found elsewhere in Cicero. In Cat. i. 27-29, he introduces the State, addressing him in a long speech, and then continues *his ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus . . . pauca respondebo*.

*numquam*] Cicero uses this word, as constant reports reached him during his journey to Rome that an attack was meditated on his person (Plut. Cic. 43); and after the delivery of the First Philippic Antony had repeatedly uttered threats of violence against Cicero. Nake thinks that *numquam* compels us to fix the date of this letter after the meeting on the 19th. But if so, it is strange that Cicero makes no reference to his having been unable to support the claim of Plancus to the *supplicatio*: see note to Fam. x. 2, 1 (788). We should rather suppose that this letter was written shortly after Cicero's return to Rome, in answer to a letter brought from Plancus, not by Furnius, but by some other messenger.

quietus fui, cuius tanta est, non insolentia—nam id quidem vulgare vitium est—, sed immanitas, non modo ut vocem, sed ne vultum quidem liberum possit ferre cuiusquam. Itaque mihi maximae curae est, non de mea quidem vita, cui satis feci vel aetate vel factis vel, si quid etiam hoc ad rem pertinet, gloria, sed me patria sollicitat in primisque, mi Plance, expectatio consulatus tui, quae ita longa est, ut optandum sit ut possimus ad id tempus rei publicae spiritum ducere. Quae potest enim spes esse in ea re publica, in qua hominis impotentissimi atque intemperantissimi armis oppressa sunt omnia et in qua nec senatus nec populus vim habet ullam nec leges ullae sunt nec iudicia nec omnino simulacrum aliquod ac vestigium civitatis? 2. Sed quoniam acta omnia mitti ad te arbitrabar, nihil erat quod singulis de rebus scriberem; illud autem erat amoris mei, quem a tua pueritia susceptum non servavi solum, sed etiam auxi, monere te atque hortari, ut in rem publicam omni cogitatione curaque incumberes. Quae si ad tuum tempus perducitur, facilis gubernatio est; ut perducatur autem, magnae cum diligentiae est tuaequè curae tum etiam fortunae. 3. Sed et te aliquanto ante, ut spero, habebimus, et, praeterquam quod rei publicae consulere debemus, etiam tuae

*insolentia*] ‘arrogance’; *immanitas*, ‘savagery,’  
*non modo ut*] ‘that he cannot endure that anyone should look, much less speak, like a free man.’

*curae est . . . de*] cp. Sall. Jug. 26, *de ceteris senatui curae fore*: Att. xi. 6, 3 (418); and see note to Fam. x. 24, 2 (916).

*cui satis feci*] ‘and as regards it, I have done my duty, whether one considers my years, or my exploits, or (if indeed this is at all to the point), my renown’: cp. Phil. i. fin., *mihi fere satis est quod vixi vel ad aetatem vel ad gloriam*; Att. xiv. 21, 3 (728), *mihi quidem βελωταί*.

*consulatus tui*] Planceus had been appointed by Caesar to the consulship for 712 (42).

*ita longa est*] ‘is postponed so far into the future that we have to pray (rather than hope) that it may be granted us to draw the breath of life until the state reaches that day.’ For *expectatio longa* compare *spes longa* in Hor. Carm. i. 4, 15, *Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare*

*longam*. We must lay stress on *optandum*, which, in opposition to *sperare*, signifies the prayer for a thing which cannot be reasonably hoped for: cp. Reid on Lael. 11.

*impotentissimi*] ‘most violent.’ Many mss have *impudentissimi*.

*intemperantissimi*] ‘most unbridled.’

*nec . . . civitatis*] ‘neither laws nor legal sentences have any force, nor is there at all the slightest semblance, or vestige, of the free state.’

2. *quem . . . auxi*] ‘a love which commenced when you were a boy, and which I feel ever since not only unimpaired, but even increased.’

*ad tuum tempus*] sc. to your consulship.

*tuaequè curae*] So H, but omitted in M. As these words are more likely to have been omitted *ex homocoteleuto* than added, we have retained them.

3. *aliquanto ante*] ‘long before that’: sc. your consulship.

*etiam*] The mss read *tamen*, which can hardly be defended. Cicero would not contrast measures which tended to the

dignitati ita favemus, ut omne nostrum consilium, studium, officium, operam, laborem, diligentiam ad amplitudinem tuam conferamus: ita facillime et rei publicae, quae mihi carissima est, et amicitiae nostrae, quam sanctissime nobis colendam puto, me intellego satis facturum. 4. Furnium nostri tanti a te fieri, quantum ipsius humanitas et dignitas postulat, nec miror et gaudeo teque hoc existimare volo, quicquid in eum iudicii officiique contuleris, id ita me accipere, ut in me ipsum te putem contulisse.

# DCCLXXXVIII. CICERO TO THE SAME PLANCUS (FAM. x. 2).

ROME; SEPTEMBER (SECOND HALF); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

Excusat M. Cicero quod in senatum ad agendam Planci causam non venerit: officia sua in aliis rebus pollicetur.

## CICERO PLANCO SAL.

1. Meum studium honori tuo pro necessitudine nostra non defuisset, si aut tuto in senatum aut honeste venire potuissem;

interests of the state and those which advanced the dignity of Plancus. Wesenberg (E. A. 33) corrects to *etiam*, which is the regular word used with *praeter*, or *praeterquam*: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 32, 4; Liv. iv. 17, 6, and Weissenborn, ad loc. *ut omne . . . conferamus*] 'so as to devote all my thoughts and zeal, service and efforts, toil and watchfulness, to further your advancement.'

*satis facturum*] 'to do my duty towards.'

4. *Furnium*] a trusty legatus of Plancus, for whom he frequently carried messages to and from Rome: cp. note to Fam. x. 25 (880).

*quicquid . . . contulisse*] 'whatever good opinion or service you show him, I shall regard it as shown to myself.' For *iudicium*, in the sense of 'favourable judgment,' Nipperdey compares, besides this passage, Fam. xiii. 46 (921), *patroni iudicio ornatus*; Tac. Agr. 43; Ann. iv. 39; Plin. Epp. x. 4, 6 fin. Mendelssohn

adds Plancus ap. Fam. x. 23, 7 (895), and Zangemeister on C. I. L. iv. 1074. Accordingly, there is no need to read, with Pluygers and Lehmann (p. 28), *studii*, though, no doubt, the latter is the more usual word, and *conferre iudicium* is not found elsewhere.

This letter obviously lies between September 19th and the departure of Antony from Rome, October 9th. Ruete notices (p. 32) that Octavian's attempt to assassinate Antony occurred a few days before Antony left Rome (Nic. Dam. 30, p. 454), i.e. about October 5th; and as Cicero makes no mention of that occurrence, the latter date may perhaps be fixed as the inferior limit for the date of this epistle.

1. *honori*] Probably a *supplicatio*, which would confirm Plancus's title of imperator. That title was certainly recognized in December (Phil. iii. 38).

*in senatum*] Cicero is thinking of the meeting on September 19th, when Antony



sed nec sine periculo quisquam libere de re publica sentiens versari potest in summa impunitate gladiatorum nec nostrae dignitatis videtur esse ibi sententiam de re publica dicere, ubi me et melius et propius audiant armati quam senatores. 2. Quapropter in privatis rebus nullum neque officium neque studium meum desiderabis; ne in publicis quidem, si quid erit, in quo me interesse necesse sit, umquam deero, ne cum periculo quidem meo, dignitati tuae: in iis autem rebus, quae nihilo minus, ut ego absim, confici poterunt, peto a te ut me rationem habere velis et salutis et dignitatis meae.

DCCLXXXIX. CICERO TO THE SAME PLANCUS  
(FAM. X. 3).

ROME; SEPTEMBER (LATTER HALF); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;  
AET. CIC. 62.

Veritus M. Cicero ne cum M. Antonio se L. Plancus coniungat, captat laudibus eius gratiam hortaturque ut rem publicam tueatur.

CICERO PLANCO SAL.

1. Cum ipsum Furnium per se vidi libentissime, tum hoc libentius, quod illum audiens te videbar audire; nam et in re militari virtutem et in administranda provincia iustitiam et in

violently declaimed against him. Cicero did not attend that meeting; but he afterwards composed the Second Philippic, which is ostensibly a reply to the invective of Antony delivered on that occasion.

*sed nec . . . gladiatorum*] 'but now no one who has the interests of freedom at heart can attend when swords have such extreme license.' For the danger which the constitutional party, and especially Cicero, ran from the soldiers of Antony at this time, cp. Fam. xii. 2, 1 (790).

2. *ut ego absim*] 'even though I am absent.'

This third letter was also written between September 19th and October 5th, probably after an interview with Furnius,

while the second letter was written very soon after the 19th, when Cicero was still smarting from vexation at his having failed to answer Antony on that day, owing to the terrorism exercised by the latter's soldiers. Furnius appears to have come to Rome for the meeting of the senate, on September 19th, in order to urge the claim of Plancus for a *supplicatio*, and Cicero gave him this letter of exhortation to bring back. It reminds one of a similar letter which he addressed eight years before to Curio, viz. Fam. ii. 7 (227)—the path of duty is the way to glory, duty to Rome, of course, being synonymous with support of the aristocratic party.

1. *Furnium*] cp. note to Fam. x. 25 (880).

omni genere prudentiam mihi tuam exposuit et praeterea mihi non ignotam in consuetudine et familiaritate suavitatem tuam adiunxit, praeterea summam erga se liberalitatem: quae omnia mihi iucunda, hoc extremum etiam gratum fuit. 2. Ego, Plance, necessitudinem constitutam habui cum domo vestra ante aliquanto quam tu natus es, amorem autem erga te ab ineunte pueritia tua, confirmata iam aetate familiaritatem cum studio meo, tum iudicio tuo constitutam: his de causis mirabiliter faveo dignitati tuae quam mihi tecum statuo debere esse communem. Omnia summa consecutus es, virtute duce, comite fortuna, eaque es adeptus adolescens multis invidentibus, quos ingenio industriaque fregisti. Nunc me amantissimum tui, nemini concedentem, qui tibi vetustate necessitudinis potior possit esse, si audies, omnem tibi reliquae vitae dignitatem ex optimo rei publicae statu acquires. 3. Seis profecto—nihil enim te fugere potuit—fuisse quoddam tempus, cum homines existimarent te nimis servire temporibus, quod ego quoque existimarem, te si ea, quae patiebare, probare etiam arbitrarer; sed cum intellegerem, quid sentires, te arbitrabar videre,

*et praeterea*] ‘and further, your charm of manner, which I know so well in our familiar intercourse: he added further, that you have shown the greatest generosity to himself. At all these kindnesses I feel pleasure, and for this latter circumstance even gratitude.’ Cicero often marks the distinction between *incundum*, what is merely pleasant, and yet may be injurious, and *gratum*, that for which one is thankful, what is good in the fullest sense: cp. Att. iii. 24, 2 (85), *ita veritas, etiamsi iucunda non est, mihi tamen grata est*; Fam. v. 15, 1 (587), *amor tuus gratus et optatus: dicere iucundus, nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem*; Fam. iv. 6, 1 (574); Att. i. 17, 6 (23). It is a little careless of Cicero to have repeated *praeterea* so soon, and also to have used *constitutam* twice in the next sentence: cp. § 3, *arbitrarer et arbitrabar*. Giltbauer (p. 77) wishes to read *et postea mihi non ignotam*.

2. *confirmata iam aetate*] cp. Thucyd. ii. 36, ἐν τῇ καθέστηκυῖα ἡλικίᾳ; Shakespeare, *Richard III.*, iv. 4, 169–171:—

Thy school-days frightful, desperatè, wild, and furious,  
Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous,  
Thy age confirmèd, proud, subtle, bloody, treacherous.

*familiaritatem*] ‘a close intimacy set on foot, from inclination on my part, from judgment on yours.’

*mirabiliter . . . communem*] ‘I am marvellously devoted to your advancement, which I consider I ought to share with you.’ We read *debere esse*, with Vict., for *habere esse* of M: see Adn. Crit. Giltbauer (p. 78) omits *esse*, taking *mihi* with *statuo*.

*nemini concedentem qui . . . possit*] Note the force of the subjunctive *possit*, ‘yielding to no one in his claim to stand first with you in the rights of old friendship.’ For *concedere* cp. note to Fam. iv. 3, 1 (494).

*ex optimo rei p. statu*] ‘by the establishment of the aristocratic government.’

3. *te nimis servire temporibus*] ‘that you were too much a time-server,’ i.e. during Caesar’s domination Planeus himself admits that his reputation did not stand high: cp. Fam. x. 4, 2 (808), *ut praeter bonam famam nihil desiderare videntur*.

*sed eum . . . posses*] ‘but when I came to understand your sentiments, I considered that you formed a just estimate of your powers,’ i.e. that you reflected how little power you had, and how futile any course would be, except to acquiesce in

quid posses. Nunc alia ratio est : omnium rerum tuum iudicium est idque liberum. Consul es designatus, optima aetate, summa eloquentia, *in* maxima orbitate rei publicae virorum talium : incumbe, per deos immortales ! in eam eura[m] et cogitationem, quae tibi summam dignitatem et gloriam adferat. Unus autem est, hoc praesertim tempore, per tot annos re publica devexata, rei publicae bene gerendae cursus ad gloriam. 4. Haec amore magis impulsus scribenda ad te putavi, quam quo te arbitrarer monitis et praeceptis egere ; sciebam enim ex isdem te haec haurire fontibus, ex quibus ipse hauseram : qua re modum faciam. Nunc tantum significandum putavi, ut potius amorem tibi ostenderem meum, quam ostentarem prudentiam. Interea, quae ad dignitatem tuam pertinere arbitrabor, studiose diligenterque curabo.

## DCCXC. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 2).

ROME ; SEPTEMBER (END) ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero queritur de M. Antonii nimia potentia et rei p. condicionem exponit.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Vehementer laetor tibi probari sententiam et orationem meam ; qua si saepius uti liceret, nihil esset negotii libertatem et

the condition of things at the time : cp. Eur. Hec. 227 :—

γίγνωσκε δ' ἀλκὴν καὶ παρυσίαν κακῶν  
τῶν σῶν.

*omnium rerum tuum iudicium est*] The objective genitive after *iudicium* is rare, the usual construction being *de* with the abl. : yet cp. Brut. 1, *iuratus iudicium dignitatis meae fecerat*.

*optima aetate*] 'in the prime of life.'

*in maxima orbitate*] We have added *in* with Ernesti, as it is hard to have an ablative of attendant circumstances following upon two ablatives of quality, without anything to mark the difference.

*in eam eura[m] et cogitationem*] 'to such a careful consideration of that course as will bring you the highest honour and renown.'

*Unus autem est . . . gloriam*] 'but there is just one course leading to glory—the course of upright public action.' For the brachylogy Böckel compares Off. iii. 6, *si discendi labor est potius quam voluptas*.

4. *ex isdem . . . hauseram*] This sentence conveys a delicate compliment. Plancus is as well versed as Cicero in the writings of the great philosophers and moral teachers of the world.

*ostenderem . . . ostentarem*] 'exhibit' . . . 'display.'

Schmidt (Cass. p. 22 n) points out that Cassius was at this time in South Italy. He appears to have set sail shortly after Brutus (Phil. x. 8).

1. *sententiam et orationem*] 'opinion and speech': sc. the First Philippic. *Sententia* is here used simply for 'ex-

rem publicam recipere. Sed homo amens et perditus multoque nequior quam ille ipse, quem tu nequissimum occisum esse dixisti, caedis initium quaerit, nullamque aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur: quod ego periculum non extimesco; modo vestri facti gloriam cum mea laude communicet. Ita nec Pisoni, qui in eum primus invectus est nullo adsentiente, nec mihi, qui idem tricenisimo post die feci, nec P. Servilio, qui me est consecutus, tuto in senatum venire licet: caedem enim gladiator quaerit eiusque initium a. d. XIII. Kal. Octobr. a me se facturum putavit, ad quem paratus venerat, cum in villa Metelli complures dies commentatus esset. Quae autem in lustris et in vino commentatio potuit esse? Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more,

pression of opinion,' not in the technical sense of 'motion.' The First Philippic did not, like many of the subsequent ones, conclude with a formal motion.

*nihil esset negotii*] 'there would be no trouble.'

*quem tu nequissimum . . . dixisti*] This may be translated either 'who, you said, was the most profligate man who was ever slain,' or 'who, you say, was slain for his utter profligacy.' The former is probably the sense in which Cicero meant the words to be taken. The reference is of course to Caesar.

*caedis initium quaerit*] 'means to start a massacre.'

*veterani*] Appian, B. C. iii. 4, says that after the execution of the false Marius (which took place in the first half of April) the senate, under the impression that Antony was exposed to danger at the hands of the democrats, allowed him to raise a body-guard of veterans. This is probably an invention of Appian's, as we do not hear of Antony's having such a force before his journey through Italy, during the latter half of April and May, when he raised a praetorian cohort of veterans, which he afterwards increased to 6000: cp. App. l. c. Cic. Phil. ii. 100 ff. and Mayor's Introd. § 41.

*cum mea laude communicet*] 'associate with my exploits.'

*Ita*] This word goes closely with the next sentence, *caedis enim*, 'and so you see Piso and the rest of us cannot attend the senate, for this gladiator is looking for a pretext to murder us.'

*Pisoni*] L. Calpurnius Piso, father-in-law of Caesar.

*tricenisimo post die*] 'a month after.' Piso spoke on August 1st; Cicero and Servilius on September 2nd. P. Servilius had been consul in 706 (48).

*qui me est consecutus*] 'who adopted my views.'

*ad quem*] sc. diem, 'on which day': cp. Att. xiv. 14, 6 (719), *existimo ad Kal. Iunias statuere posse ad quas adero*.

*Metelli*] Metellus Scipio was father-in-law of Pompey. He drowned himself after the battle of Thapsus. His villa was at Tibur, and had been seized by Antony: cp. Phil. ii. 42; 109; v. 19; Att. xvi. 11, 2 (799), *codem iure quo Rubriana potius quam quo Scipionis*.

*complures dies*] seventeen, from October 2nd to 19th.

*commentatus esset*] 'he had studied his speech.'

*ut ad te antea scripsi*] This does not necessarily refer to a previous letter written by Cicero to Cassius about Antony's speech on the 19th, as Schmidt (Cass. 22) supposes. The present letter appears to have been the first which Cicero wrote to him on that subject. The criticism of Cicero was a general one on Antony's customary style of speaking.

*vomere . . . dicere*] 'in his usual style to be, not discussing, but disgorging': cp. Phil. v. 20, *in me absentem orationem ex ore impurissimo evomit*. For this odious charge cp. Phil. ii. 63, 76, 84, 104.



non dicere. 2. Qua re, quod scribis to confidere auctoritate et eloquentia nostra aliquid profici posse, non nihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum: intellegit enim populus Romanus tres esse consularis, qui, quia, de re publica bene senserint, libere locuti sint, tuto in senatum venire non possint. Nec est praeterea quod quicquam exspectes; tuus enim necessarius adfinitate nova delectatur: itaque iam non est studiosus ludorum infinitoque fratris tui plausu dirumpitur. Alter item adfinis novis commentariis Caesaris delenitus est. Sed haec tolerabilia: illud non ferendum, quod est, qui vestro anno filium consulem futurum putet ob

2. tres] Piso, Servilius, Cicero.

qui . . . possint] an asyndeton, though there are only two clauses. Lehmann (p. 26) quotes, among others, Att. vii. 4, 2 (295), *cum ille vesperi venisset, Balbus de tota re constituisset*: cp. also Böckel. Cratander adds *quae* after *quia*. Lehmann (p. 54) suggests *qui quia de republica bene senserint* <*quaeque senserint*> *libere locuti sint*, comparing Fam. iv. 14, 1 (535), *si dignitas est bene de re p. sentire et bonis viris probare quod sentias*: also Fam. v. 14, 2 (585); Tusc. i. 6. But there is no necessity at all to alter the mss reading.

Nec est . . . exspectes] 'nor is there any reason for you to expect any other aid': cp. Fam. vi. 7, 5 (532), *nihil est quod filium meum exspectes*.

tuus necessarius] M. Lepidus, who had married one half-sister (Junia) of M. Brutus, while Cassius had married another (Junia Tertulla). Both were daughters of D. Silanus, consul 692 (62), and Servilia. In writing to Cassius, Cicero often calls Lepidus *tuus adfinis*, Fam. xii. 8, 1 (898); 10, 1 (910). The son of Lepidus had recently married a daughter of Antony (Dio Cass. xlv. 53, 6).

delectatur] Watson quotes the distinction laid down by Madvig (Fin. i. 14), that *delector aliquo* expresses general approval, *delector ab aliquo* special delight at a definite moment.

itaque . . . dirumpitur] 'accordingly he is not taking any great interest in the games, and is bursting with envy at the unbounded applause which your brother obtains.' The envy of Lepidus is usually considered to have arisen from the applause which was won by L. Cassius when he celebrated the Ludi Apollinares, though these were held as far back as the beginning of July. But there is no ne-

cessity to suppose that he could not have been greeted with applause unless he was the giver of the games; mere spectators often received that mark of popular favour: cp. Att. ii. 19, 3 (46). Certain people appear to have been fond of cheering this L. Cassius (though he was a partisan of Caesar), on account of his relationship to the Liberator—a proceeding which Cicero regarded with satisfaction: cp. Att. xiv. 2, 1 (704), *plausus vero L. Cassio datus etiam facetus mihi quidem visus est*, where see note.

Alter item adfinis] We cannot be certain who are referred to in these words and in *est qui . . . putet* below. The former is considered by some (e.g. apparently Drumann, i. 33, note 94) to be Dolabella; by others to be L. Aemilius Paullus, or C. Marcellus (Watson). Bardt (Quaest. Tull. 38–42) considers the latter to be L. Marcus Philippus, consul in 698 (56). He enumerates all the living consulars, and shows objections to each, except Philippus. Both these men were paying court to Antony, in order to obtain favours from him. These favours were grants of money, or position, made on the strength of documents which purported to have been drawn up by Caesar, but which really were forged by Antony's secretary, Faberius.

delenitus est] 'has got his sop from.' We take the rendering 'sop' from Mr. Jeans.

vestro anno] i.e. the year you would first be legally entitled to hold the office. Cassius had been quaestor in 700 (54), so that he might have been consul much earlier than 713 (41); but as he did not hold the praetorship till 710 (44), he would not be eligible for the consulship till 713 (41), as two full years had to



eamque causam se huic latroni deservire prae se ferat. 3. Nam L. Cotta familiaris meus fatali quadam desperatione, ut ait, minus in senatum venit; L. Caesar, optimus et fortissimus civis, valetudine impeditur; Ser. Sulpicius et summa auctoritate et optime sentiens non adest. Reliquos exceptis designatis ignosce mihi si non numero consulares. Habes auctores consilii publici: qui numerus etiam bonis rebus exiguus esset, quid censes perditis? Qua re spes est omnis in vobis, qui si ideo abestis, ut sitis in tuto, ne in vobis quidem: sin aliquid dignum vestra gloria cogitatis, velim salvis nobis; sin id minus, res tamen publica per vos brevi tempore ius suum recipere. Ego tuis neque desum neque deero: qui si quae ad me referent, mea tibi tamen benevolentia fidesque praestabitur. Vale.

elapse between the holding of successive offices: cp. Mommsen, St. R. i<sup>2</sup>. 546, note 3.

*deservire prae se ferat*] 'exhibits his subservience to.'

3. *Nam*] ('you need not ask me about anyone else), for.'—(Watson).

*L. Cotta*] consul in 689 (65).

*fatali . . . venit*] 'hardly ever (lit. 'less than before') comes into the senate: Fate, he says, forbids hope.' For *fatalis* Andr. compares Fam. xv. 15, 2 (448), *quasi quodam fatali proelio*, and xii. 13, 1 (901).

*L. Caesar*] After the death of Julius, Lucius Caesar tried to mediate between the senate and Antony. He was proscribed by the triumvirs, and narrowly escaped death: cp. Phil. viii. 1; xii. 18; Appian, B. C. iv. 12, 37.—(Watson).

*Sulpicius*] He appears to have left Rome in May: cp. Att. xiv. 18, 3 (726); xv. 7 (739).

*designatis*] Hirtius and Pansa.

*si non numero consulares*] 'if I do not reckon to be men of consular dignity.'—(Watson).

*Habes . . . publici*] 'Here you have all the leaders of the national policy.'—

(Jeans).

*ne in vobis quidem*] sc. *spes est*. 'If you are going to think of your own safety, there is no hope for us, even in you.'

*velim salvis nobis*] 'I hope I may live to see it': cp. Att. x. 8, 8 (392), *id spero vivis nobis fore*; Phil. ii. 113.

*ius suum recipere*] cp. Att. xv. 13, 4 (794), *videtur res publica ius suum recipere*.

*si quae ad me referent, mea tibi*] So H Pal, who also omits *tamen*. M has *sive ad me referent mea tamen in*, and the editors add *sive non referent* before *mea*. But the reading of H Pal gives excellent sense, and saves us from having to make this addition. Rühl (Rh. Mus. xxx. 29) considers this passage most important, and believes that H gives the correct reading if we change *quae* into *quidem*. It is quite true that *referre* in this sense generally is used without a direct accusative, e.g. Fam. iii. 12, 2 (275), *ut . . . ad me ne referrent*: Att. vii. 16, 3 (313), *De Terentia et Tullia tibi adserunt . . . ad te ut referrent*; but neuter pronouns are so frequently used with verbs which do not take any other object that we hesitate to make even the slight change of *quae* to *quidem*.

## DCCXCI. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 3).

ROME; EARLY IN OCTOBER; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero de condicione rei p. queritur et in M. Antonium eiusque socios invehitur.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Auget tuus amicus furorem in dies: primum in statua, quam posuit in rostris, inscripsit PARENTI OPTIME MERITO, ut non modo sicarii, sed iam etiam parricidae iudicemini, quid dico, iudicemini? iudicemur potius; vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisset! Molestus nobis non esset. Sed hoc vestrum est; quod quoniam praeteriit, utinam haberem quid vobis darem consilii! Sed ne mihi quidem ipsi reperio quid faciundum sit. Quid enim est, quod contra vim sine vi fieri possit? 2. Consilium omne autem hoc est illorum, ut mortem Caesaris persequantur; itaque ante diem vi. Non. Oct. productus in contionem a Cannutio turpissime ille

This letter was written between October 2nd, on which day Antony delivered the speech to which reference is made (§ 1), and October 9th, on which he left Rome.

1. *tuus amicus*] Antony. Böckel remarks that on March 18th Cassius supped with Antony: cp. Dio Cass. xliv. 34.  
*statua*] of Caesar.

*Molestus nobis non esset*] i.e. I should have seen that Antony was despatched, as well as Caesar: cp. Fam. xii. 4, 1 (818), *Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses; reliquiarum nihil fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem praeter ceteros me*. According to Plutarch (Brut. 18), all the conspirators were of opinion that Antony should be killed with Caesar, as being *μοναρχικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ὑβριστήν, ἰσχύν τε πεποιημένον ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ πρὸς τὸ στρατιωτικόν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τῷ φύσει σοβαρῷ καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονι προσειλήφει τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα τότε Καίσαρι συνάρχων*.

*Sed hoc vestrum est*] 'but the deed is yours'—the deed both of commission and of omission. Cicero certainly wishes to

lay strong emphasis on the latter, as the next words show, 'but now that is past and gone': cp. note to Fam. xii. 22, 4 (813), *sed illud et praeteriit et levius est*.

*sine vi*] H has a curious reading here; at first it had *sex*, which was altered to *vi*. For other examples of this corruption see Madvig, Opusc. Acad. ii. 273. In Fam. xv. 4, 8 (238), all the mss read *castellaque sex capta*, where Madvig rightly alters to *vi*.

2. *persequantur*] 'avenge': cp. Phil. xiii. 39.

*Cannutio*] This Cannutius was a tribune, and a bitter enemy of Antony. While Cicero, says Velleius (ii. 64, 3), attacked Antony with his divine eloquence (*caelesti ore*), Cannutius worried him like a mad dog (*canina rabie lacerabat*). He was put to death after the Perusian War by order of Octavian (App. B. C. v. 49; Dio xlviii. 14). On the occasion referred to here he brought forward Antony, and required him to state definitely, once for all, what course he intended to pursue. Antony, on his part, was quite ready to declare to the people and veterans that,

quidem discessit, sed tamen ea dixit de conservatoribus patriae, quae dici deberent de proditoribus; de me quidem non dubitanter, quin omnia de meo consilio et vos fecissetis et Cannutius faceret. Cetera cuius modi sint, ex hoc iudica, quod legato tuo viaticum eripuerunt: quid eos interpretari putas, cum hoc faciunt? ad hostem scilicet portari. O rem miseram! dominum ferre non potuimus; conservo servimus. Et tamen, me quidem favente magis quam sperante, etiam nunc residet spes in virtute tua. Sed ubi sunt copiae? De reliquo malo te ipsum tecum loqui quam nostra dicta cognoscere. Vale.

## DCCXCII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 23).

ROME; MIDDLE OF OCTOBER; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero respondet ad ea quae Tratorius nuntiarat de provincia Cornificii: dein rei p. formam describit, philosophiam laudat.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Omnem condicionem imperii tui statumque provinciae mihi demonstravit Tratorius. O multa intolerabilia locis omnibus!

however hostile he might appear to be to Octavian, he would do his best to avenge the murder of Caesar: cp. Fam. xii. 23, 3 (792). Cobet (Mnem. vii. 1879, p. 136) suggests a *fratre Lucio* for *Cannutius*, but is not decided on the point.

*turpissime . . . discessit*] 'though he came off most disgracefully (though his scandalous speech had no particular effect, and was warmly resented by many), yet he referred to the Liberators in terms which were applicable only to traitors.'

*de meo consilio*] For Antony's object, cp. xii. 2, 1 (790), *ut in me veterani incitentur*.

*legato*] As proconsul of Syria Cassius had *legati*.

*viaticum*] 'travelling money': cp. Liv. xlv. 22, 13. While the legatus was actually present in the suite of the governor his allowance was called *cibaria*.

*quid . . . portari*] 'What reason do you think they gave when doing this? Of course that the money is being carried to an enemy of the state.'

*conservo*] Antony, who was the slave of Caesar, like the rest of the Romans.

*Et tamen . . . cognoscere*] 'and though I have better wishes than hopes, yet even now there does remain a hope in your valour. But where are the forces?' As to what remains I should prefer that you questioned your own heart rather than that you listened to my words.' What Cicero means by *reliquum* appears to be the employment of the forces of Cassius against Antony, for the recovery of freedom at Rome. For *tecum loqui*, cp. what he says to Curio, Fam. ii. 7, 2 (127), *tecum loquere, te adhibe in consilium, te audi, tibi obtempera*.

Cornificius had been governing Africa since the beginning of the year, having succeeded C. Calvisius Sabinus. Antony had recently sent out Calvisius again to supersede him, but Calvisius was not able to dislodge him. For the life of Cornificius see note to Fam. xii. 17 (493). The date is approximately fixed by § 2, *a. d. vii. Id. Oct.*

1. *Tratorius*] a friend, perhaps a legate, of Cornificius: cp. Fam. xii. 30, 5 (899). He probably stood in the same

Sed quo tua maior dignitas, eo, quae tibi acciderunt, minus ferenda; neque enim, quae tu propter magnitudinem et animi et ingenii moderate fers, a te non ulescenda sunt, etiam si non sunt dolenda. Sed haec posterius. 2. Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio; quod ni ita putarem, ipse perscriberem, in primisque Caesaris Octaviani conatum; de quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret; prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant. Quid quaeris? Magna spes est in eo: nihil est, quod non existimetur laudis et gloriae causa facturus. Antonius autem, noster familiaris, tanto se odio esse intellegit, ut, cum interfectores suos domi comprehenderit, rem proferre non audeat. A. d. vii. Id. Oct. Brundisium erat profectus obviam legionibus Macedonicis quattuor, quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat easque ad urbem

relation to Cornificius that Furnius did to Plancus: cp. Fam. x. 3, 1 (789).

neque enim . . . dolenda] 'for those actions at which you are not ruffled, owing to the great spirit and mind you possess, you must not allow to pass with impunity, even though they cause you no annoyance.' The sending of Calvisius caused Cornificius no annoyance, because it was such a violent and foolish act. M has *ferstea*; H Pal and the Heilbronn fragment *fers, a te*. This latter reading we have retained. The ablative with *a* is often found after the gerundive: cp. Roby ii., p. lxxv.; cp. § 1147. Mendelssohn reads, with Victorius and most editors, *fers, ea*, as he holds that the remark is a general one. But it is not necessarily so: it may just as well have a special reference. Cicero says that Cornificius was bound to resist Calvisius in the interest of the state, even though he felt no personal insult at the foolish attempt to supersede him.

2. *Caesaris Octaviani conatum*] 'the attempt made by Caesar Octavianus,' i.e. on the life of Antony. For this event cp. Suet. Aug. 10: Vell. ii. 60, 3: Appian, B. C. iii. 39; Senec. De Clem. i. 9, 1; Nic. Damasc. 30, p. 454; also Merivale, iii. 107, ed. 1865. It took place on October 5th or 6th.

*probant*] Till comparatively recent times political assassination was looked on among the southern nations as nothing especially monstrous. Cicero actually confesses that he urged Octavian to the

deed, Phil. iii. 19, *quorum consiliorum Caesarī me auctorem et hortatorem et esse et fuisse fateor*. Appian (l. c.) says that the wiser part of the community saw how much it was to the advantage of Octavian that Antony should live, so as to keep the tyrannicides in check: but the mass of the people, seeing the daily insults and injuries which Octavian sustained from Antony believed the story: and this was probably the chief reason for this single weak act on Octavian's part, though, doubtless, there was also operative the thought that if war broke out he would have to range himself on the senatorial side, where general sympathy was felt for the murderers of his father: cp. Gardthausen, Augustus, p. 55.

*in eo*] sc. *Octaviano*.

*noster familiaris*] ironical: cp. Fam. xii. 10, 1 (910).

*tanto se odio*] 'is so hated': cp. Att. ii. 25, 2 (52), *nihil maiore odio*; Fam. xii. 10, 3 (910); xv. 19, 2 (542).

*quattuor*] Probably the Martian, the 4th, the 2nd, and the 35th. almost certainly the latter two: cp. Watson, p. 613, Appendix 11, § 11.

*quas . . . easque*] cp. Orat. 9, *quam intuens in caque defixus*. On this passage Dr. Sandys compares Orat. 61, and quotes Madv. § 323 b, 'sometimes if the relative ought to stand first in the nominative, and then in some other case, the demonstrative *is* is used the second time, instead of the relative'; but Dr. Sandys points out that the instances given above show that the



adducere et in cervicibus nostris conlocare. 3. Habes formam rei publicae, si in castris potest esse res publica; in quo tuam vicem saepe doleo, quod nullam partem per aetatem sanae et salvae rei publicae gustare potuisti. Atque antehac quidem sperare saltem licebat; nunc etiam id ereptum est: quae enim est spes, cum in contione dicere ausus sit Antonius Cannutium apud eos locum sibi quaerere, quibus se salvo locus in civitate esse non posset? 4. Equidem et haec et omnia, quae homini accidere possunt, sic fero, ut philosophiae magnam habeam gratiam, quae me non modo ab sollicitudine abducit, sed etiam contra omnes fortunae impetus armat, tibi que idem censeo faciundum nec, a quo culpa absit, quicquam in malis numerandum. Sed haec tu melius. Tratorium nostrum cum semper probassem, tum maxime in tuis rebus summam eius fidem, diligentiam prudentiamque cognovi. Da operam, ut valeas; hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

use is not confined to the nominative: compare Madv. on Fin. i. 42.

*in cervicibus conlocare*] cp. for the opposite Phil. iii. 8, *a cervicibus nostris est depulsus Antonius*; Mil. 77. The sing. *cervix* is not found in prose before Livy.

3. *tuam vicem*] cp. Phil. x. 6. It is very common with *dolore*. Andr. compares Fam. iv. 5, 2 (555); Att. iv. 6, 1 (110); vi. 3, 4 (264); viii. 2, 2 (332); 15, 3 (350).

*per aetatem*] Cornificius did not hold the quaestorship, which was the first step in the career of office, until 706 (48): cp. Bell. Alex. 42, 2.

*Cannutium*] cp. note to Fam. xii. 3, 2 (791).

*apud eos*] sc. the Liberators.

*posset*] Note the subjunctive of virtually oblique narration, 'for whom, if he lives (as he said), there cannot remain a place in the state.' What Antony actually said was *quibus me salvo locus in civitate esse non poterit*.

4. *philosophiae*] There is no doubt at all that Cicero and the higher minds at Rome did derive great consolation from philosophy. Dr. Reid says, Acad. ii. 65, 'to a large portion of the educated classes of the time philosophy was as real a thing as religion is to the same classes now, and they lived by it just as much.' That is true; but we must also remember that a considerable section of those Romans who studied philosophy did not do so to find a rule of life. Cicero says of Cato (Mur. 62), *Haec* (sc. the Stoical dogmas) *homo ingeniosissimus, M. Cato, auctoribus crudittissimis inductus arripuit, neque disputandi causa, ut magna pars, sed ita vivendi*.

*a quo*] The antecedent is probably *quicquam*. For *culpa* applied to a neuter pronoun cp. Fam. xii. 22, 2 (813), *et quicquid acciderit, a quo mea culpa absit, animo forti feram*.

*Sed haectum melius*] sc. *scis*. For the ellipse, cp. Att. xiii. 7, 1 (619); Fam. iv. 13, 7 (483); ix. 2, 5 (461).



## DCCXCIII. CICERO JUNIOR TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 25).

ATHENS; SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;  
AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero filius litteras a Tirone quam creberrimas requirit.

CICERO F. TIRONI SUO SAL.

Etsi iusta et idonea usus es excusatione intermissionis litterarum tuarum, tamen id ne saepius facias rogo; nam, etsi de re publica rumoribus et nuntiis certior fio et de sua in me voluntate semper ad me perscribit pater, tamen de quavis minima re scripta a te ad me epistola semper fuit gratissima. Qua re cum in primis tuas desiderem litteras, noli committere, ut excusatione potius expleas officium scribendi quam adsiduitate epistolarum. Vale.

## DCCXCIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XV. 13).

PUTEOLI; OCTOBER 25-28; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

Respondet ad duas Attici epistolas de multis rebus summatim, partim de studiis suis, partim de rei publicae statu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. VIII. Kal. duas a te accepi epistolas. Respondebo igitur priori prius. Adsentior tibi, ut nec duces simus nec agmen

*excusatione . . . tuarum*] 'excuse for your having ceased to correspond.'

*de sua in me voluntate*] This shows that Cicero was on good terms with his son: accordingly this letter was written after September. It probably was not later than October, as there is no mention made of M. Brutus, who arrived in Athens about that month.

*noli committere*] 'do not fulfil your obligation to write by making excuses rather than by frequent letters.'

quite misplaced among those of the 15th book of the letters to Atticus, has been restored to its right place by the acuteness of Gruber, Lange, and finally, Ruete. Its chronological place (among the letters to Atticus) is after xvi. 7, written more than two months before it. For confirmation of the date, cp. O. E. Schmidt (*Letzten Kämpfe*, p. 720).

*Adsentior tibi*] Atticus had advised Cicero to espouse the cause of Brutus. Cicero agrees, but thinks that he should not go further than a general sympathy, without either leading the way, or bringing up the rear.

1. Kal.] sc. Nov. This letter, which is

cogamus, faveamus tamen. Orationem tibi misi. Eius custodiendae et proferendae arbitrium tuum. Sed quando illum diem, cum tu edendam putes? 2. Inducias, quas scribis, non intellego fieri posse. Melior est ἀναντιφωνησία, qua me usurum arbitror. Quod scribis legiones duas Brundisium venisse, vos omnia prius. Scribes igitur quidquid audieris. 3. Varronis διάλογον exspecto. Iam probo Ἡρακλείδειον, praesertim cum tu tanto opere delectere, sed quale velis velim scire. Quod ad te antea atque adeo 'prius' scripsi—sic enim mavis—, ad scribendum, licet enim tibi vere dicere, fecisti me acriorem. Ad tuum enim iudicium, quod mihi erat notum, addidisti Peducaei auctoritatem, magnam quidem apud me et in primis gravem: enitar igitur ne desideres aut industriam meam aut diligentiam. Vetitum, ut scribis, et Faberium foveo. Clodium nihil arbitror malitiose, quamquam. . . . Sed quod egerit. De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi adsentior. Itane Gallo Caninio? O hominem nequam! quid enim dicam aliud? Cantum Marcellum! me sic, sed non tamen cautissimum! 4. Longiori

[Orationem] The second Philippic.

[quando illum diem] sc. videbo. For the ellipse, cp. Att. xv. 20, 3 (752), Quando enim illum? Also xvi. 5, 4 (770); xiii. 40, 1 (660).

2. Inducias] a truce with Antony. His Phil. ii. was known only to a few of Cicero's private friends, so that ἀναντιφωνησία refers only to his suppression of a public reply to Antony.

[Brundisium venisse] from Macedonia. Antony had set out on October 9 to meet these legions, and endeavour to secure their hearty co-operation with his schemes.

[vos omnia prius] sc. audire soletis: cp. Att. xiii. 3, 5 (294), Vos scilicet plura, qui in urbe estis.

3. Varronis διάλογον] He calls this Ἡρακλείδειον in 799 and 800. For Ἡρακλείδειον, see on Att. xv. 4, 3 (734). Cicero was interested in this work of Atticus, as he was himself engaged on a treatise which he designates by the same name, no doubt a political brochure.

[antea atque adeo 'prius'] 'or rather.' Prius was preferred by Atticus to antea. For atque adeo in this sense, see on Att. i. 17, 9 (23).

[licet enim] These words are supplied by Lehmann.

[acriorem] 'more keen to write.' For acer ad cp. Cluent. 67. The alteration of Lambinus, alacriorem, is tempting: cp. Att. xvi. 3, 1 (773), augez mihi scribendi alacritatem.

[foveo] 'am coaxing.' This word is sometimes used of humouring a debtor so that he may not prove a defaulter. O. E. Schmidt (Faberius, p. 244) quotes Seneca, Benef. vii. 29, Quaedam nomina bona lentus ac sapiens creditor fecit qui sustinuit et mora fovit. Idem nobis faciendum est; nutriamus fidem languidam.

[Clodium] Probably the Clodius referred to in Att. xiv. 13 a and b (716, 717), where see notes.

[quod egerit] 'it is nothing to me.' See Lehmann's important remarks on this phrase, quoted above on Fam. xvi. 23, 1 (754).

[Itane Gallo Caninio] Some words like minitatur Antonius are to be supplied, as may be inferred from Phil. ii. 77. O hominem nequam refers to Antony.

[sic] 'cautious, but not over-cautious.' We can hardly believe that sic means 'so-so,' i.e. tolerably cautious, though this usage may perhaps be found in Ter. Heaut. iii. 1, 49.

epistolae superiorique respondi. Nunc breviori propiorique quid respondeam nisi eam fuisse duleissimam? Res Hispanienses valde bonae. Modo Balbium ineolumem videam, subsidium nostrae senectutis. De Anniano idem, quod tu. Mo valde observat Visellia: sed haec quidem humana. De Bruto te nihil scire dicis, sed Selicia venisse M. Scaptium, eumque †non qua pompa, ad se tamen clam venturum sciturumque me omnia: quae ego statim. Interea narrat eadem Bassi servum venisse qui nuntiaret legiones Alexandrinas in armis esse, Bassum arcessi, Cassium expectari. Quid quaeris? Videtur res publica ius suum recuperatura. Sed ne quid ante. Nosti horum exercitationem in latrocinio et amen-  
tiam.

4. *Res Hispanienses*] Sex. Pompeius was carrying on the war against the Caesarians in Spain. Balbium was some friend of Cicero's who was in the camp of Sex. Pompeius.

*humana*] 'this is the way of the world.' Life has its sweets and its bitters. We must suppose that in the words *de Ann. idem quod tu* lurks a reference to something annoying, with which is contrasted the gratifying politeness of Visellia.

*Selicia*] If this reading be right, it must be the name of some unknown woman. It would be rash to read *Servilia* (the mother of Brutus), as some editors do. But it is quite possible that *Selicia* is a mistake for *Cilicia*, in which province Scaptius had been acting as the agent of Brutus: cp. Att. v. 21, 10 (250).

†*non qua pompa*] It seems more reasonable to obelise these words than to attempt to give them some meaning by

adding *adsuevisset*; or to correct them by a complete modification of the text, as Boot does in suggesting *nunc ad Pompeium*; or to read *non magna pompa*, with Fr. Schmidt.

*quae ego statim*] sc. *sciam an vera sint*.

*Bassi*] Q. Caecilius Bassus, for whom see on Att. xiv. 9, 3 (712). He was a follower of Pompeius Magnus, and carried on the war in his interest in Syria. He was cut off by Antistius Vetus in Apamea, but was relieved chiefly through the interposition of the Parthians and the Arab chief Alchaudonius.

*arcessi*] 'was being approached.' At this time Caecilius Bassus was in revolt against the state in Syria.

*ne quid ante*] sc. *dicamus*, or *gloriamur*, or something of the kind, to express the idea 'Let us not holloa till we're out of the wood.' For this admonition Cicero elsewhere uses the Greek line, μήπω μέγ' εἴπῃς πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἔθης, Att. iv. 8a, 1 (112).

## DCCXCV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. xv. 13 a).

PUTEOLI ; OCTOBER 26-29 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

De Dolabella, de libris suis *De Officiis*, de itinere suo, de causa Myrtili, denique de oratione ad Atticum perferenda.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

5. Dolabella vir optimus est. Etsi, cum scribebam secunda mensa apposita, venisse eum ad Baias audiebam, tamen ad me ex Formiano scripsit, quas litteras, cum e balineo exissem, accepi, sese de attributione omnia summa fecisse : Vettienum accusat, tricatur scilicet, ut monetalis. Sed ait totum negotium Sestium nostrum suscepisse, optimum quidem illum virum nostrique amantissimum. Quaero autem quid tandem Sestius in hac re facere possit, quod non quivis nostrum ? Sed, si quid praeter spem erit, facies ut sciam. Sin est, ut arbitror, negotium perditum, scribes tamen, neque ista res commovebit. 6. Nos hic φιλοσοφούμεν—quid enim aliud ?—et τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος magnifice explicamus προσφωνούμενque Ciceroni. Qua de re enim potius pater filio ? Deinde alia. Quid quaeris ? Exstabit opera peregrinationis huius. Varronem hodie aut eras venturum putabant. Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quo hoc loco quidquam pulerius, sed interpellatores illic minus molesti. Sed perscribe, quaeso, quae causa sit Myrtili—poenas quidem illum pependisse audi—

5. *optimus*] 'a fine fellow,' ironically, in reference to his slowness in paying his debts.

*attributione*] see on Att. xvi. 3, 5 (773).

*omnia summa*] a colloquial phrase : see Or. ii. 85. We might say 'his level best.'

*monetalis*] see on Att. x. 11, 5 (396) ; 'of course he has his dodges (for delaying payment), like a true business-man.'

*commovebit*] Boot would insert *me*, but the omission of the object of a transitive verb is a characteristic feature of the letters, as has been abundantly shown by

Lehmann, 16-18.

6. *Nos hic*] 'I am deep in my philosophy here, getting on splendidly with the *De Officiis*, which I am dedicating to my son : on what theme could a father more fitly address his son ?'

*Deinde alia*] 'when it is finished I shall go on to some new work. In a word, there will be something to show for my period of absence from Rome.'

*Myrtili*] From Att. xvi. 11, 5 (799), we may gather that Myrtilus was a slave whom Antony suspected, or pretended to suspect, of a design to make an attempt on his life, suborned by D. Brutus.

et satisne pateat unde corruptus. 7. Haec cum scriberem, tantum quod existimabam ad te orationem esse perlatam. Hui, quam timeo quid existimes! Etsi quid ad me, quae non sit foras proditura nisi re publica recuperata? De quo quid sperem non audeo scribere.

# DCCXCVI. DECIMUS BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 4).

GALLIA CISALPINA; OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER (BEGINNING);

A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

D. Brutus res a se gestas exponit et, ut Cicero sua se in supplicationibus decernendis sententia iuvet, rogat.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DESIG. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Si de tua in me voluntate dubitarem, multis a te verbis peterem, ut dignitatem meam tuerere, sed profecto est ita, ut mihi persuasi, me tibi esse curae. Progressus sum ad Inalpinos cum exercitu, non tam nomen imperatorium captans quam cupiens militibus satis facere firmosque eos ad tuendas nostras res efficere:

*pateat*] 'whether it has been clearly ascertained by whom he was suborned.'

*Unde* for a *quo* is unusual, but would be impossible with the reading *corruptus*, 'accused.'

7. *tantum quod*] 'just as I am writing these words, I suppose the speech (Phil. ii.) is being delivered to you.' For *tantum quod* cp. note to Fam. vii. 23, 1 (126).

*quid ad me*] 'what matters it to me, considering it is not to see the light unless the republic recovers?' Lehmann shows clearly, p. 67, that the phrase is *quid ad me*, and that it would be a mistake to insert *id*.

D. Brutus, who had been nominated by Caesar to hold the consulship in 712 (42) with L. Plancus, left Rome shortly after the Ides of March for his province of Cisalpine Gaul. He there disciplined his soldiers, and gratified their greed for plunder by attacks on several Gallic tribes; and for success in some of these raids he was saluted as Imperator by his army. Perhaps this occurred on the occa-

sion of his victory over the intrepid Inalpini.

As to the date of the letter. Cicero left Rome for Puteoli some time between October 9th and October 20th; for he was at that place between the 25th and 28th: see Att. xv. 13 (794). He returned to Rome on December 9th, or (if we alter *Id.* to *Kal.* in Fam. xi. 5, 1 (809), as Ruete wishes to do) November 27th. Lupus arrived from D. Brutus some time during the absence of Cicero: cp. Fam. xi. 5, 1 (809). This letter was, accordingly, written during October, or in the beginning of November.

1. *dignitatem*] Brutus apparently wished to obtain a confirmation of his title of Imperator by a decree of the senate granting him a *supplicatio*.

*Inalpinos*] lived in the modern Piedmont and Savoy.

*non tam . . . satis facere*] 'not so much coveting the title of imperator as desiring to satisfy the soldiers,' as he would do by giving them ample opportunities for plundering.



2. Quod mihi videor consecutus ; nam et liberalitatem nostram et animum sunt experti. Cum omnium bellicosissimis bellum gessi ; multa castella cepi, multa vastavi : non sine causa ad senatum litteras misi. Adiuvā nos tua sententia ; quod cum facies, ex magna parte communi commodo inservieris.

## DCCXCVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 8).

PUTEOLI ; NOVEMBER 1 OR 2 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero scribit se ab Octaviano per litteras et per Caecinam ad se missum consultum quid ageret ei suasisse, ut Romam pergeret ; ipse vult scire ab Attico quid sibi agendum esse existimet.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum sciam quo die venturus sim, faciam ut scias. Impedimenta exspectanda sunt, quae Anagnia veniunt, et familia aegra est. Kal. vesperi litterae mihi ab Octaviano. Magna molitur. Veteranos, quique Casilini et Calatiae sunt, perduxit ad suam sententiam. Nec mirum : quingenos denarios dat : cogitat reliquas colonias obire. Plane hoc spectat, ut se duce bellum geratur cum Antonio. Itaque video paucis diebus nos in armis fore. Quem autem sequamur ? Vide nomen, vide aetatem. Atque a me postulat, primum ut clam colloquatur mecum vel Capuae. Puerile hoc quidem, si id putat clam fieri posse. Docui per litteras id nec opus esse nec fieri posse. 2. Misit ad me Caecinam quemdam Volaterranum, familiarem suum, qui haec pertulit : Antonium

*liberalitatem*] i.e. in the distribution of booty.

*animum*] It is hard to say whether this means 'courage,' or 'intention' (that is, intention to make them firmly attached to the support of his cause).

*castella*] 'villages.' Watson notices that this word is sometimes applied to unfortified positions : cp. Liv. xii. 11, 4, *quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent*.

*facies*] We should expect *feceris* ; but perfect strictness of language is not to be expected from D. Brutus.

about three miles from Rome.

*familia aegra est*] 'there is sickness among my slaves.' *Familia* is 'establishment,' 'household,' not 'family,' though it often comes very near the latter meaning in the comic drama.

*quique*] This cannot be the right reading ; probably *qui quidem*, as Boot suggests.

*Quem*] We should have expected *utrum* ; but cp. a still stranger case of *quem* for *utrum* in Att. xvi. 14, 1 (805), *quem velis nescias*.

*nomen . . . aetatem*] the name of Caesar, the age of nineteen years.

1. *Anagnia*] capital of the Hernici,

cum legione Alaudarum ad urbem pergere, pecunias municipiis imperare, legionem sub signis ducere. Consultabat utrum Romam cum *cicicio* veteranorum proficisceretur an Capuam teneret et Antonium venientem excluderet, an iret ad tres legiones Macedoniae, quae iter secundum mare superum faciunt, quas sperat suas esse. Eae congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt, ut hic quidem narrat, et ei convicium grave fecerunt contionantemque reliquerunt. Quid quaeris? Ducem se profitetur nec nos sibi putat deesse oportere. Equidem suasi, ut Romam pergeret. Videtur enim mihi et plebeculam urbanam et, si fidem fecerit, etiam bonos viros secum habiturus. O Brute, ubi es? quantam *ἐκκαιρίαν* amittis! Non equidem hoc divinavi, sed aliquid tale putavi fore. Nunc tuum consilium exquiro. Romamne venio an hic maneo? an Arpinum—*ἀσφάλειαν* habet is locus—fugiam? Romam, ne desideremur, si quid actum videbitur. Hoc igitur explica. Numquam in maiore *ἀπορίᾳ* fui.

### DCCXCVIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 9).

PUTEOLI; NOVEMBER 3 OR 4; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De binis litteris Octavii ad se datis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Binae uno die mihi litterae ab Octaviano: nunc quidem, ut Romam statim veniam, velle se rem agere per senatum. Cui ego non posse senatum ante K. Ianuar., quod quidem ita credo. Ille autem addit 'consilio tuo.' Quid multa? ille urget: ego autem

2. *congiarium*] Boot remarks that this and Att. x. 7, 3 (388), are the only places where this word occurs in republican writers. The writers of the Empire use *donativum* for a bounty to the army, *cong.* for largess to the people.

*plebeculam*] cp. *misera ac ieiuna plebecula*, Att. i. 16, 11 (22).

*si fidem fecerit*] 'if he succeeds in inspiring them with confidence in him': cp. *fidem facit oratio*, Brut. 187.

*ἐκκαιρίαν*] 'a chance.'

*ἀσφάλειαν habet*] 'it is a place which is now *à l'abri*.'—Jeans.

*fugiam*] The use of the subjunctive in close connexion with two indicatives is strange. Hofmann compares pro Quint. 54, *postulone . . . an . . . potius denuntiem?*

*si quid actum videbitur*] cp. in next epistle, *metuo ne quae ἀριστεία absente me.*

*ἀπορίᾳ*] 'I have never felt more *aux abois* in my life.'—Jeans.

σκήπτομαι. Non confido aetati. Ignoro quo animo. Nil sine Pansa tuo volo. Vereor ne valeat Antonius nec a mari discedere libet et metuo ne quae ἀριστεία me absente. Varroni quidem displicet consilium pueri, mihi non sic: firmas copias habet. Brutum habere potest, et rem gerit palam, centuriat Capuae, dinumerat. Iam iamque video bellum. Ad haec rescribe. Tabetularium meum Kalend. Roma profectum sine tuis litteris miror.

## DCCXCIX. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 11).

PUTEOLI; NOVEMBER 5; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De oratione quadam sua ad Atticum missa, de πεπλογραφία Varronis, de libris, quos scribat, et maxime de componendo opere 'de officiis,' tum de Octaviano, de epistolis Catinam, Tauromenium, Syracusas Valerii causa mittendis, et aliis rebus summatim.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nonis accepi a te duas epistolas, quarum alteram Kal. dederas, alteram pridie. Igitur prius ad superiorem. Nostrum opus tibi probari laetor, ex quo ἄνθη ipsa posuisti, quae mihi florentiora sunt visa tuo iudicio. Cerulas enim tuas miniatulas illas extimescebam. De Sicca ita est, ut scribis. †Asta ea aegre

σκήπτομαι] 'I temporize.'

ἀριστεία] an allusion to the titles given to different books of the Iliad, from the name of the hero whose prowess is especially set forth therein. We should probably write 'I fear some one may have his innings at Rome in my absence.'

non sic] Boot has restored *sic* from *si* of Z. 'Varro dislikes the policy of the lad (Octavian); I do not so much.' Cicero would hardly have written *non* without some qualifying adverb, or conjunction, at the end of a sentence.

Brutum] Decimus Brutus, who was now prefect of Gallia Citerior.

centuriat] 'he is arranging his troops in companies, and advancing them their bounty-money.'

1. Nostrum opus] It is generally supposed that the *opus* here referred to is the *De Gloria*. Yet *De Sicca*, &c., is certainly an allusion to the second Phi-

lippic, so that it is perhaps more reasonable, in the absence of any note of transition, to suppose that the reference is to the second Philippic throughout.

ex quo ἄνθη ipsa] 'from which you quoted the very gems, and they seemed to me the more sparkling.' This is the tasteful rendering of Mr. A. C. Clark (on Mil. 21).

posuisti] 'you have quoted.'

Cerulas . . . miniatulas] see on Att. xv. 14, 4 (758).

†Asta ea aegre me tenui] We suggest a *Septimia* for the corrupt *asta ea*, as it is natural to expect mention of her here, as well as Sicca, when both are mentioned in the next clause. A proper name might easily be corrupted. Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 62) reads *ab ista*, giving the same sense. Either of these is certainly better than *At st*, 'but hush!' or *Heus tu*. Translate 'From Septimia I restrained myself with difficulty (from touching on

me tenui. Itaque perstringam sine ulla contumelia Siccae aut Septimiae, tantum ut sciant παῖδες παίδων, sine †vallo Luciliano, eum ex Galli Fadii filia liberos habuisse. Atque utinam eum diem videam, cum ista oratio ita libere vagetur, ut etiam in Siccae domum introëat! Sed illo tempore opus est, quod fuit illis IIIviris. Moriar, nisi facete! Tu vero leges Sexto eiusque iudicium mihi perscribes. Εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι. Caleni interventum et Calvenae cavebis. 2. Quod vereris ne ἀδόλεσχος mihi tu, quis minus? cui, ut Aristophani Archilochi iambus, sic epistola longissima quaeque optima videtur. Quod me admones, tu vero etiam si reprehenderes, non modo facile paterer, sed etiam laetarer, quippe, cum in reprehensione esset prudentia cum εὐμενεία. Ita libenter ea corrigam, quae a te animadversa sunt. ‘Eodem iure quo Rubriana’ potius

the intrigue of Antony with Septimia, the wife of Sicca), so I will lay on the lash without a word against Sicca or Septimia, till the third and fourth generation know that Antony is the father of children by the daughter of C. Fadius.’ Cicero resolved not to mention Septimia through friendship for Sicca, and to dwell rather on the *mésalliance* of Antony with the daughter of a freedman, his second wife, Fadia.

*vallo*] This is a very strange expression, and could hardly have been used by Cicero in the sense ascribed to it by the commentators, who suppose Cicero to refer to the statement (for which see De Or. ii. 25) of Lucilius, that he did not wish to be understood by everybody. But could *sine vallo Luciliano* mean ‘without the obstacles interposed by Lucilius’ (between himself and his readers)? We believe that *vallo* is a gloss which has ousted some Greek expression, possibly φραγμῶ or φράγματι. A very common expression for cautious utterance in Greek is πεφραγμένως λέγειν. The meaning then of *sine φραγμῶ Luciliano* would be ‘without the caution and guardedness of Lucilian satire.’ It seems possible that Cicero might have so used the Greek expression, which might have been roughly interpreted by a glossator by the word *vallo*, which ultimately usurped the place of the Greek word in the text.

*illis IIIviris*] It is useless to attempt an explanation of this passage without the letter of Atticus, to which it is a reply. To assume an allusion to the fact that Caesar and Pompey had each three wives, or to a

supposed intrigue of Antony (and two others) with Septimia, is almost as unsatisfactory as it is to translate *quo fuerint illi IIIviri*, ‘when the three brothers, the Antonii, Marcus, Lucius and Gaius, are dead.’ It is just possible that we might interpret literally, as Mr. Watson does, ‘under the Triumvirs’; the pleasantry (*facete*) which he ascribes to Atticus would then lie in his regarding the period of the triumvirs (59–53 B.C.) as one favourable to freedom of speech. Atticus made use of some ingenious expression in describing the time when the second Philippic would have a perfectly unimpeded circulation; but what the expression was we have no data to discover, and it is idle to guess.

*Sexto*] Peducaeo.

*Εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι*] ‘his judgment is *instar omnium* in my mind.’

*Caleni et Calvenae*] friends of Antony, Q. Fufius Calenus and C. Matius, nicknamed by Cicero *Calvena*, *Madarus*, φαλάκρωμα.

2. ἀδόλεσχος] ‘a jaseur.’—Jeans. *Aristophani*] the Alexandrine grammarian.

*εὐμενεία*] ‘bienveillance.’—Jeans.

*Rubriana*] Cicero, in Phil. ii., had accused Antony of having gained possession of a villa of Scipio’s at Tibur by underhand means. Atticus objected to this statement for some reason, and Cicero accordingly substituted the name of L. Rubrius, who had bequeathed to Antony a villa at Casinum, doubtless for a consideration.

quam 'quo Scipionis,' et de laudibus Dolabellae deruam cumulum. Ac tamen est isto loco bella, ut mihi videtur, *ἱρωνεία*, quod eum ter contra cives in acie. Illud etiam malo 'indignissimum est hunc vivere' quam 'quid indignius?' 3. *Πεπλογραφίαν* Varronis tibi probari non moleste fero: a quo adhuc *Ἡρακλείδειον* illud non abstuli. Quod me hortaris ad scribendum, amice tu quidem, sed me scito agere nihil aliud. Gravedo tua mihi molesta est. Quaeso, adhibe quam soles diligentiam. O *ΤΙΤΕ* tibi prodesse laetor. Anagnini sunt Mustela *ταξάρχης* et Laco, qui plurimum bibit. Librum quem rogas perpoliam et mittam. 4. Haec ad posteriorem. *Τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*, quatenus Panaetius, absolvi duobus. Illius tres sunt, sed cum initio divisisset ita, tria genera exquirendi officii esse, unum, cum deliberemus honestum an turpe sit, alterum, utile an inutile, tertium, cum haec inter se pugnare videantur, quo modo iudicandum sit, qualis causa Reguli, redire honestum, manere utile, de duobus primis praeclare disseruit, de tertio pollicetur se deinceps scripturum, sed nihil scripsit. Eum locum Posidonius persecutus est. Ego autem et eius librum arcessivi et ad Athenodorum Calvum scripsi, ut ad me *τὰ κεφάλαια*

*deruam cumulum*] 'I will tone down my praise of Dolabella.' 'I will draw it a little milder.'

*eum ter contra cives*] Cicero stated, Phil. ii. 75, that thrice Caesar had stood in battle array against his countrymen, in Thessaly, Africa, and Spain, and that Dolabella was beside him on those occasions, and then asks indignantly where was Antony.

*quid indignius*] Cicero neglected to make the correction; *quid indignius* now stands in the text of Phil. ii. 86.

3. *Πεπλογραφίαν*] This was the rather fantastic title (derived from the Peplus at Athens, on which mythological subjects were embroidered) which Varro gave to a work something like our 'Books of Worthies,' consisting of 700 portraits of eminent men, with a short Life, and a motto, or epigram, attached to each.

*abstuli*] 'I have not got from him his work in the manner of Heracleides.' *Abstulinus* is used in the same sense in 767, 5.

O *Tite*] This is the way in which Cicero often designates his *De Senectute*, of which the opening words are these. They are part of a passage from Ennius, in which T. Flamininus is thus addressed

by a shepherd, who offers his services as guide to the army:

O Tite si quid ego adiucro curamve levasso  
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa  
Equid erit praemi?

*Anagnini*] In Phil. ii. 106 Cicero speaks of 'two men of Anagnia.' The allusion puzzled Atticus; accordingly Cicero supplies the names, which must have been omitted in the copy sent to Atticus. He calls Mustela *Mons. le Capitaine*, and describes Laco as 'the champion toper,' probably with a play on *lucus* and *λάκος*, 'tank.'

*Librum*] The *Topica*, which he tells us he began to copy out just as he set out on his voyage from Velia, cp. Fam. vii. 19 (776), and sent to Trebatius from Regium. The book was drawn up by him from memory during the voyage—a remarkable feat for a man of 62.

4. *Τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*] The *De Officiis*.

*eum haec inter se*] 'cases in which there is a conflict between duty and expediency.'

*Athenodorum Calvum*] a stoic of Tarsus, mentioned also in Att. xvi. 14, 4 (805).

*τὰ κεφάλαια*] 'a *précis* of his divisions.'



mitteret, quae exspecto: quem velim cohortere et roges, ut quam primum. In eo est *περὶ τοῦ κατὰ περίστασιν καθήκοντος*. Quod de inscriptione quaeris, non dubito quin *καθῆκον* 'officium' sit, nisi quid tu aliud, sed inscriptio plenior 'de officiis.' *Προσφωνῶ* autem Ciceroni filio. Visum est non *ἀνοίκειον*. 5. De Myrtilo dilucide. O quales tu semper istos! Itane in D. Brutum? Di istis! 6. Ego me, ut scripseram, in Pompeianum non abdidi, primo tempestatibus, quibus nil tetricius, deinde ab Octaviano cotidie litterae, ut negotium susceperem, Capuam venirem, iterum rem publicam servarem, Romam utique statim.

. . . *αἴδεσθαι μὲν ἀνήνασθαι, δεῖσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι*.

Is tamen egit sane strenue et agit. Romam veniet cum manu magna, sed est plane puer. Putat senatum statim. Quis veniet? Si venerit, quis incertis rebus offendet Antonium? Kal. Ianuar. erit fortasse praesidio, aut quidem ante depugnabitur. Puero municipia mire favent. Iter enim faciens in Samnium venit Cales, mansit Teani. Mirifica *ἀπάντησις* et cohortatio. Hoc tu putares? Ob hoc ego citius Romam quam constitueram. Simul et constituero, scribam. 7. Etsi nondum stipulationes legeram—nec enim Eros venerat—, tamen rem pridie Idus velim conficias. Epistolas Catinam, Tauromenium, Syracusas commodius mittere potero, si Valerius interpres ad me nomina gratiosorum scripserit. Alii enim sunt alias, nostrique familiares fere demortui. Publice

*περὶ τοῦ*] 'duties under given circumstances.'

*ἀνοίκειον*] *mal-à-propos*. He sometimes uses *ἀπροσδιόνυσον* in quite the same sense: cp. 802, 1.

5. *dilucide*] sc. *scribis*. Myrtilus was suspected (or accused) by Antony of a design on his life, and of having been suborned by D. Brutus. Cicero exclaims, 'O how well you always understand the whole of that crew. Is it possible that they attribute such a design to D. Brutus! Confound their knavish tricks!' The ellipses are all quite normal.

6. *αἴδεσθαι*] 'a case of *ashamed to flinch, afraid to face the foe*,' taken from II. vii. 93, where are described the feelings of the Greek champions when challenged by Hector.

*Kal. Ianuar.*] 'On January 1, when the new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, come into office, perhaps he will be able to strengthen the hands of the senate, or perhaps the battle will be over before that time.'

*mansit*] 'He spent the night at Teanum.' Cp. *manet sub Iove frigido Venator*, Hor. Carm. i. 1, 25. Cp. also Att. iv. 19 *fin.*; vii. 21, 1.

*ἀπάντησις*] 'accueil.'—Jeans.

7. *stipulationes*] 'the agreements' respecting the sale of some property by which Cicero wished to raise money, or perhaps bonds, entered into by the securities of Dolabella.

*Alii alias*] 'different people are influential at different times,' 'as regards influence, the centre of gravity shifts.'

tamen scripsi, si uti vellet eis Valerius, aut mihi nomina mitteret. 8. De Lepidianis feriis Balbus ad me usque ad III. Kalend. Expectabo tuas litteras, meque de Torquati negotiolo sciturum puto. Quinti litteras ad te misi, ut scires quam valde eum amaret, quem dolet a te minus amari. Atticae quoniam, quod optimum in pueris est, hilarula est, meis verbis suavium des volo.

## DCCC. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 12).

PUTEOLI; NOVEMBER 6; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Oppii epistola, de Ocella, de adventu suo in urbem, de Antonio, de Ἡρακλείδειφ Varronis.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Oppii epistolae, quia perhumana erat, tibi misi exemplum. De Ocella, dum tu muginaris nec mihi quidquam rescribis, cepi consilium domesticum. Itaque me pridie Idus arbitror Romae futurum. Commodius est visum frustra me istic esse, cum id non necesse esset, quam, si opus esset, non adesse, et simul ne intercluderetur metuebam. Ille enim iam adventare potest, etsi varii rumores multique quos cuperem veros: nihil tamen certi. Ego vero, quidquid est, tecum potius quam animi pendeam, cum a te

*Publice scripsi*] 'I have written official letters' to the several communities commending Valerius.

*aut . . . mitteret*] 'or else he should send me the names': see on *aut ne poposcisses*, Att. ii. 1, 3 (27).

8. *Lepidianis*] Balbus tells me the holidays will last till the 30th. Lepidus was now Pontifex Maximus, in succession to Caesar. On him devolved the duty of fixing the days on which the auspices should be taken, which days would be observed as holidays, *feriae*, on which there would be no meetings of the senate. *eum*] Quintus junior.

*in pueris*] 'give Attica a kiss for being such a merry little thing—it is the greatest charm in children—and tell her that it comes from me.'—Jeans. Observe that *pueris* includes girls. Attica was now about seven years old.

*meis verbis*] see note on Att. vi. 8, 8 (281).

*muginaris*] 'keep on heming and hawing.' The word seems to mean *causari*, *tergiversari* (it is explained *nugari et quasi tarde conari*, Paul. ex Fest. 147), but, as Nonius interprets it by *murmurare*, we must suppose it to include some reference to sound. In Plin. H. N. Pref. 18 the form *musinari* is found.

*consilium domesticum*] 'I drew on my own stock of intelligence.' Cicero says that as Atticus was so dilatory, he 'took his own advice': cp. *id quidem domi est*, 'I am well supplied with that,' Att. x. 14, 2 (400), and note there. So Catullus (31, 14).

*ridete quidquid est domi cachinnorum*,

'smile all the smiles you have.'

*Ille*] Antony.

*tecum potius*] sc. *sim*. For the ellipse cp. Att. xiv. 11, 2 (714); 12, 2 (715).

absim, et de te et de me. Sed quid tibi dicam? Bonum animum. De Ἡρακλειδείῳ Varronis, negotia salsa. Me quidem nihil unquam sic delectavit. Sed haec et alia maiora coram.

# DCCCI. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 10).

SINUESSA ; NOVEMBER 8 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

Scribit in Sinuessanum se venisse et iam propter Antonium dubitare Romam ire, rogat ut sibi suadeat maneatne Arpini an propius accedat an veniat Romam.

## CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. VII. Id. veni ad me in Sinuessanum. Eodem die vulgo loquebantur Antonium mansurum esse Casilini. Itaque mutavi consilium. Statueram enim recta Appia Romam. Facile me ille esset adsecutus. [Aiunt enim eum Caesariana uti celeritate. Verti igitur me a Minturnis Arpinum versus. Constitueram, ut v. Idus aut Aquini manerem aut in Arcano. 2. Nunc, mi Attice, tota mente incumbere in hanc curam. Magna enim res est. Tria sunt autem, maneamne Arpini an propius accedam an veniam Romam. Quod censueris faciam. Sed quam primum : avide exspecto tuas litteras. VI. Idus mane in Sinuessano.

*Bonum animum]* sc. *habeamus*.  
*negotia salsa]* 'that was an amusing piece of business about Varro's book.' *Negotium* often refers to *persons*, e.g. Att. i. 12, 1 (17); vi. 1, 13 (252); xiv. 8, 1 (710). Like the Greek *χρημα*, it can also refer to *things* as well, though we do not remember any other passage in which *negotia* is used exactly as here.

1. *mansurum]* 'would spend the night': see on 799, 6.

*recta Appia Romam]* 'to make straight for Rome by the Appian Way.' *Via*

must be understood both with *recta* and with *Appia*.

*Caesariana celeritate]* 'the despatch of Caesar himself.' *Caesarina* is the form of the adjective which all the mss here present, but it is a form which we are unable to parallel.

*Verti]* 'I am turning off towards Arpinum at Minturnae.' Cicero means that he is determined to leave the Appian Way at Minturnae, and go towards Arpinum. *Verti* is an *epistolary* term, for a good example of which see Att. xvi. 4, 1 (771), and note there.

## DCCCII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 13 a).

AQUINUM ; NOVEMBER 10 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

De itinere Sinuessano Aquinum versus facto et acceptis Attici epistolis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O casum mirificum! VI. Idus cum ante lucem de Sinuessano surrexissem venissemque diluculo ad pontem Tiretium, qui est Minturnis, in quo flexus est ad iter Arpinas, obviam mihi fit tabellarius, qui me offendit *δολιχὸν πλόον ὀρμαίνοντα*. Ego statim, 'cedo,' inquam, 'si quid ab Attico.' Nondum legere poteramus: nam et lumina dimiseramus nec satis lucebat. Cum autem luceret, ante scripta epistola ex duabus tuis prior mihi legi coepta est. Illa omnium quidem elegantissima. Ne sim salvus, si aliter scribo ac sentio: nihil legi humanius. Itaque veniam quo vocas, modo adiutore te. Sed nihil tam *ἀπροσδιόνυσον* mihi primo videbatur quam ad eas litteras, quibus ego a te consilium petieram, te mihi ista rescribere. 2. Ecce tibi altera, qua hortaris *παρ' ἡνεμόεντα Μίμαντα, νήσου ἐπὶ Ψυρίης*, Appiam scilicet *ἐπ' ἀριστερ' ἔχοντα*. Itaque eo die mansi Aquini. Longulum sane iter et via mala: inde postridie mane proficiscens has litteras dedi.

1. *surrexissem*] 'just as I had risen from bed, to pursue my journey from Sinuessa.'

*πλόον*] He uses *πλόον*, though referring to a journey by land, as one might now write, 'The postman knocked just as my boat was on the shore and my bark was on the sea,' though contemplating a land-journey.

*cedo*] 'give me'; the plural *cette* is found in Plautus.

*lumina*] 'I had sent away the flam-beaux.'

*ἀπροσδιόνυσον*] *mal-à-propos*: cp. 799, 4.

2. *παρ' ἡνεμόεντα*] Atticus, in pointing out his route to Cicero, used the words of Homer, Od. iii. 171; by *Μίμαντα* he means the Apennines, and by *νήσου Ψυρίης* the *insula Arpinas*. The somewhat laboured joke of Atticus perhaps suggested to Cicero his quotation of *δολιχὸν πλόον ὀρμαίνοντα* from the same context.

*mansi*] 'I am staying,' another example of the epistolary tense, for which see on 771, 1.

## DCCCIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 13 b).

ARPINUM; NOVEMBER 10; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

In hoc epistolae fragmento consulit Cicero Atticum ubi putet se commode versari nunc posse, suadetque, ubi ipse se contineat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. \* \* et quidem, ut a me dimitterem invitissimus, fecerunt Erotis litterae. Rem tibi Tiro narrabit. Tu quid faciendum sit videbis. Praeterea possimne propius accedere—malo enim esse in Tusculano aut uspiam in suburbano—an etiam longius discedendum putes crebro ad me velim scribas. Erit autem cotidie cui des. 2. Quod praeterea consulis quid tibi censeam faciundum, difficile est, cum absim. Verum tamen, si pares aequae inter se, quiescendum: sin, latius manabit, et quidem ad nos, deinde communiter.

## DCCCIV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 13 c).

ARPINUM; NOVEMBER 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De consilio Attici a se avide expectato, de itineribus Antonii, se ardere studio historiae significat quaeritque quibus coss. C. Fannius M. F. tribunus pl. fuerit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Avide tuum consilium exspecto. Timeo ne absim, cum adesse me sit honestius: temere venire non audeo. De Antonii

1. We have indicated a *lacuna*, with most editors.

2. *si pares aequae*] 'If Antony and Octavius prove to be evenly matched, you ought to stay quietly in Rome; but if not, then the danger will become general, and will reach us; after that we must take counsel together.' This seems better than to explain *deinde communiter* as meaning *deinde ad omnes manabit*. The pleonasm in *pares aequae* is a colloquialism

found also in the comic drama, e.g. in *Plant. Men.* v. 9, 60, *aeque ambo pares*. For *sin* = *sin minus* cp. *Fam.* xii. 6, 2 (835), *qui si conservatus erit, vicinus: sin,—quod di omen avertant—omnis omnium cursus est ad vos*.

1. *temere*] 'without due consideration.' *Non temere* in the comic drama means 'not for nothing,' like *οὐκ ἐπὶ τίς* in Greek dialogue and comedy.



itineribus nescio quid aliter audio atque ut ad te scribebam. Omnia igitur velim explices et ad me certa mittas. 2. De reliquo quid tibi ego dicam? Ardeo studio historiae—incredibiliter enim me commovet tua cohortatio—, quae quidem nec institui nec effici potest sine tua ope. Coram igitur hoc quidem conferemus. In praesentia mihi velim scribas quibus coss. C. Fannius M. F. tribunus pl. fuerit. Videor mihi audisse P. Africano L. Mummiu censoribus. Id igitur quaero. Tu mihi de iis rebus, quae novantur, omnia certa, clara. III. Idus ex Arpinati.

## DCCCV. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 14).

ARPINUM; AFTER NOVEMBER 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De Octaviano et Antonio, de nominis 'officii' vi ac potestate, de Nepotis filio, Q. filius quid ad M. filium scribat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

i. Nihil erat plane quod scriberem. Nam cum Puteolis essem, cotidie aliquid novi de Octaviano, multa etiam falsa de Antonio. Ad ea autem, quae scripsisti—tres enim acceperam III. Idus a te epistolas—valde tibi adsentior, si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmitus acta tyranni comprobatum iri quam in Telluris atque id contra Brutum fore: sin autem vincitur, vides intolerabilem Antonium, ut quem velis nescias. 2. O Sestii tabellarium, hominem nequam! Postridie Puteolis Romae se dixit fore. Quod

2. In praesentia] cp. Att. vii. 14, 1 (310).

censoribus] This word must be supplied, because Mummius and Africanus were never colleagues in the consulship, a fact of which Cicero could not have been ignorant. They were censors together in 612 (142). Fannius is an interlocutor in the *De Amicitia*, on which Cicero was then engaged.

quae novantur] 'changes in the constitution,' with an idea of disapproval of the changes: cp. Sall. Cat. 39, 3; 55, 1.

1. aliquid novi . . . multa etiam falsa] sc. afferebantur or erant.

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multum possit] The *multum* is introduced to balance the succeeding *multo firmitus*. We have in the next letter but one, § 3, *quamquam enim potest*; and Lehm., p. 15, gives a good example of *possit* used absolutely in Fam. iv. 13, 5 (483), *etiam illa quae minimum nunc quidem potest, sed possit necesse est, res publica*.

in Telluris] sc. aede; on the third day after the death of Caesar all his acts were ratified in the temple of *Tellus*.

quem] for *utrum*: see on Att. xvi. 8, 1 (797).

2. Postridie Puteolis] The letter-carrier of Sestius had undertaken to be in Rome the day after he left Puteoli.

me mones, ut pedetemptim, adsentior: etsi aliter cogitabam. Nec me Philippus aut Marcellus movet. Alia enim eorum ratio: et, si non est, tamen videtur. Sed in isto iuvene quamquam animi satis, auctoritatis parum est. Tamen vide, si forte in Tusculano recte esse possim, idne melius sit—ero libentius: nihil enim ignorabo—an hic, cum Antonius venerit. 3. Sed, ut aliud ex alio, mihi non est dubium quin, quod Graeci καθήκον, nos ‘officium.’ Id autem quid dubitas quin etiam in rem publicam praeclare quadret? Nonne dicimus ‘consulum officium, senatus officium, imperatoris officium?’ Praeclare convenit, aut da melius. 4. Male narras de Nepotis filio. Valde meherecule moveor et moleste fero. Nescieram omnino esse istum puerum. Caninium perdidit, hominem, quod ad me attinet, non ingratum. Athenodorum nihil est quod hortere: misit enim satis bellum ὑπόμνημα. Gravedini, quaeso, omni ratione subveni. Avi tui pronepos scribit ad patris

*pedetemptim*] sc. *cam*, ‘proceed cautiously,’ in my choice of sides.

*Philippus aut Marcellus*] Atticus had advised Caesar to follow the example of L. Philippus and C. Marcellus, and not declare too hastily which side he would follow. Cicero says he agrees with the counsel of Atticus, but remarks that the case of Philippus and Marcellus is, or looks, different from his; referring doubtless to the fact that they were connected with Octavian, Philippus being the husband of Octavian’s mother, and Marcellus of Octavian’s sister.

*iuvene*] The fact that he sometimes calls Octavian *puer*, and sometimes *iuvēnis*, shows that these words do not correspond to *boy*, or *lad*, and *youth* with us, but rather to *youth* and *young man*. In 707, 3, he calls him *adulescentem*.

*idne melius sit*] ‘consider whether that is not better (namely, to be in Tusculanum on the arrival of Antony), or to be here’ (in Arpinum).

3. *ut aliud ex alio*] lit. ‘as one thing suggests another.’ The question just put *si in Tusc. recte esse possim* suggests the idea of *duty*, and hence the question whether καθήκον is the proper Greek for *officium*. We would write, ‘consider does my duty demand that I should stay in Tusculanum, and (talking of *duty*) I am certain καθήκον is the right Greek for *officium*.’ We have *ut aliud ex alio incidit* in Ter. Haut. iii. 3, 37.

*quadret*] ‘is applicable to.’ This is the conjecture of Boot and C. F. W. Müller for *caderet*, the tense of which would be difficult to explain. Moreover, *quadrare* is often used by Cicero in exactly this sense, and *cadet* in Z is a corruption of *quadret* in Att. xiii. 33, 3 (636), which is further corrupted in M into *ea de*.

4. *Male narras*] This expression doubtless points to the fact that the death of the son of his friend Cornelius Nepos had been announced by Atticus, probably in the phrase *factum male de*. See on 651.

*omnino esse*] ‘the very existence of.’ *perdidit*] sc. *morte abruptum*. The allusion is to the death of L. Caninius Gallus, whom Cicero had defended in 699 (55). Hence he speaks of him as a man ‘who, as far as I am concerned, has been not ungrateful.’

ὑπόμνημα] The *mémoire* on the views of Posidonius on conflicting motives, for which he had written to Athenodorus (799, 4).

*Avi tui pronepos*] The younger Quintus was grandson of Atticus, therefore great-great-grandson of the grandfather of Atticus. By *avi mei nepotem* Cicero means his son Marcus. Young Quintus had written to young Marcus to say that he would ‘bring the temple of Ops into liquidation after the Nones,’ that is, that he would require from Antony an account of the money deposited there by Caesar, and appropriated by him.

mei nepotem se ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna gessimus, aedem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Videbis igitur et scribes. Sexti iudicium exspecto.

## DCCCVI. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 24).

ARPINUM ; MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero Tironi de rebus domesticis scribit, de publicis seiscitatur.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

1. Etsi mane Harpalum miseram, tamen, cum haberem, cui recte darem litteras, etsi novi nihil erat, isdem de rebus volui ad te saepius scribere, non quin confiderem diligentiae tuae, sed rei me magnitudo movebat. Mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi, ut rationes nostras explicares. Ofillio et Aurelio utique satis fiat. A Flamma, si non potes omne, partem aliquam velim extorqueas, in primisque, ut expedita sit pensio K. Ian. De attributione conficies, de reprae-

*ex Nonis iis*] The Nones of December, memorable as the day on which Cicero consigned the Catilinarian conspirators to prison. It would seem Quintus expected to be invested with some office, the quaestorship or aedileship. But we have no evidence of this, and it is very unlikely that at his age, between 23 and 24, he could have aspired to such an office, even though we make full allowance for anomalies, perhaps possible in such troublous times. It is more probable, as Mongault suggested, that he contemplated his attack on Antony in the capacity of a private person. The reason why young Quintus specified the Nones of December was that on that day the new quaestors entered on their duties, and he, doubtless, wished to have their assistance.

*Sexti*] i.e. the criticism of Sextus Peducaeus on the second Philippic.

1. *Harpalum*] probably a slave. He is not mentioned elsewhere.  
*recte*] 'safely.'

*prora et puppis*] 'the Alpha and Omega of my design in dismissing you was the arrangement of my affairs.' For the Greek proverb Otto (p. 289) quotes Apost. 15, 97: τὰ ἐκ πλώρας καὶ τὰ ἐκ πρύμνης ἀπόλλυται ἐπὶ τῶν πανολεθρία φθειρομένων. Somewhat different is [Dio Chrys.] xxxvii. p. 120 R (= ii. 303 Dind.), οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἔσπευον τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πλώρα καὶ πρύμνα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀλβιοὶ μὲν καὶ ἀφνειοί.

*Ofillio*] see note to Att. xiii. 37 (657).

*Aurelio*] a procurator of Montanus, who had become surety to Plancus for Flaminius Flamma, and was now forced to meet Flamma's liabilities. Montanus had gone to Athens with young Cicero, and the latter had asked his father to endeavour to settle the debt incurred by Montanus: cp. Att. xii. 52, 1 (599); xiv. 16, 4 (721); xvi. 15, 3 (807).

*pensio*] to be paid by Flamma, who seems not to have repudiated the debt, but only to have required that the time for payment should be extended.

*Ian.*] Most editors alter to *Iun.*, and assign this letter to May; Wesenberg

sentatione videbis. De domesticis rebus hactenus. 2. De publicis omnia mihi certa; quid Octavianus, quid Antonius, quae hominum opinio, quid futurum putes. Ego vix teneor, quin accurram. Sed st! litteras tuas exspecto; et scito Balbum tum fuisse Aquini, cum tibi est dictum, et postridie Hirtium: puto utrumque ad aquas. Sed quod egerint—. Dolabellae procuratores fac ut admoneantur: appellabis etiam Papiam. Vale.

deletes *Ian*; Grüber thinks that perhaps this letter was written after June 14, the date of 749. But Ruete (p. 35) shows that Balbus and Hirtius returned to Rome in May: cp. Att. xv. 5, 2 (737); 9, 1 (742); that *ego vix teneor quin accurram* accords ill with the despairing tone of Cicero's letters in June, i.e. Att. xv. 18 to 20 (750) to (752); and that this letter just suits the middle of November, when Cicero sent Tiro to Rome, cp. Att. xvi. 13b, 1 (803), and when Cicero himself was meditating return: cp. Att. xvi. 12 (800); 10, 1 (801); 13a, 1 (802); 13c, 1 (804). Dolabella, too, appears to have been absent, and we know that he left the city towards the end of October: cp. Att. xv. 13a, 1 (795).

*attributione*] 'assignment of debtors,' i.e. the assignment of some of my debtors to my creditors, the former to pay the latter: cp. Att. xiii. 2, 1 (602).

*repraesentatione*] 'paying readymoney.'

*rebus*] This is the simplest correction of *eius*, the corrupt reading of the mss.

2. *omnia mihi certa*] sc. *scribe*, a common ellipse, generally with *si quid habes*, *si quid scies*, or the like, Att. xii. 27, 3 (603): yet sometimes without it, Att. xvi. 13c, 2 (804).

*Octavianus*] So H. Erf.; *Octavius* M. Pal. In the Epp. ad Att., from June 9, cp. Att. xv. 12, 2 (745), Cicero always calls him *Octavianus*, as by that time the full formalities of his adoption had been completed [see Addenda to Commentary for Schmidt's notes on these names]. Ruete (p. 36) honestly confesses that the

reading of M. Pal. militates against his view of the date of this letter; but he justly maintains that it does not outweigh the other arguments. He did not know that the correct reading *Octavianus* had the authority of H. Erf. Mendelssohn rightly adopts it.

*Sed st! litteras tuas exspecto*] So all the editors, whom we follow with some hesitation. M and most mss have *sed si*; a few have *sc* (= scilicet); one ms, according to Ursinus, has *st*. H. Erf. Pal have simply *Sed* (written *S*), *tuas litteras exspecto*; and such, we think, may be the true reading. Making all due allowance for the conversational tone of the letters *st* = 'hush' is really too colloquial, especially in such an ordinary matter as the expectation of a letter from Tiro. And it is worthy of notice, that in the other passage of Cicero's Epistles, where editors read *st*, viz. Att. ii. 1, 10 (27); it is found in the mss as *si*, and following *sed*. The contractions for these words are so like one another that they are often confused. In both cases it is probable that *si* arose from dittography.

*cum tibi est dictum*] 'when you were told he was.'

*sed quod egerint*] We must not read *quid* with Wesenberg and other editors. Lehmann (De Epp. ad Att., p. 198), understands *id actum habebō*, or some such expression, meaning 'it is indifferent to me,' comparing Tusc. iii. 50. See note to Fam. xvi. 23, 1 (754), where Lehmann's admirable explanation of the phrase is set forth.

## DCCCVII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. XVI. 15).

ARPINUM; AFTER NOVEMBER 11; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

De pigritia sua, quod non sua manu scribat, de alienato in Dolabellam animo et consilio severius in eum agendi, de re publica, de litteris obsignata iam epistola ab Attico et Sex. Peducaeo acceptis, de desperato statu rei publicae, de existimatione sua et nominibus suis dissolvendis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Noli putare pigritia me facere, quod non mea manu scribam—sed mehercule pigritia. Nihil enim habeo aliud quod dicam, et tamen in tuis quoque epistolis Alexim videor agnoscere. Sed ad rem venio. Ego, si me non improbissime Dolabella tractasset, dubitassem fortasse utrum remissior essem an summo iure contenderem. Nunc vero etiam gaudeo mihi causam oblatam, in qua et ipse sentiat et reliqui omnes me ab illo abalienatum, idque prae me feram, et quidem me mea causa facere et rei publicae, ut illum oderim: quod, cum eam me auctore defendere coepisset, non modo deseruerit emptus pecunia, sed etiam, quantum in ipso fuit, everterit. 2. Quod autem quaeris quo modo agi placeat, cum dies

1. *Noli putare*] 'Pray do not suppose it was laziness that made me employ an amanuensis in writing to you: it was really nothing but—well, laziness, there is no other word for it: however [you are as lazy, for] I think I recognise the hand of your amanuensis Alexis in your letter to me.' Cicero is about to make an excuse, but when he comes to the point he finds that it really was laziness which prevented him from writing with his own hand. The form of expression reminds us somewhat of the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* so familiar to readers of Aristophanes, but can hardly be called an instance of *oxymoron*, to which figure Boot refers it, quoting an excellent instance of *oxymoron* from Plin. Ep. ix. 26, 1, *nihil peccat nisi quod nihil peccat*, which is exactly parallel to the *faultily faultless* of Tennyson's *Maud*.

2. *Quod autem quaeris*] Boot quotes an explanation by Huschke of this difficult passage, of which he himself ap-

proves, and of which we append a summary (cp. Rein, *Privatrecht der Römer*, p. 671):—Cicero leaves to the judgment of Atticus the day on which he is to proceed against Dolabella, only expressing a hope that it will take place at a time when it may not be unsuitable for him to be in Rome. As to the money due to him by Dolabella, Cicero wishes to pursue his rights to the full, but at the same time to save Dolabella any extreme or unnecessary humiliation. How is this to be done? He could (1) sue Dolabella, and if he did not appear, and his agents (*procuratores*) failed to satisfy the claim, he could levy a distraint on the goods of the defaulter. This he rejects as involving too great a public exposure of Dolabella. He could also (2) sue the sureties (*sponsores*). But he feels 'it has an ugly look' (*videtur habere quandam δυσωπίαν*), to take this step. Huschke, in explanation of this, refers to the testimony of various Roman Juris consulti



venerit, primum velim eius modi sit, ut non alienum sit me Romae esse, de quo, ut de ceteris, faciam, ut tu censueris. De summa autem agi prorsus vehementer et severe volo. Etsi sponsores appellare videtur habere quamdam *δυσωπίαν*, tamen hoc quale sit consideres velim. Possum enim, ut sponsores appellentur, procuratores introducere—neque enim illi litem contestantur—, quo facto non sum nescius sponsores liberari. Sed et illi turpe arbitror eo nomine, quod satis dato debeat, procuratores eius non dissolvere, et nostrae gravitatis ius nostrum sine summa illius ignominia persequi. De hoc quid placeat rescribas velim, nec dubito quin hoc totum lenius administraturus sis. 3. Redeo ad rem publicam. Multa mehercule a te saepe ἐν πολιτικῷ genere prudenter, sed his litteris nihil prudentius: ‘quamquam enim potest et in praesentia belle iste puer retundit Antonium, tamen exitum exspectare debemus.’ At quae contio! Nam est missa mihi. Iurat ‘ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat’ et simul dextram intendit ad statuam. Μηδὲ σωθεῖν ὑπό γε τοιούτου! Sed, ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascae nostri

and to Quintilian, Declam. 273, in which a surety pleads that, unless the real debtor is first proceeded against, it is very sharp practice, and almost dishonest, to seek to exact the money from the surety. Cicero, however, tells Atticus to turn over the question whether such a course would be too sharp practice; but apparently feeling that it would, he suggests another course (3). This is to draw the agents into the case (*procuratores introducere*), by suing the *procuratores* when he could not sue the debtor. They, perhaps, would not pay, and then there would be nothing harsh in coming down on the sureties, the real debtor having been, in effect, first approached through his *procuratores*. The objection to this course is, that if the *procuratores* should contest the debt, this would estop the case against the sureties. ‘But,’ writes Cicero, ‘they will never take this step (*neque illi litem contestantur*). It is disgrace enough for him that his *procuratores* should refuse to pay for him money lent to him on security, and my position demands that I should save my former son-in-law from extreme and unnecessary humiliation in the pursuit of my own rights.’ Cicero thinks that the result of course (3) will be either

that the *procuratores* will pay the money, or that they will shift the responsibility on the *sponsores*, but he feels sure they will not contest the debt. *Quo facto = quod si fiat = si procuratores litem contestantur*.

3. *potest et in praesentia*] ‘though the lad is strong, and is for the present foiling Antony charmingly.’ *Potest et* is the emendation of Gronovius for *postea*. Many editors supply *retundere* after *potest*, but Lehmann, p. 15, has clearly established the absolute use of *posse*, ‘to be powerful,’ ‘to occupy a strong position,’ at least in the letters of Cicero.

*contio*] Two different harangues (*contiones*) were made by Octavian on the introduction of the tribune Canutius—one that which Cicero mentions with condemnation in a letter to Cassius, Fam. xii. 3 (791); a more recent one to which he refers here.

Μηδὲ σωθεῖν] These are the words of Cicero himself, so that he did not approve of this *contio* either.

*discrimen*] ‘criterion,’ ‘test.’ The way in which Octavian would behave towards Casca, one of the murderers of Caesar, would afford a criterion of his future conduct and policy. *Certamen* is

tribunatum, de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentem totamque causam manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore. Cum ille diceret ita futurum, 'Quid igitur festinamus?' inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kalend. Ianuar. nihil opus est: nos autem eius voluntatem ante Idus Decembr. perspicimus in Casca. Valde mihi adsensus est. Quam ob rem haec quidem haec. Quod reliquum est, cotidie tabellarios habebis et, ut ego arbitror, etiam quod scribas habebis cotidie. Leptae litterarum exemplum tibi misi, ex quo mihi videtur στρατύλλαξ ille deiectus de gradu. Sed tu, cum legeris, existimabis.

4. Obsignata iam epistola litteras a te et a Sexto accepi. Nihil iucundius litteris Sexti, nihil amabilius: nam tuae breves; priores erant uberrimae. Tu quidem et prudenter et amice suades, ut in his locis potissimum sim, quoad audiamus haec, quae commota sunt, quorsus evadant. 5. Sed me, mi Attice, non sane hoc quidem tempore movet res publica—non quo aut sit mihi quidquam carius aut esse debeat, sed desperatis etiam Hippocrates vetat adhibere medicinam; qua re ista valeant—me res familiaris movet, rem dico? immo vero existimatio. Cum enim tanta reliqua sint, ne Terentiae quidem adhuc quod solvam expeditum est. Terentiae dico? Scis nos pridem iam constituisse Montani nomine HS. xxv dissolvere. Pudenter hoc Cicero petierat, uti de suo, et liberalissime, ut tibi quoque placuerat: promiseram, Erotique dixeram, ut sepositum haberet. Non modo sed iniquis-

used in this sense by Plautus, Bacch. iii. 2, 15—

*Nunc specimen spectitur nunc certamen cernitur.*

*ita futurum]* sc. amicum tyrannoctonis futurum.

*στρατύλλαξ ille]* 'the *petit caporal* has had a staggerer.' There had recently been some desertion to Octavian in the forces to Antony. *Deiectus de gradu* is a technical term in the description of gladiatorial conflicts.

4. *Sexto]* Peducaeo. *priores]* We agree with Boot, that it is not quite clear to what letter *priores* refers. Certainly not to the letter from Peducaeus. Boot ingeniously suggests *etsi res for priores*.

*quae commota sunt]* ep. quae novantur, 804 fin.

5. *rem]* Boot would read *res*, and probably rightly. It is the custom of Cicero, in repetition, to preserve the case and exact form of the word repeated, as in *Terentiae dico* in this section, and the examples cited by Boot from Pliny, *cum dico* princeps, Ep. iii. 2, 2; *cum dico* balinei, ib. 5, 14.

*Montani nomine]* see on Att. xii. 52, 1 (599).

*uti de suo]* sc. *sit*, 'that it should be out of his pocket.'

*Non modo sed]* 'not only has Eros neglected my injunction to put this sum aside for settling the debt of Montanus, but [his action has been such that]

simo fenore versuram facere Aurelius coactus est. Nam de Terentiae nomine Tiro ad me scripsit te dicere nummos a Dolabella fore. Male eum credo intellexisse, si quisquam male intellegit, potius nihil intellexisse. Tu enim ad me scripsisti Cocceii responsum et iisdem paene verbis Eros. 6. Veniendum est igitur vel in ipsam flammam. Turpius est enim privatim cadere quam publice. Itaque ceteris de rebus, quas ad me suavissime scripsisti, perturbato animo non potui ut consueram rescribere. Consenti hac cura, ubi sum, ut me expediam: quibus autem rebus, venit quidem mihi in mentem, sed certi constituere nihil possum, prius quam te videro. Qui minus autem ego istic recte esse possim quam est Marcellus? Sed non id agitur, neque id maxime curo. Quid curem vides. Adsum igitur.

Aurelius (the agent of Montanus) has been obliged to raise the money to pay the loan, at an exorbitant rate of interest.' The expression, however, is far from satisfactory, and we should probably read with Wesenberg, after Pius, *non modo versuram facere sed iniquissimo fenore A. coactus est*.

*fore*] sc. *solutum iri*.

*si quisquam male intellegit*] The words are invariably explained, 'if ever a man fell into a misapprehension.' But this would require *intellexit*. Hence Boot reads *si quiequam male intellegit*, 'if Tiro ever makes a mistake.' But might we not retain *quisquam*, and understand the passage to mean 'I believe Tiro apprehended the matter wrongly, if a man ever apprehends wrongly,' that is, 'if it be possible to speak of a man's apprehending a thing wrongly,' when, as a matter of fact, he either apprehends it, or does not apprehend it? Accordingly, Cicero substitutes *nihil intellexisse*, 'he misapprehended the matter,' for *male int.* 'he apprehended it wrongly.'

*Cocceii responsum*] Cocceius, as a man of business, cognisant of the affairs of Dolabella, had assured Atticus and Eros that they could not hope for any advance from Dolabella.

6. *cadere*] 'to be ruined' (financially); but *cadere* also might refer to the ruin of the republic, which was impending. Cicero says, 'I must come and join you in Rome, even though I am walking into the midst of the conflagration [I must see what I can do with my affairs], for disgraceful as is our public ruin, private ruin is still more humiliating.'

*ubi sum*] We have omitted *in*, which appears in the mss after *consenti*, and translate, 'Agree that I be able to extricate myself from the difficulty in which I now am.' This is a slighter change than to alter *ubi sum* to *mecum* with Boot, who also approves (Mnem. 1893, p. 120) of Wesenberg's *contende* for *consenti*. Madvig (A. C. iii. 192) proposes *consenui*; Klotz, *contendi*. For *ubi* = *in qua*, cp. Plaut. Asin. iv. 1, 22; Cic. De Orat. i. 243.

*quibus autem rebus*] 'by what means I shall effect this [the raising of money for the discharge of my outstanding debts] I have an idea, but I cannot develop it clearly till I see you.'

*istic*] in Rome.

*Adsum*] 'I am off.' Cicero does not seem to have actually arrived in Rome till about December 9. He did not leave the city again till the autumn of the following year: see Ruete, p. 37 ff.

## DCCCVIII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 4).

GALLIA COMATA ; NOVEMBER (END) ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ;

AET. CIC. 62.

L. Munatius Plancus superioribus M. Ciceronis litteris rescribens agnoscit benevolentiam monitoris seseque in potestate rei publicae fore pollicetur.

## PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Gratissimae mihi tuae litterae fuerunt, quas ex Furnii sermone te scripsisse animadverti. Ego autem praeteriti temporis excusationem adfero, quod te profectum audieram, nec multo ante redisse scii, quam ex epistola tua cognovi; nullum enim in te officium, ne minimum quidem, sine maxima culpa videor posse praeterire, in quo tuendo habeo causas plurimas vel paternae necessitudinis vel meae a pueritia observantiae vel tui erga me mutui amoris. 2. Qua re, mi Cicero, quod mea tuaque patitur aetas, persuade tibi te unum esse, in quo ego colendo patriam mihi constituerim sanctitatem. Omnia igitur tua consilia mihi non magis prudentiae plena, quae summa est, videntur quam fidelitatis, quam ego ex mea conscientia metior: qua re si aut aliter sentirem, certe admonitio tua me reprimere aut, si dubitarem, hortatio impellere posset, ut id sequerer, quod tu optimum putares. Nunc vero quid est, quod me in aliam partem trahere possit? Quaecumque in me bona sunt aut fortunae beneficio tributa aut meo

There is an elaborate treatise *De L. Munatii Planci sermone* by August Rhodius (Bautzen, 1896), to which we are much indebted.

1. *litterae*] i.e. both Fam. x. 1 and 3 (787, 789).

*Furnii sermone*] cp. Fam. x. 3, 1 (789). *redisse*] The return of Cicero referred to here is not that from Puteoli in December, but the return from his intended voyage into Greece in August. The answer to this letter, viz. Fam. x. 5 (810), was most probably written before December 20, as otherwise Cicero would have made mention of the meeting of the senate held on that day, especially when

Plancus had made a definite request for the most important political news.

*scii . . . cognovi*] There is no practical distinction here between the general *scii*, 'know,' and the more particular *cognovi*, 'learn.'

*vel tui erga me mutui amoris*] 'the reciprocated love you feel for me.'

2. *patriam . . . sanctitatem*] 'I have set before myself the duty of filial reverence.' *Patrius* is what belongs to the position of the father as head of the family: *paternus* is simply what comes from the father.

*quam fidelitatis*] 'than sincerity, and I can measure that from my own knowledge.'



labore parta, etsi a te propter amorem carius sunt aestimata, tamen vel inimicissimi iudicio tanta sunt, ut praeter bonam famam nihil desiderare videantur. 3. Qua re hoc unum tibi persuade, quantum viribus eniti, consilio providere, auctoritate monere potuero, hoc omne rei publicae semper futurum. Non est ignotus mihi sensus tuus; neque, si facultas—optabilis mihi quidem—tui praesentis esset, unquam a tuis consiliis discreparem, nec nunc committam ut ullum meum factum reprehendere iure possis. 4. Sum in exspectatione omnium rerum, quid in Gallia citeriore, quid in urbe mense Ianuario geratur ut sciam. Interim maximam hic sollicitudinem curamque sustineo, ne inter aliena vitia hae gentes nostra mala suam putent occasionem. Quod si proinde, ut

*bonam famam*] This is a reference to what Cicero had said, Fam. x. 3, 3 (789), *cum homines existimarent te nimis servire temporibus*.

3. *Qua re hoc . . . futurum*] 'Wherefore persuade yourself of this, that anything my powers can effect, my prudence foresee, my influence recommend, shall be always and completely at the service of the state.' The first hand of M and H have *movere*; but as the immediate effect of *auctoritas* is admonition and persuasion, which afterwards issues in action, *monere* is the preferable reading, though *movere*, 'set in motion,' is possible. Orelli compares Fam. ix. 24, 4 (820), *nullum locum praetermitto monendi, agendi, providendi*.

*neque si . . . discreparem*] 'nor if I had the opportunity, which indeed I earnestly long for, of being with you, would I ever be at variance with your plans.' Cicero would probably have used the gerundive after *facultas*, e.g. *tui videndi*.

4. *ut sciam*] *Ut* is governed by *exspectatione*, and *sciam* governs *quid*. 'We are in a general state of expectation of learning what is being done.' This is a clumsy sentence for such a good writer as Plancus, and accordingly Wesenberg proposes to supply *fac* or *tu fac* before *sciam*; and Baiter to omit *ut sciam*. Rhodius (p. 8, note; cp. 29, note), however, objects to the text, not only on account of its awkwardness, but also on another ground. He says *esse in exspectatione* is always used passively, 'to be waited for,' or 'expected,' not actively, 'to be in a state of expectation': cp. 817, 2; Fam. ii. 3, 2 (169); Plaut. Mil. iv. 5, 64, *vide ne sis*

*in exspectatione*; also Capt. ii. 2, 3, *tibi ne in quaestione essemus cautum intellego*. This is interesting, and undoubtedly true when *in exspectatione* is used by itself; but we are not quite certain that the following objective genitive, *omnium rerum*, does not justify the active use, which, without it, would not be possible. Rhodius suggests *cura* for *sum*. This makes good sense, but we can hardly agree with him when he says that it is the slightest possible change. He would translate: 'See, when news of every sort is being looked for, that I am informed of what is done in Gaul and Rome next January.' For *in exspectatione* thus used he compares Fam. xv. 4, 5 (238), *in hoc tanto motu tantaque exspectatione maximi belli rex Deiotarus . . . misit*, a passage which, in some measure, supports the view we have advocated above.

*Ianuario*] This does not necessarily prove that the letter was written in December. For a long time there was general interest felt as to what would happen on January 1st: cp. Att. xvi. 11, 6 (426); 15, 3 (430), written in November; cp. Fam. xi. 6, 2 (812), so that the letter may have been written in November, and the answer of Cicero, Fam. x. 5 (810), written about the middle of December: see note to that letter.

*Interim . . . occasione*] 'Meantime I am here in the greatest trepidation and anxiety lest, amid the faults of others, these Gallic tribes may consider our difficulty to be their opportunity': cp. Dem. Olynth. i. 24, *δεῖ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς τὴν ἀκαρίαν τὴν ἐκείνου καιρὸν ὑμέτερον νομίσαντες ἐτόλμως συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα*; also



ipse mereor, mihi successerit, certe et tibi, cui maxime cupio, et omnibus viris bonis satis faciam. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

## DCCCIX. CICERO TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 5).

ROME; SHORTLY AFTER DECEMBER 9; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44;

AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero excusat se quod Bruti litteris non responderit, hortatur ad libertatem recuperandam, studium suum et officia pollicetur.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Lupus familiaris noster cum a te venisset cumque Romae quosdam dies commoraretur, ego eram in iis locis, in quibus maxime tuto me esse arbitrabar: eo factum est, ut ad te Lupus sine meis litteris rediret, cum tamen curasset tuas ad me perferendas. Romam autem veni a. d. v. Idus Dec., nec habui

Aristotle's well-known remark about the Helots (Pol. ii. 9, 2), ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς ἀτυχήμασι (sc. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων) διατελοῦσιν; and O'Connell's admonition that 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity.'

*mihi successerit*] 'if I come off as well as I deserve.' For this impersonal use cp. Q. Fr. ii. 12 (14), 1 (139), *sed si ex sententia successerit*.

*cui . . . cupio*] cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 10 (53), *Quid? Ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum?* Cicero, as Rhodius points out (p. 6), more usually says, *cupio omnia alicuius causa*, e.g. Fam. xiii. 75, 1 (178); 879, 2; Verr. ii. 180.

*Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas*] This is the form which Planeus, and apparently Planeus alone of Cicero's correspondents, most usually employs in ending his letters.

Cicero insinuates that Lupus acquiesced in Caesar's administration, cp. Att. ix. 1, 2 (353), Pompey trusted him sufficiently to entrust him with the duty of holding Achaëa against the Caesarians; cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 55, 2. Orelli thinks that the Lupus referred to in these letters is a different man, a legatus of D. Brutus, and known only in these negotiations.

*in iis locis*] cp. introductory note to F. xi. 4 (796).

*tuas*] This letter is not extant.

*a. d. v. Idus Dec.*] This reading of the mss is to be retained. Ruete, in an elaborate note (pp. 35-7), wishes to alter *Idus* to *Kal.*: cp. Att. xv. 11, 1 (744), for the reverse change. The question is—Was the meeting at Cicero's house, cp. Fam. xi. 7, 1 (811), which was convened by Lupus, held before or after his journey to Mutina, in December? If before, we must almost certainly follow Ruete, for it is quite impossible that Lupus can have left Rome later than December 8. From Fam. xi. 6, 1 (812), it appears that Lupus arrived in Rome on December 18th, probably in the evening, on the sixth day after leaving Mutina. If we suppose that he journeyed from Rome at express speed, and returned at once, he cannot have left Rome later

1. *Lupus*] This may have been the P. Rutilius Lupus who was tr. pl. in 698 (56), and moved that Pompey should restore Ptolemy Auletes: cp. Fam. i. 1, 3 (95); 2, 2 (96); Q. Fr. ii. 1, 1 (93). He was praetor in 705 (49), and acted for Pompey in Spain: cp. Caes. B. C. i. 24, 3; Att. viii. 12 a, 4 (331). Though

quiequam antiquius, quam ut Pansam statim convenirem; ex quo ea de te cognovi, quae maxime optabam. Qua re hortatione tu quidem non egēs, si ne in illa quidem re, quae a te gesta est post hominum memoriam maxima, hortatorem desiderasti. 2. Illud tamen breviter significandum videtur, populum Romanum omnia a te exspectare atque in te aliquando recuperandae libertatis omnem spem ponere. Tu, si dies noctesque memineris, quod te facere certo scio, quantam rem gesseris, non obliviscere profecto, quantae tibi etiam nunc gerendae sint: si enim iste provinciam nactus erit, cui quidem ego semper amicus fui ante, quam illum intellexi non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum re publica bellum gerere, spem reliquam nullam video salutis. 3. Quam ob rem te obsecro isdem precibus, quibus senatus populusque Romanus, ut in perpetuum rem publicam dominatu regio liberetur, ut principibus consentiant exitus. Tuum est hoc munus, tuae partes; a te

than December 8. If the meeting was held *after* the return of Lupus (as we hold it was), it was held on the morning of the 19th: cp. Fam. xi. 6, 1 (812), *Lupus noster cum Romam sexto die Mutina venisset, postridie me mane convenit*. In the letter which informed Brutus of that meeting, viz. Fam. xi. 7 (811), Cicero warns him that he must act on his own responsibility, for Cicero was not at all sure that the senate would so cordially approve of the conduct of Brutus as it did next day. Fam. xi. 7 (811) was brought to Brutus by Graecius, and news of part of the meeting had been previously conveyed by Seius, who was present

during the beginning of the conference, but left for Mutina before it was completed. Next day, the 20th, in the morning, Cicero attended the senate, and delivered the third Philippic. The house was probably a small one, see note to Fam. xii. 22, 3 (813), as most of Antony's partisans would naturally absent themselves; and thus the senate passed a vote confirming the action which Brutus had taken on his own responsibility: though, on the other hand, it is quite possible that the whole senate then, as on other occasions, let itself be led by the vigour and eloquence of Cicero. The course of events appears to have been as follows:—

December 8,	.	.	.	Lupus leaves for Mutina.
"	9,	.	.	Cicero returns to Rome.
"	11 (about),	.	.	Cicero writes Fam. xi. 5 (809).
"	18 (evening),	.	.	Lupus returns to Rome.
"	19	.	.	Lupus has a conference with Cicero and others. Cicero writes Fam. xi. 7 (811).
"	20,	.	.	Meeting of senate in which Cicero delivers Philippic iii.
"	20 (evening),	.	.	Cicero writes Fam. xi. 6 (812).

*desiderasti*] 'did not feel the want of.' Andresen is over-subtle in seeing here an expression of discontent on Cicero's part, at the fact that he was not consulted as to the advisability of assassinating Caesar. There is not any essential difference between *desiderasti* and *egēs*.

2. *iste*] 'that man of yours,' i.e. he who is trying to wrest the province

from you, viz. Antony. Cicero feels bound to offer some sort of excuse for his former friendship with Antony. In Fam. xvi. 23, 2 (754), he speaks of a desire to maintain *Antonii inveteratam amicitiam*.

3. *ut principibus . . . exitus*] 'that the conclusion may harmonize with the beginnings.'

hoc civitas vel omnes potius gentes non exspectant solum, sed etiam postulant: quamquam, cum hortatione non egeas, ut supra scripsi, non utar ea pluribus verbis; faciam illud, quod meum est, ut tibi omnia mea officia, studia, curas, cogitationes pollicear, quae ad tuam laudem et gloriam pertinebunt. Quam ob rem velim tibi ita persuadeas, me cum rei publicae causa, quae mihi vita mea est carior, tum quod tibi ipsi faveam tuamque dignitatem amplificari velim, tuis optimis consiliis, amplitudini, gloriae nullo loco defuturum.

## DCCCX. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 5).

ROME; DECEMBER (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero denuo L. Planeum ad suscipiendam conservandamque rem p. gloriae stimulis instigare studet.

## CICERO PLANCO SAL.

1. Binas a te accepi litteras eodem exemplo, quod ipsum argumento mihi fuit diligentiae tuae: intellexi enim te laborare, ut

*ut tibi . . . pertinebunt*] 'to promise you in every respect my zealous service and my anxious thought, which will be devoted to your renown and glory.' We think it better to take *officia . . . cogitationes* as antecedent to *quae* (which is in the neuter, owing to the diverse genders of those antecedents) than either to supply, or understand, something like *in rebus omnibus* after *pollicear*. Andr. and Mr. Jeans, however, adopt the latter alternative. Mr. Jeans translates, 'I will promise you my zeal and service, my care and study, in all that shall be seen to concern your name and glory.'

*tum quod . . . defuturum*] 'and also, because, as you know, I am devoted to your interests, and desire the advancement of your present high position, I shall never fail to support your patriotic policy, your dignity, and renown.' As Mr. Watson points out, the subjunctive *faveam* is virtual oblique.

This letter is certainly an answer to Fam. x. 4 (808); cp. note on *paternae necessitudinis*, § 1. It cannot have been written after December 20, else Cicero

would surely have told Plancus about the third Philippic and the motion relative to Plancus with which it concludes (§ 38, *senatum ad summam rem p. pertinere arbitrari ab D. Bruto et L. Planco imperatoribus, consulibus designatis, itemque a ceteris, qui provincias obtinent, obtineri ex lege Iulia quoad ex senatus consulto cuique eorum successum sit*), especially as Plancus had asked for political news; moreover, Cicero had made mention of this speech in letters addressed to D. Brutus, Fam. xi. 6, 2 (812); Trebonius, x. 28, 2 (819); Cornificius, xii. 22, 3 (813). Nor is it likely that the letter was written in January, for then certainly Cicero would have spoken of the embassy sent to Antony, and the anxiety of everyone as to its result, as he did to Cornificius, xii. 24, 1 (817), and to D. Brutus, xi. 8, 1 (816), in January. Nor was it written in February, for then he would have related the exciting events which occurred in that month, when the ambassadors returned. On the contrary, the letter has all the appearance of having been written when there was no definite news to tell.

1. *eodem exemplo*] 'of the same tenour.'

ad me mihi expectatissimae litterae perferrentur, ex quibus cepi fructum duplicem mihi in comparatione difficilem ad iudicandum, amoremne erga me tuum an animum in rem publicam pluris aestimandum putarem. Est omnino patriae caritas meo quidem iudicio maxima, sed amor voluntatisque coniunctio plus certe habet suavitatis. Itaque commemoratio tua paternae necessitudinis benevolentiaeque eius, quam erga me a pueritia contulisses, ceterarumque rerum, quae ad eam sententiam pertinebant, incredibilem mihi laetitiam attulerunt. 2. Rursus declaratio animi tui, quem haberes de re publica quemque habiturus esses, mihi erat incundissima, eoque maior erat haec laetitia, quod ad illa superiora accedebat. Itaque te non hortor solum, mi Plance, sed plane etiam oro, quod feci iis litteris, quibus tu humanissime respondisti, ut tota mente omnique animi impetu in rem publicam incumbas: nihil est, quod tibi maiori fructui gloriaeque esse possit, nec quicquam ex omnibus rebus humanis est praeclarior aut praestantius quam de re publica bene mereri. 3. Adhuc enim—patitur tua summa humanitas et sapientia me, quod sentiam, libere dicere—fortuna suffragante videris res maximas consecutus, quod quamquam sine virtute non potuisses tamen ex maxima parte ea, quae es adeptus, fortunae temporibusque tribuuntur: his temporibus difficillimis rei publicae quicquid subveneris, id erit totum et proprium tuum. Incredibile est omnium civium latronibus exceptis odium in Antonium, magna spes in te et in tuo exercitu, magna expectatio; cuius, per deos! gratiae gloriaeque cave tempus

Danger of miscarriage, as well as danger of delay, frequently induced Romans to write duplicates of letters. For an example cp. Fam. xi. 16 and 17 (888, 889).  
*voluntatisque coniunctio*] 'sympathy.'  
*paternae necessitudinis*] cp. Fam. x. 4, 1 (808), in quo (sc. officio) *tucndo habeo causas plurimas vel paternae necessitudinis vel meae a pueritia observantiae vel tui erga me mutui amoris.*

*attulerunt*] This is the reading of all the mss. Lambinus, Klotz, Wesenberg correct to *attulerat*, as there is only a singular nominative, *commemoratio*. Baiter has *attulit*; Götthaus (p. 79) proposes *attulit: rerum rursus*. But it may very well have been a slight inaccuracy on the part of Cicero, owing to the fact that the sense implies several *commemorations*, and also owing to the clause *ceterarumque*

*rerum quae ad eam sententiam pertinebant*, which intervenes, and comes just before the principal verb of the sentence.

2. *ad illa superiora*] 'to what you said above.'

*omnique animi impetu*] 'with all the enthusiasm of your nature.'

3. *quod sentiam libere dicere*] 'to express freely my sentiments,' i.e. my sentiments generally. Wesenberg (E. A. 33) wishes to read *quid sentiam*, which would mean his sentiments on this particular matter, 'to give you freely my opinion': cp. Roby, § 1763, "*dico quod sentio*, 'I say what I mean' = 'I mean what I say'; *dico quid sentiam*, 'I give you my opinion.'"

*cuius . . . amittas*] 'and, in the name of heaven, do not lose the opportunity of gaining that popularity and renown.'

amittas. Sic moneo ut filium, sic faveo ut mihi, sic hortor ut et pro patria et amicissimum.

## DCCCXI. CICERO TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 7).

ROME ; DECEMBER 19 ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero D. Bruto suadet, ut salutem populi Romani suo ipsius arbitratu tueatur, senatus auctoritatem non exspectet.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Cum adhibuisset domi meae Lupus me et Libonem et Servium, consobrinum tuum, quae mea fuerit sententia, cognosse te ex M. Seio arbitror, qui nostro sermoni interfuit: reliqua, quamquam statim Seium Graeceius est subsecutus, tamen ex Graecio poteris cognoscere. 2. Caput autem est hoc, quod te diligentissime percipere et meminisse volo, ut ne in libertate et salute populi Romani conservanda auctoritatem senatus exspectes

*sic faveo ut mihi*] Gitlbauer and Mendelssohn compare Fam. x. 3, 2 (789), *his de causis mirabiliter faveo dignitati tuae quam mihi tecum statuo debere esse communem*.

*ut et pro patria*] If this is right as it stands, and if we are not to supply something like *propugnantem* before *pro patria*, we can only suppose that it is an example of an ellipse of a verb of action, which often occurs in the comic drama (cp. Dräger, i. 196), and occasionally in Cicero, e.g. Phil. i. 6, *nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum* (sc. *agebantur*); Att. i. 16, 12 (22), *alterum, cuius domi divisores habitarent, adversus rem publicam* (sc. *facere*).

On the date of this letter see note to Fam. xi. 5, 2 (809).

1. *Libonem*] Bill. supposes that this Libo was the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, who had held command of the fleet in the Civil War: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 5, 3. We have seen that a Lupus (probably the same man that is mentioned here)

acted in concert with this Libo twelve years before, in the proposal that Pompey the Great should restore Auletes: cp. Fam. i. 1, 3 (95).

*Servium*] Servius Sulpicius Galba, the great-grandfather of the emperor. We have a letter from him to Cicero, describing the battle of Forum Gallorum, Fam. x. 30 (841).

*M. Seio*] probably the son of M. Seius, who is mentioned in Fam. ix. 7, 1 (462); Att. xii. 11 (502), as a friend of Cicero's. In 680 (74) M. Seius the elder gave a large donation of corn to the people during a famine, and thus blotted out the disgrace under which he laboured for some unknown crime (Off. ii. 58; Plane. 12).

*Graecius*] a friend, and perhaps a legatus, of D. Brutus: cp. Att. xv. 8, 2 (741).

2. *volo*] Most mss give *volam*, some *velim*, some *volumus*: see Adn. Crit. One of Mr. Allen's codd. reads as in the text, thus confirming an emendation of Wesenberg's (E. A. 38): cp. Fam. xvi. 27, 2 (815), where the mss give *scio* for *sciam*.

*auctoritatem*] 'authorization.'



nondum liberi, ne et tuum factum condemnes—nullo enim publico consilio rem publicam liberavisti; quo etiam est res illa maior et clarior—, et adolescentem vel puerum potius Caesarem iudices temere fecisse, qui tantam causam publicam privato consilio suscepit, denique homines rusticos, sed fortissimos viros civesque optimos, dementes fuisse iudices, primum milites veteranos comilitones tuos, deinde legionem Martiam, legionem quartam, quae suum consulem hostem iudicaverunt seque ad salutem rei publicae defendendam contulerunt. Voluntas senatus pro auctoritate haberi debet, cum auctoritas impeditur metu. 3. Postremo suscepta tibi causa iam his est, ut non sit integrum: primum Idibus Martiis, deinde proxime, exercitu novo et copiis comparatis. Quam ob rem ad omnia ita paratus, ita animatus debes esse, non ut nihil facias nisi iussus, sed ut ea geras, quae ab omnibus summa cum admiratione laudentur.

*nullo . . . liberavisti*] ‘no official body authorized you to free our country.’

*vel puerum potius*] cp. Phil. iii. 3, *C. Caesar, adolescens paene potius puer*—he was eighteen at this time.

*iudices*] We must continue to understand *ut ne* before this verb both here and in the next clause.

*privato consilio*] ‘of his own individual motion’: cp. Phil. iii. 3, *Quo enim usque tantum bellum tam crudele tam nefarium privatis consiliis propulsabitur*; Mon. Ancyr. i. 1, *Annos undeviginta natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi*.

*homines rusticos*] The reference is to the veterans of Julius Caesar, who had obtained land, and become husbandmen. It was at Calatia and Casilinum that young

Octavius was first successful in winning over his father’s veterans (Vell. ii. 61).

*legionem Martiam*] This legion had deserted Antony about the middle of November; some days later the Fourth also deserted him. They had both stationed themselves at Alba.

3. *Postremo . . . integrum*] ‘Finally you have taken your side already on two occasions, so that you have committed yourself (or ‘so that it is not open to you to refer the matter to the senate’); first, on the Ides of March; lately, by the raising of your new army and forces.’ D. Brutus had raised recruits in Cisalpine Gaul: cp. Appian, B. C. iii. 49. For this use of *integrum* cp. Att. xv. 23 (756), *quoad erit integrum: erit autem usque dum ad navem*; also Phil. i. 26.

## DCCCXII. CICERO TO DECIMUS BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 6).

ROME ; DECEMBER 20 (EVENING) ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero D. Bruti dignitatem sibi curae fore idque iam in senatu declaratum esse scribit.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Lupus noster cum Romam sexto die Mutina venisset, posttridie me mane convenit, tua mihi mandata diligentissime exposuit et litteras reddidit. Quod mihi tuam dignitatem commendas, eodem tempore existimo te mihi meam dignitatem commendare, quam meherecule non habeo tua cariorum: qua re mihi gratissimum facies, si exploratum habebis tuis laudibus nullo loco nec consilium nec studium meum defuturum. 2. Cum tribuni pl. edixissent, senatus adesset a. d. XIII. Kal. Ian. haberentque in animo de praesidio consulum designatorum referre, quamquam statueram in senatum ante Kal. Ian. non venire, tamen cum eo die ipso edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi aut ita haberi senatum, ut de tuis divinis in rem publicam meritis sileretur—quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem—, aut, etiam si quid de te honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. 3. Itaque in senatum veni mane; quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi senatores convenerunt. Quae de te in senatu egerim, quae in contione maxima dixerim, aliorum te litteris malo cognoscere: illud tibi persuadeas velim, me omnia, quae ad tuam dignitatem augendam pertinebunt, quae est per se amplissima, summo semper studio suscepturum et defensurum; quod quamquam intellego me cum multis esse facturum, tamen adpetam huius rei principatum.

1. *Lupus*] cp. note to Fam. xi. 5, 1 (809). He returned to Rome probably on the evening of December 18.

*litteras*] This letter is lost (Andr.).  
*tuis laudibus . . . defuturum*] 'neither advice nor exertions of mine shall ever be wanting to further your distinction.'

2. *edictum*] i.e. *se provinciam Galliam retenturum in senatu populi que Romani potestate* (Phil. iii. 8).

3. *frequentissimi*] We are inclined to

think that this is a rhetorical exaggeration. The house to which the third Philippic was addressed was probably a small one: cp. note to Fam. xii. 22, 3 (813).

*Quae . . . dixerim*] 'the remarks I made about you in the senate, the speech I made about you in the crowded meeting,' i.e. Phil. iii. and iv.

*suscepturum et defensurum*] 'undertake to support,' hendiadys.

## DCCCXIII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 22).

ROME; AFTER DECEMBER 20; A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. CIC. 62.

M. Cicero exponit de statu rei p. post Caesaris interitum et Q. Cornificium ne provinciam sine senatus consulto tradat hortatur.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Nos hic cum homine gladiatore omnium nequissimo, collega nostro, Antonio, bellum gerimus, sed non pari condicione, contra arma verbis. At etiam de te contionatur, nec impune; nam sentiet, quos lacesierit. Ego autem acta ad te omnia arbitror perscribi ab aliis; a me futura debes cognoscere, quorum quidem non est difficilis coniectura. 2. Oppressa omnia sunt, nec habent ducem boni, nostrique tyrannoctoni longe gentium absunt. Pansa et sentit bene et loquitur fortiter; Hirtius noster tardius convalescit. Quid futurum sit, plane nescio; spes tamen una est aliquando populum Romanum maiorum similem fore. Ego certe rei publicae non deero et, quicquid acciderit, a quo mea culpa

1. *gladiatore*] 'cut-throat,' a general term of abuse. Watson compares Phil. vii. 17, *quem* (L. Antonium) *gladiatorem non ita appellari ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiator appellari solet, sed ut appellant ii qui plane et Latine loquuntur.*

*collega*] in the augurate. Both Antony (Hirt. B. G. viii. 50; Fam. viii. 14, 1 (280)) and Cornificius were augurs: see note to Fam. xii. 18 (670).

*contionatur*] 'speaks publicly.' This refers to speeches made by Antony to his soldiers, or, perhaps, to the inhabitants of the towns in Cisalpine Gaul: cp. Fam. x. 3, 4 (789), *cum Lepidus contionaretur*. —(Watson).

*ne impune . . . lacesierit*] A clever compliment, which Cicero paid in order to confirm Cornificius in his opposition to Antony—Antony will find that you and I are not the people to be provoked with impunity.

*acta*] Not merely the published proceedings of notable events, but quite generally 'what has occurred.'

*quorum quidem*] We must not forget the *quidem*, 'at least such as are not hard

to foresee': otherwise there would be a contradiction to § 2, *Quid futurum sit plane nescio*.

2. *tyrannoctoni*] Brutus was in Macedonia, Cassius had gone to Syria, Trebonius to Asia, D. Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul. For Greek words written in Roman characters in the mss, cp. Att. xiv. 6, 2 (708); 15, 1 (720); xvi. 15, 3 (807).

*longe gentium*] cp. Att. vi. 3, 1 (264), *tu autem abes longe gentium*.

*Pansa*] Cicero spoke differently of Pansa when writing to Atticus in the summer, xvi. 1, 3 (769), *Quid ergo? Ad Kal. Ian. in Pansa spes? λῆρος πολὺς in vino et somno istorum*. Quintus too had a very low opinion of both Hirtius and Pansa: cp. Fam. xvi. 27, 1, 2 (815).

*tardius convalescit*] Hirtius had a long and serious illness during the latter part of 710 (44); not even at the beginning of the next year had he quite recovered. Phil. i. 37, viii. 5, *qui cum esset infirmus ex gravi diuturnoque morbo*.

*a quo mea culpa absit*] 'provided no blame attaches to me therein.'

absit, animo forti feram; illud profecto, quoad potero: tuam famam et dignitatem tuebor. 3. A. d. XIII. K. Ian. senatus frequens mihi est adsensus cum de ceteris rebus magnis et necessariis, tum de provinciis ab iis, qui obtinerent, retinendis neque cuiquam tradendis, nisi qui ex senatus consulto successisset. Hoc ego cum rei publicae causa censui, tum mehercule in primis retinendae dignitatis tuae; quam ob rem te amoris nostri causa rogo, rei publicae causa hortor, ut ne cui quicquam iuris in tua provincia esse patiari atque ut omnia referas ad dignitatem, qua nihil esse potest praestantius. 4. Vere tecum agam, ut necessitudo nostra postulat: in Sempronio, si meis litteris obtemperasses, maximam ab omnibus laudem adeptus esses; sed illud et praeteriit et levius est, haec magna res est: fac ut provinciam retineas in potestate rei publicae. Plura scripsissem, nisi tui festinarent. Itaque Chaerippo nostro me velim excuses.

*illud profecto*] sc. *faciam*—a common ellipse: cp. Att. viii. 11, 1 (342), *illud profecto totos dies* (sc. *facio*).

3. *frequens*] So Graevius, Schütz, Mendelssohn. The MSS have *aut frequens*. Klotz, Baiter, and Wesenberg alter to *haud infrequens*; Orelli gives *sat frequens*. We think it possible that the right reading is *haud frequens*. We might infer that the house to which Cicero addressed the third Philippic, and which he persuaded to adopt the motion with which that speech ends (§§ 37-39), was probably not very large, when we remember that the senate at this time contained a considerable number of creatures of Antony: cp. Lange, R. A. iii. 519, 520. It is in keeping with the generally subdued tone of this letter that Cicero should speak less warmly of the attendance at the senate than he did when he was relating to D. Brutus the motions it passed in his favour, Fam. xi. 6, 3 (812). However, perhaps it is safer to suppose that *aut* arose from dittography of *senat*.

*ne cui*] Antony had sent Calvisius Sabinus to take the province of Africa from Cornificius: cp. Phil. iii. 26, and note to Fam. xii. 23, 1 (792).

*atque*] cp. Roby, § 2200, 'An affirmative sentence following a negative sentence, and expressing the same general meaning, is joined by *et*, *ac*, *-que*, not, as in English, by an adversative conjunction: cp. Caes. B. G. iv. 35, 2; Tusc. i. 71.'

*ut omnia referas ad dignitatem*] 'and be guided in every action by regard for your position.'—Watson, comparing Att. viii. 11, 1 (342).

4. *Sempronio*] Perhaps this is the Sempronius Rufus mentioned in Fam. viii. 8, 1 (223). We do not know anything about the matter to which Cicero is referring. Cornificius would appear to have acknowledged that he was in the wrong: cp. Fam. xii. 25, 3 (825).

*illud et praeteriit*] 'that too is past and gone,' a phrase used of a circumstance which, unhappily, cannot be recalled: cp. Fam. xii. 3, 1 (791).

*Chaerippo*] This Chaerippus was in the train of Quintus Cicero during his governorship of Asia, cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 14 (30), and was also a friend of Marcus: cp. Fam. xii. 30, 3 (899), *Chaerippus. O hominem semper illum quidem mihi aptum, nunc vero etiam suavem*; Att. iv. 7, 1 (111); v. 4, 2 (187).

## DCCCXIV. QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 26).

ROME (?) ; AUTUMN (?) ; A. U. C. 710 ; B. C. 44 ; AET. Q. CIC. 58.

Q. Cicero accusat familiariter Tironem de intermissione litterarum quas eum etiam sine argumento ad se dare iubet.

Q. TIRONI SUO PLUR. SAL. DIC.

1. Verberavi te cogitationis tacito dumtaxat convicio, quod fasciculus alter ad me iam sine tuis litteris perlatus est. Non potes effugere huius culpae poenam te patrono : Marcus est adhibendus, isque diu et multis lucubrationibus commentata oratione vide ut probare possit te non peccasse. 2. Plane te rogo, sicut olim matrem nostram facere nemini, quae lagonas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae, sic tu, etiamsi quod scribas non habebis, scribito tamen, ne furtum cessationis quaesivisse videaris ; valde enim mihi semper et vera et dulcia tuis epistolis nuntiantur. Ama nos et vale.

We put this letter of uncertain date here, so that it may stand in connexion with the next, which certainly belongs to December.

> 1. *Verberavi . . . peccasse*] 'I mentally scourged you with reproaches not spoken, but felt, because another packet of letters has been brought to me without one from you. You cannot possibly escape punishment for this crime if you are your own counsel, you must retain Marcus; and look to it, that he be able to prove in a speech, long and highly elaborated over the midnight lamp, that you have not done the deed.' We cannot render 'are not guilty,' as that would be *non videri fecisse*. For *verberavi*, cp. Fam. xvi. 27, 1 (815), *Mirificam mihi verberationem cessationis . . . dedisti*. The word *adhibere* is used technically of consulting professional men : cp. Tusc. i. 10, *nee quoniam apud Graecos indices res agetur poteris adhibere Demosthenem*; Fat. 28, *si fatum tibi est ex hoc morbo non convalescere sive tu medium adhibueris sive non adhibueris, convalesces*. We also find *adhibere aliquem in consilium*, 'to ask anyone's advice.'

*diu . . . oratione*] This shows that Cicero often took the greatest pains with the composition of his speeches.

2. *furtum cessationis*] 'lest you be suspected of having attempted the thievery of indolence.' *Cessationis* is that epexegetic or definitive genitive commented on in Att. xvi. 3, 3 (773), note on *cumulus commendationis*. *Furtum cessationis* is 'an act of larceny (in the shape of) indolence,' as a correspondent. As Cicero's mother used to seal even the empty wine-jars, so that a jar consumed on the sly by a slave would be at once recognized, as he would not have the family seal wherewith to seal it in the same way as the other jars; so, says Quintus, even when you have nothing to say, still send me a letter, that I may feel sure that you had not some news which you have filched from me through indolence prompting you not to write, 'that you may not be suspected of having stolen a holiday' from your work as a correspondent.

*valde . . . vale*] 'I always find the contents of your letters thoroughly trustworthy and charming. Good-bye. Yours very sincerely.'



## DCCCXV. QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 27).

ROME; DECEMBER (END); A. U. C. 710; B. C. 44; AET. Q. CIC. 58.

Q. Cicero invehitur in Pansam et Hirtium consules designatos. Benevolentiam suam Tironi significat.

## Q. CICERO TIRONI SUO SAL. PLURIMAM DICIT.

1. Mirificam mihi verberationem cessationis epistola tua dedisti: nam, quae parcius frater perscripserat, verecundia videlicet et properatione, ea tu sine adsentatione, ut erant, ad me scripsisti, et maxime de consulibus designatis, quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos; qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est. 2. Incredibile est, quae ego illos sciam oppositis Gallorum castris in aestivis fecisse, quos ille latro, nisi aliquid firmitus fuerit,

This letter was most probably written at the end of December, as it attacks the consuls elect, and maintains that no good is to be expected from their administration, in a tone which indicates that they are on the point of entering on the duties of their office.

1. *Mirificam*] 'Sententia haec est: mirifice me cessantem verberasti accurata tua epistola,' Bücheler (Q. Ciceronis rell. p. 66).

*tua*] added by Wesenberg (E. A. 59), because *epistola* by itself cannot mean 'by letter,' as *litteris* does.

*adsentatione*] 'softening down.'

*libidinum . . . plenos*] 'full of vices and womanish weakness of mind.' Ernesti supposes that *animi* arose from dittography of the last few letters of *effeminatissimi*, and the word is omitted in Pal. But it is better to retain it. Hirtius had been seriously ill for a long time, and was only slowly recovering, cp. Fam. xii. 22, 1 (813), and Pansa appears to have been indolent, and addicted to wine: cp. Att. xvi. 1, 4 (769).

2. *sciam*] The mss give *scio*. In an admirable note Wesenberg (E. A. 59) points out that we must either omit *est*, or read *sciam*. In the former case the

construction will be like Att. xiii. 40, 2 (660), *mirum quantum inimicus ibat*; Ter. Phorm. ii. 1, 17, *incredibile quantum herum anteo sapientia*; Hor. Carm. i. 27, 3; Roby, § 1647. We cannot adduce the familiar phrases *sane quam*, *valde quam*, *mire quam*, because *incredibile* cannot be taken as an adverb, the regular form being *incredibiliter*: cp. Att. viii. 7, 1 (338).

*fecisse*] We do not know what enormities Hirtius and Pansa can have committed in the summer quarters in Gaul.

*quos ille latro*] 'whom that ruffian (Antony), unless a firm stand is made, will entice to his side, by companionship in their vices. The state must be fortified by the intervention either of the tribunes, or of private individuals. For as to those two creatures, they are scarcely fit to be entrusted, the one (Hirtius) with the guardianship of Caesena, the other with the basement of the taverns of Cossutius.' We cannot be sure as to the point of the last sentence, so that the withering sarcasm is lost to us. Caesena was a small town in Cisalpine Gaul, on the Rubicon: Hirtius is so feeble, that he could not conduct the administration of that town, much less the government of the whole

societate vitiorum deleniet. Res est aut tribuniciis aut privatis consiliis munienda; nam isti duo vix sunt digni, quibus alteri Caesenam, alteri Cossutianarum tabernarum fundamenta credas. Te, ut dixi, fero *in oculis*. Ego vos a. d. III. K. videbo tuosque etiamsi te veniens in medio foro videro, dissaviabor. Me ama. Vale.

province. Pansa, being addicted to wine, could not safely be entrusted with the cellars of Cossutius, who would seem to have been a tavern-keeper in the same locality.

*Te . . . fero in oculis*] 'As I said, you are the apple of my eye': cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9 (148), *Balbus vero . . . in oculis fero*; Phil. vi. 11; Ter. Eun. iii. 1, 11; cp. Att. vi. 2, 5 (256), *publicanis in oculis sumus*; Tusc. ii. 63. We must add *in* with Ernesti. Otto (p. 249) says the

Greeks use the phrase ἐπὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν περιφέρειν, but we are unable to find a passage in which it occurs. For somewhat similar expressions cp. Fam. i. 9, 10 (153), *sic amplexabantur*, *sic in manibus habebant*, *sic ferebant*; Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 1 (135), *in sinu fero*.

*K.*] sc. *Ianuaras*.

*tuosque*] sc. *oculos*.

*dissaviabor*] 'bury in kisses': cp. note to Fam. v. 10, 1 (696). The prefix *dis-* is intensive, as in *discupio dispereo*.

LETTERS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH AND LAST YEAR OF  
CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. DCCCXVI.-DCCCCXVI.

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A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

COSS. C. VIBIUS PANSA; A. HIRTIUS.

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THE crowded events of this exciting year—the embassy to Antony, the death of Sulpicius, the gradual development of the war in North Italy, the Battle of Forum Gallorum, the release of D. Brutus, the Battle of Mutina, the deaths of the consuls, the joy at Rome as of victory secured, the escape of Antony, his junction with Ventidius, the renewal of alarm among the patriots, the treachery of Lepidus, the vacillation of Octavian, and amidst all these, the unswerving loyalty, devotion, courage, energy, high spirit, magnanimity of Cicero, who deserves every honour for having nobly taken the post of leader of the forlorn hope of the Republic—almost seem to be rushing before us, as we read the correspondence of Cicero and his friends. We have attempted to trace these events in detail in the Introduction. The last ten Philippics belong to this year, but no other literary works.

## DCCCXVI. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 8).

ROME ; JANUARY (TOWARDS END) ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruto scribit de legatis ad Antonium de pace missis et de recuperandae libertatis spe in D. Bruto posita.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Eo tempore Polla tua misit, ut ad te, si quid vellem, darem litterarum, cum, quid scriberem, non habebam ; omnia enim erant suspensa propter expectationem legatorum, qui quid egissent nihil dum nuntiabatur. Haec tamen scribenda existimavi : primum, senatum populumque Romanum de te laborare non solum salutis suae causa, sed etiam dignitatis tuae ; admirabilis enim est quaedam tui nominis caritas amorque in te singularis omnium civium : ita enim sperant atque confidunt, ut antea rege, sic hoc tempore regno te rem publicam liberaturum. 2. Romae dilectus habetur totaque Italia, si hic dilectus appellandus est, cum ultro se offerunt omnes : tantus ardor animos hominum occupavit desiderio libertatis odioque diutinae servitutis. De reliquis rebus a te iam expectare litteras debemus, quid ipse agas, quid noster Hirtius, quid Caesar meus, quos spero brevi tempore societate victoriae tecum copulatos fore. Reliquum est ut de me id scribam, quod te ex tuorum litteris et spero et malo cognoscere, me neque deesse ulla in re neque umquam defuturum dignitati tuae.

1. *Polla*] cp. Fam. viii. 7, 2 (243), *Paulla Valeria, soror Triarii, divortium sine causa, quo die vir e provincia venturus erat, fecit : nuptura est D. Bruto*. For the two-fold form of the name, cp. *Claudius, Clodius* ; *planstrum, plostrum* ; *laureola, loreola*, ap. Att. v. 20, 4 (228) ; *paullulum, pollulum* (Cassius ap. 856, 2).

*ut ad te . . . habebam*] 'sent me word to give anything in the way of a letter I wanted despatched to you, when I did not know what to write.'

*erant suspensa*] 'remain unsettled' (μετέωρα). The imperfect is epistolary. *primum*] There is no corresponding word in the succeeding clauses.

2. *totaque Italia*] For the prepositions *in* or *per* omitted when *totus* is used, cp. Roby, § 1170, who quotes Livy xxviii. 44, 10, *cum victor tota volitaret Italia Hannibal*.

*Caesar meus*] Cicero had the highest hopes of Octavian at this time : cp. Phil. iii. 3 ; iv. 4 ; v. 48.

*copulatos fore*] For this completed fut. inf., frequent with passive verbs, rare with deponents, cp. Fam. xiii. 18, 2 (513), and Reid on Sull. 27 ; Roby, § 1369.

*defuturum dignitati tuae*] 'fail to further your advancement.'

## DCCCXVII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 24).

ROME ; JANUARY (TOWARDS END) ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Cornificium, ut omni cura in rem publicam incumbat, hortatur. De legatis ad Antonium missis scribit. Pinarium commendat.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Ego nullum locum praetermitto—nec enim debeo—non modo laudandi tui, sed ne ornandi quidem ; sed mea studia erga te et officia malo tibi ex tuorum litteris quam ex meis esse nota. Te tamen hortor, ut omni cura in rem publicam incumbas : hoc est animi, hoc est ingenii tui, hoc eius spei, quam habere debes, amplificandae dignitatis tuae. 2. Sed hac de re alias ad te pluribus : cum enim haec scribebam, in expectatione erant omnia ; nondum legati redierant, quos senatus non ad pacem deprecandam, sed ad denuntiandum bellum miserat, nisi legatorum nuntio paruisset. Ego tamen, ut primum occasio data est, meo pristino more rem publicam defendi ; me principem senatui populoque Romano professus sum, nec postea, quam suscepì causam libertatis, minimum tempus amisi tuendae salutis libertatisque communis. Sed haec quoque te ex aliis malo. 3. T. Pinarium, familiarissimum meum, tanto tibi studio commendo, ut maiore non possim ; cui

1. *non modo laudandi*] ‘not only of praising you, but even of conferring distinctions upon you.’ Merely to praise Cornificius would not be any great sign of devotion, but to move in the senate that honours be conferred on him was a sign that Cicero took a lively interest in his advancement. For *ornare* cp. Fam. xv. 4, 11 (238), *qui me tuis sententiis saepissime ornasti*. Gronovius reads *non modo ornandi tui sed ne laudandi quidem*, which would mean that Cicero not only furthered the interests of Cornificius by motions in his honour, and generally in all public matters, but he even took every opportunity possible of indirectly praising him. This is a possible interpretation, but not sufficiently necessary to justify a change in the order of the words.

*hoc est animi*] ‘This is what is worthy of your spirit.’

2. *alias ad te pluribus*] sc. scribam,

cp. 930 ; also Fam. vii. 30, 2 (694). For *verbis* omitted cp. Sall. Jug. 17, 2, *quam paucissimis absolvam*, and ‘in few’ in Shakespeare, e.g. Tempest, act i. sc. 2, 144, ‘In few, they hurried us aboard a bark.’

*in expectatione erant omnia*] ‘there was a general state of suspense’: cp. note on 808, 3.

*legati*] They left Rome on January 5, and returned not later than February 2. Their return was expected in about twenty days (Phil. vi. 16), but they were delayed, probably by the illness and death of Servius Sulpicius.

*defendi*] So MH, a perfectly satisfactory reading (cp. Lehmann 26 for similar asyndeta). Ernesti and Baier needlessly alter to *defendendi*.

3. *T. Pinarium*] A good friend to Cicero, who writes *is homo semper me delectavit*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 22 (148) : cp. Att. vi. 1, 23 (252) ; viii. 15, 1 (350).



cum propter omnes virtutes, tum etiam propter studia communia sum amiceissimus. Is procurat rationes negotiaque Dionysii nostri, quem et tu multum amas et ego omnium plurimum: ea tibi ego non debeo commendare, sed commendo tamen. Facies igitur, ut ex Pinarii, gratissimi hominis, litteris tuum et erga illum et erga Dionysium studium perspiciamus.

## DCCCXVIII. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 4).

ROME; FEBRUARY 2 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero Antonium Caesari superstitem esse dolet. Addit de senatu, de populo, de legatis ad Antonium, de Dolabella.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem praeter ceteros me: quamquam egregios consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares; senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius,

*Dionysii nostri*] Most probably the irascible tutor of the young Ciceros. Cicero had a quarrel with him in 705 (49), cp. Att. viii. 5, 1 (336), but they had become friends again two years before the date of the present letter: cp. Att. xiii. 2, 3 (606).

*tuum . . . studium*] 'the interest you have taken in him and in Dionysius.'

The date of this letter is fixed by the following considerations:—(1) The eighth Philippic (§ 1) was delivered the day after the ambassadors returned. (2) In § 6 of that speech Cicero declares that the *toga* will be exchanged for the *sagum* on the next day. (3) Cicero appeared in the *sagum* on February 4: cp. Nonius, 538, 20, *M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniozem, lib. i., 'Pridie Nonas Februarias . . . descendit ad forum sagatus (mss togatus, corr. Abeken) cum reliqui consulares togati vellet descendere.'* Accordingly, the ambassadors returned on February 2; and it is probable that Cicero wrote both this and the following letter on the evening of

that day, after the confused debate in the senate, which took place as soon as the answer which the ambassadors brought was made known. Cicero took no prominent part in that debate, but there was probably a general demand that he should make a speech on the next day. The eighth Philippic should be read in connexion with this letter.

1. *Vellem*] cp. the opening words of the next letter. When he says 'there would have been no leavings,' he means, of course, that Antony should have been put to death, as well as Caesar. Macrobius (Sat. ii. 3, 13), in quoting the opening words of this letter, adds *perfecto* before *reliquiarum*.

*sed*] This is a rare use of *sed* for *sed tamen* after 'although': cp. Cluent. 105, *tametsi ille una sententia est absolutus, sed illam unam nemo tum istorum dici vellet.*

*turpissimos consulares*] cp. Phil. viii. 20. Besides Philippus and Piso, Cicero is also thinking of Pufius Calenus and, in a measure, of L. Caesar.

*sed infimo . . . fortissimum*] 'but it is all the men of the lowest rank who are

Italiaque universa; nihil autem foedius Philippo et Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius; qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex senatus sententia certas res nuntiarent, cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata rettulerunt: itaque ad nos concurritur, factique iam in re salutari populares sumus. 2. Sed tu quid ageres, quid acturus, ubi denique esses, nesciebam: fama nuntiabat te esse in Syria; auctor erat nemo. De Bruto, quo propius est, eo firmiora videntur esse quae nuntiantur. Dolabella valde vituperabatur ab hominibus non insulsis, quod tibi tam cito succederet, cum tu vixdum xxx. dies in Syria fuisses; itaque constabat eum recipi in Syriam non oportere. Summa laus et tua et Bruti est, quod exercitum praeter spem existimamini comparasse. Scriberem plura, si rem causamque nossem: nunc quae scribo, scribo ex opinione hominum atque fama. Tuas litteras avide exspecto. Vale.

the most vigorous,' i.e. the *questorii*, *aedilicii*, and *praetorii*, not the *consulares*.  
[*foedius*] 'more disgraceful'; *flagitiosius*, 'more scandalous.'

[*certas res*] ep. Phil. vi. 4, *mittuntur enim qui nuntient ne oppugnet consulem designatum, ne Mutinam obsideat, ne provinciam depopuletur, ne dilectus habeat, sit in senatus populiq. Romani potestate*. Cp. also vii. 26, *ad Brutum adeundi legatis potestatem fecerit, exercitum citra flumen Rubiconem eduxerit, nec propius urbem millia passuum ducenta admovent*. The use of *nuntient* in Phil. vi. 4 shows that there is no necessity here to alter the MSS reading into *<de>nuntient* with Gronovius and Mendelssohn.

[*ultro*] 'actually.' Often used when the tables are turned, and the exact opposite of what is intended takes place: cp. Tac. Hist. ii. 25, *Vitelliani temere exsurgentes, cedente sensim Celso, longius secuti ultro in insidias praecipitantur* ('it was they who fell into the ambush').

[*factique iam in re salutari populares sumus*] 'and in a really sound measure I find myself at last a popular hero.'—(Jeans). That motions which please the people are seldom sound is an article of the aristocratic creed. Watson appositely compares Phil. vii. 4, *me quidem semper, uti scitis, adversarium multitudinis temeri-*

*tati haec fecit praeclarissima causa popularem*.

[*2. te esse in Syria*] see Adn. Crit.  
[*auctor erat nemo*] 'There is no definite authority.'

[*Bruto*] i.e. Marcus Brutus, who was now in Macedonia.

[*Dolabella valde vituperabatur*] 'Dolabella is severely criticised by some witty fellows for being in such a hurry to act as your successor, though you had not been quite a month in Syria.' By the Cornelian law, Fam. iii. 6, 3 (213), the governor was allowed to remain in his province thirty days after his year of office expired before his successor took up the reins of government (cp. vol. iii., p. 302). Dolabella did not give Cassius the thirty days, much less the year and thirty days. Really, exclaim the wits, Dolabella is acting most unfairly in not allowing Cassius to have his month's grace: indeed, it is quite plain that on this ground Cassius should assert his rights, and not allow Dolabella to enter Syria. The satire consisted in ignoring the year's tenure of the province to which Cassius was entitled.

[*rem causamque*] 'the circumstances of the case': cp. Fam. ii. 6, 5 (177). In N. D. i. 2, it means 'the matter in dispute.'

## DCCCXIX. CICERO TO TREBONIUS (FAM. X. 28).

ROME; FEBRUARY 2 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero C. Trebonio scribit se dolere, quod non una in C. Caesarem iuraverit, ut M. Antonium simul cum illo opprimeret, qui nunc tantas turbas faciat, suumque libertatis recuperandae studium declarat.

## CICERO TREBONIO SAL.

1. Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus: at nunc cum iis tantum negotii est, ut vestrum illud divinum in rem publicam beneficium non nullam habeat querelam. Quod vero a te, viro optimo, seductus est tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor: mihi enim negotii plus reliquisti uni quam praeter me omnibus. Ut enim primum post Antonii foedissimum discessum senatus haberi libere potuit, ad illum animum meum reverti pristinum, quem tu cum civi acerrimo, patre tuo, in ore et amore semper habuisti. 2. Nam cum senatum a. d. XIII. Kalendas Ianuarias tribuni pl. vocavissent deque alia re referrent, totam rem publicam sum complexus egique

For the date see introductory note to 118. Trebonius was killed by Dolabella in February, so that probably he never received this letter.

1. *reliquiarum nihil*] 'We should not have had any leavings.' Cicero means that, if he had been asked to co-operate in the conspiracy against Caesar, he would have taken care that Antony should have been assassinated as well as Caesar.

*seductus est*] This is a sense construction, which is not at all harsh, as the feminine *haec pestis* does not come in until the next clause. Süpfle compares for a somewhat similar construction Liv. x. 1, 3, *capitaeque conurbationis . . . virgis caesi et securi percussi*.

*foedissimum discessum*] On Nov. 28 Antony left Rome hurriedly, when he received news of the defection of the fourth legion: cp. Phil. v. 24. *Post autem neque sacrificiis solemnibus factis neque votis nuncupatis non profectus est sed*

*profugit paludatus*. Appian (iii. 46) gives a different account. He says that while Antony was at Tibur almost the whole senate waited on him, and swore to remain faithful to him. Appian is a little surprised at this action on their part, as it would appear that they reviled Antony a little before, when Octavian harangued them; but, at any rate, he says that Antony's departure for Ariminum was 'glorious' (*λαμπρός*).

*civi acerrimo*] cp. Phil. xiii. 23, where the father of Trebonius is called *splendidus eques Romanus*.

*in ore et amore*] 'I returned to my resolution of former time, which you always lauded and loved.'

2. *deque alia re*] Süpfle refers to Phil. iii. 13, to show that the *alia res* was a proposal that measures should be taken that the new consuls might be able to hold the senate on January 1 without its being exposed to any danger from the

acerrime senatumque iam languentem et defessum ad pristinam virtutem consuetudinemque revocavi magis animi quam ingenii viribus. Hic dies meaque contentio atque actio spem primum populo Romano attulit libertatis recuperandae; nec vero ipse postea tempus ullum intermisi de re publica non cogitandi solum, sed etiam agendi. 3. Quod nisi res urbanas actaque omnia ad te perferri arbitrarer, ipse perscriberem, quamquam eram maximis occupationibus impeditus. Sed illa cognoscas ex aliis; a me pauca, et ea summatim: habemus fortem senatum, consulares partim timidos, partim male sentientes. Magnum damnum factum est in Servio. L. Caesar optime sentit, sed, quod avunculus est, non acerrimas dicit sententias. Consules egregii; praeclarus D. Brutus; egregius puer Caesar, de quo spero equidem reliqua. Hoc vero certum habeto, nisi ille veteranos celeriter conscripsisset legionesque duae de exercitu Antonii ad eius se auctoritatem contulissent atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium sceleris, nihil crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse. Haec tibi, etsi audita esse arbitrabar, volui tamen notiora esse. Plura scribam, si plus otii habuero.

Antonians. In that speech votes were passed in honour of D. Brutus and Octavian; and it was moved that the decrees for the government of the provinces, passed at the instance of Antony, should be regarded as invalid. For example of a political speech, delivered when unimportant matters of administration (e.g. *de via Appia, de Moneta, de Lupercis*) were the proposed topics for discussion, cp. Phil. vii. init.

*magis animi quam ingenii viribus*] 'more by energy than by argument.' In the margin of M, by a fifteenth-century hand, is written *sile, obseero*, perhaps a reflection on Cicero's boastfulness.

*meaque contentio atque actio*] 'and my exertions and pleading.'

*libertatis recuperandae*] cp. 825, 2 (of the same speech, viz. the third Philippic), *fundamenta ieci rei publicae*.

3. *timidos*] 'cowards': *male sentientes*, 'traitors.'

*Servio*] sc. Servius Sulpicius, who died on the embassy to Antony: cp. vol. iv.. pp. lxxvii-lxxix.

*avunculus*] i.e. of Mark Antony. He was brother of Julia, the mother of Antony: cp. Phil. viii. 1, *Fecit L. Caesaris (sententia), qui verbi atrocitate dempta oratione fuit quam sententia lenior: quamquam est quidem, antequam sententiam diceret, propinquitatem excusavit*.

*duae*] i.e. the Fourth and the Martian. For this whole section, cp. Phil. iii. 3-7.

## DCCCXX. CICERO TO PAETUS (FAM. IX. 24).

ROME; FEBRUARY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Rufum a L. Paeto commendatum sibi curae fore ostendit, ut Paetus ad amicorum convictum redeat hortatur, nihilque sibi re publica carius esse adfirmat.

## CICERO PAETO S. D.

1. Rufum istum, amicum tuum, de quo iterum iam ad me scribis, adiuvarem, quantum possem, etiam si ab eo laesus essem, cum te tanto opere viderem eius causa laborare; cum vero et ex tuis litteris et ex illius ad me missis intellegam et iudicem magnae curae ei salutem meam fuisse, non possum ei non amicus esse; neque solum tua commendatione, quae apud me, ut debet, valet plurimum, sed etiam voluntate ac iudicio meo. Volo enim te scire, mi Paete, initium mihi suspicionis et cautionis et diligentiae fuisse litteras tuas, quibus litteris congruentes fuerunt aliae postea multorum: nam et Aquini et Fabrateriae consilia sunt inita de me, quae te video inaudisse, et, quasi divinarent, quam iis molestus essem futurus, nihil aliud egerunt nisi me ut opprimerent. Quod ego non suspicans incautior fuisset, nisi a te admonitus essem; quam ob rem iste tuus amicus apud me commendatione non eget. Utinam ea fortuna rei publicae sit, ut ille me virum gratissimum possit cognoscere! sed haec haec. 2. Te ad cenas itare desisse moleste fero; magna enim te delectatione et voluptate privasti. Deinde etiam vereor—licet enim verum dicere—ne nescio quid illud, quod solebas, dediscas et obliviscare, cenulas facere. Nam si tum, cum habebas quos imitarere, non multum

This is the only letter which we possess from this period which is not mainly occupied with public concerns; yet Cicero cannot wholly forget them (§ 4).

1. *Rufum*] We do not know who this Rufus is; perhaps Salvidienus Rufus (865, 4).

*suspicionis*] i.e. against the followers of Antony. We do not know the details of the plot to which Cicero alludes.

*inaudisse*] ‘overheard,’ as Ribbeck (Frag. Com. cix.) explains it, ‘*quod quis*

*fortuito aliud agens audit inaudisse dicitur*’: cp. Att. vi. 1, 20 (252), and note; xv. 26, 1 (763); xvi. 1, 2 (769).

*me virum*] So Wesenberg for *meum*. Baiter has *me unum*.

2. *itare*] cp. Gell. iii. 18, 4, *pedibus itavisse in curiam*.

*delectatione*] ‘gratification.’ *nescio quid*] ‘somewhat,’ ‘in a measure’: cp. N. D. i. 93.

*cenulas facere*] cp. Att. ix. 13, 6 (369), *coenas facere*.



proficiebas, quid nunc te facturum putem? Spurrinna quidem, cum ei rem demonstrassem et vitam tuam superiorem exposuissem, magnum periculum summae rei publicae demonstrabat, nisi ad superiorem consuetudinem tum, cum Favonius flaret, revertisses; hoc tempore ferri posse, si forte tu frigus ferre non posses. 3. Sed mehercule, mi Paete, extra iocum moneo te, quod pertinere ad beate vivendum arbitror, ut cum viris bonis, iucundis, amantibus tui vivas: nihil est aptius vitae, nihil ad beate vivendum accomodatius. Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitae atque victus remissionemque animorum, quae maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus, ut sapientius nostri quam Graeci: illi *συμπόσια* aut *σύνδειπνα*, id est conpotationes aut cenationes, nos 'convivia,' quod tum maxime simul vivitur. Vides, ut te philosophando revocare coner ad cenas? cura ut valeas; id foris cenitando facillime consequere. 4. Sed cave, si me amas, existimes me, quod iocosius scribam,

*Spurrinna*] This was the augur who warned Caesar, shortly before his assassination, that his life was in danger.

*magnum . . . rei publicae*] 'that the whole state would incur serious danger if you did not return to your old custom at the first breath of Favonius; that just for the present (your way of life) can perchance be endured if you are unable to endure the cold weather.' The joke, that the safety of the state depended on the dining-out of Paetus is, like many of Cicero's jokes, somewhat trying. However, we can admire the buoyancy of Cicero, when he had the heart to 'chaff' at all, in the midst of the hopes and fears of his political position: cp. 824, 6 (Pollio), *Invidet illi* (sc. Cornelius Gallus) *quod umbrat et iocatur tibi*. Spring was considered to have begun when Favonius commenced to blow; this took place on February 7, according to Columella (xi. 2, 15); on the 8th, according to Pliny (H. N. ii. 122); and on the 10th, according to Ovid (Fast. ii. 149).

3. *extra iocum*] cp. Fam. vii. 16, 2 (157), *sed mehercules, extra iocum, homo bellus est*, and vii. 11, 3 (167), *remoto ioco*.

*nihil est aptius vitae*] 'Life has nothing that fits it better: nothing is more suitable to make one live happily. And I do not urge this on account of the mere gratification to the palate, but on account

of the association in life and living which it brings about, and the relaxation of mind which friendly conversation especially induces. This appears in its pleasantest form at convivial gatherings, so that we Romans judge more wisely than the Greeks, in that, while they call them *συμπόσια*, or *σύνδειπνα*, 'drinkings together,' or 'dinings together,' we call them 'convivial gatherings' (that is, 'livings together'), because then only do we really live with one another.' Cp. on the passage as a whole Sen. 45, *neque enim ipsorum convivorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar; bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum conpotationem, tum cenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur*.

*Graeci*] sc. *indicent*. For the ellipse cp. Fin. i. 61; Legg. ii. 26; Att. xiii. 40, 1 (660), *ne is quidem . . . bene de nostro*; Q. Fr. ii. 15, 5 (147), quoted by Heidemann, p. 75.

*σύνδειπνα*] sc. *vocant*. For ellipse cp. 805, 3, *mihī non est dubium quin, quod Graeci καθήκον, nos officium*.

*foris cenitando*] cp. Fam. vii. 16, 2 (157).

abieciſſe curam rei publicae. Sic tibi, mi Paete, persuade, me dies et noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, niſi ut mei cives ſalvi liberique ſint: nullum locum praetermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo ſum, ut, ſi in hac cura atque adminiſtratione vita mihi ponenda ſit, praeclare actum mecum putem. Etiam atque etiam vale.

# DCCCXXI. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 5).

ROME; FEBRUARY (TOWARDS END); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;

AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero M. Brutum laudat eiſque exemplum Caſſio imitandum proponit, addit de Mutinensi bello ac de rei publicae ſtatu.

## CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Hiemem credo adhuc prohibuiſſe, quo minus de te certum haberemus, quid ageres maximeque ubi eſſes; loquebantur omnes tamen—credo, quod volebant—in Syria te eſſe, habere copias. Id autem eo facilius credebatur, quia ſimile veri videbatur. Brutus quidem noster egregiam laudem eſt conſecutus; res enim tantas gessiſſit tamque inopinatas, ut eae cum per ſe gratae eſſent, tum ornatiores propter celeritatem. Quod ſi tu ea tenes, quae putamus, magnis ſubſidiis fulta res publica eſt; a prima enim ora Graeciae

4. *mei cives*] Not the leaſt interesting part of this interesting letter is the mention here of what was never abſent from Cicero's mind at this time, 'that my fellow-citizens may live in ſafety and freedom.' Cicero cannot baniſh ſerious thought for any length of time.

*monendi, agendi, providendi*] 'of warning, acting, and watching': cp. §19, 2.

*vita mihi ponenda ſit*] Abeken (p. 447) ſees in this an alluſion to the machinations of the Antonians againſt Cicero's life (cp. § 1); but it is more likely to be a mere general expreſſion of devotion to his country.

*praeclare actum mecum*] 'that my end has been a glorious one.'

after the delivery of the tenth Philippic. Several days elapſed between the delivery of the tenth and eleventh Philippics. The date of the latter is about the 5th or 6th of March: cp. introductory note to §23.

1. *credo quod volebant*] 'I fancy, becauſe the wiſh was father to the thought': cp. Caes. B. G. iii. 18, 6, *quod fere libenter homines id quod volunt credunt*, and alſo B. C. ii. 27, 2.

*Brutus*] During the beginning of 711 (43) M. Brutus had been very energetic. He had collected an army, and had occupied Illyricum and Greece.

*egregiam laudem*] cp. Cicero's propoſal, Phil. x. 25.

*ornatiores*] 'more ſplendid.'

*magnis ſubſidiis . . . eſt*] 'the ſtate reſts on ſtrong ſupports.'

This letter was written immediately

usque ad Aegyptum optimorum civium imperiis muniti erimus et copiis. 2. Quamquam, nisi me fallebat, res se sic habebat, ut totius belli omne discrimen in D. Bruto positum videretur, qui si, ut sperabamus, erupisset Mutina, nihil belli reliquum fore videbatur. Parvis omnino iam copiis obsidebatur, quod magno praesidio Bononiam tenebat Antonius. Erat autem Claterna noster Hirtius, ad Forum Cornelium Caesar, uterque cum firmo exercitu; magnasque Romae Pansa copias ex dilectu Italiae compararat. Hiemps adhuc rem geri prohibuerat. Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris litteris significat, acturus videbatur. Praeter Bononiam, Regium Lepidi, Parmam, totam Galliam tenebamus studiosissimam rei publicae; tuos etiam clientes Transpadanos mirifice coniunctos cum causa habebamus. Erat firmissimus senatus exceptis consularibus, ex quibus unus L. Caesar firmus est et rectus. 3. Ser. Sulpicii morte magnum praesidium amisimus. Reliqui partim inertes, partim improbi; nonnulli invident eorum laudi, quos in re publica probari vident; populi vero Romani totiusque Italiae mira consensus est. Haec erant fere, quae tibi

*a prima enim ora*] cp. Phil. x. 10, *exterae nationes a prima ora Graeciae usque ad Aegyptum optimorum et fortissimorum civium imperiis et praesidiis tenentur*. For *prima ora*, 'the extremity of the shore,' cp. Fam. iii. 6, 2 (213), *prima provincia*, and note there. To the examples there given add N. D. i. 20, *primis labris*.

*optimorum . . . copiis*] 'we are defended by generals and soldiers who are most loyal citizens and staunch patriots.'

2. *fallebat*] The tenses of this and the other verbs in the paragraph belong to epistolary style.

*Claterna*] This town, now Quaderna, was about ten miles south-east of Bononia. Forum Cornelium (now Imola) was about thirteen miles south-east of Claterna. Regium Lepidi (or Lepidum), now Reggio, was about fifteen miles north-west of Mutina. All these places are on the Aemilian road. For Claterna cp. Non. 394, 7, *spurcum vehemens, asperum*. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. i., 'Cum iter facerem ad †Liquium (Hirtium Roth Aquilam Gurlitt) Claternam tempestate spurcissima,' cp. 'foul' and 'dirty,' used of the weather. This letter was really written by Octavian: cp. Gurlitt (Nonius, p. 12).

*rem geri*] 'any action.'

*Praeter Bononiam . . . rei publicae*] cp. Phil. x. 10, *tria tenet oppida toto in orbe terrarum: habet inimicissimam Galliam: eos etiam, quibus confidebat, alienissimos Transpadanos: Italia omnis infesta est*.

*clientes Transpadanos*] We do not hear elsewhere that Cassius was patron of the Transpadanes. Watson notices it as strange that they should now be devoted to the Optimates, as Julius Caesar was the statesman who was mainly instrumental in gaining for them the rights of citizenship by the Lex Julia in 705 (49). But the loyalty of these new citizens, as of the provincials generally, was rather to Rome and the actual government there for the time being than to any individual Roman.

*firmissimus*] 'most resolute'; *rectus*, 'upright,' rarely used in this sense of persons: cp. Plin. Epp. ii. 11, 5, *vir rectus et sanctus*.

3. *Ser. Sulpicii*] cp. note to 819, 3.

*Reliqui . . . vident*] 'The rest are deficient, partly in energy, partly in principle; some envy the praise bestowed on those who they see have gained credit in the government.' Cicero probably refers to himself as the object of this envy.

nota esse vellem; nunc autem opto, ut ab istis Orientis partibus virtutis tuæ lumen eluceat. Vale.

## DCCCXXII. CASSIUS TO CICERO (FAM. XII. 11).

CAMP AT TARICHEA; MARCH 7; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; ART. CIC. 68.

C. Cassius M. Ciceroni a quibus copias acceperit significat seseque et rem publicam commendat.

C. CASSIUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. S. v. b. e. e. q. v. In Syriam me profectum esse seito ad L. Mureum et Q. Crispum imperatores: viri fortes optimique cives, posteaquam audierunt quæ Romae gererentur, exercitus mihi tradiderunt ipsique mecum una fortissimo animo rem publicam administrant. Item legionem, quam Q. Caecilius Bassus habuit, ad me venisse seito, quattuorque legiones, quos A. Allienus ex Aegypto eduxit, traditas ab eo mihi esse seito. 2. Nunc te cohortatione non puto indigere, ut nos absentes remque publicam, quantum est *in te*, defendas. Seire te volo, firma praesidia vobis senatuique non deesse, ut optima spe et maximo animo rem publicam defendas. Reliqua tecum agat L. Carteius, familiaris meus. Vale. D. Novis Martiis ex castris Taricheis.

*where and when you are*] But now I pray that from where you are in the regions of the East the sun of your virtue may shine forth! For the phrase *Orientis partes* cp. Mur. 89.

*procos.*] Cassius had never been consul, but he came to Syria with proconsular powers: cp. Legg. i. 53, *Gallum cum proconsule ex praetura in Graeciam misisset*.

1. S. v. b. e. e. q. v.] = *si vultis bene est, opto quicquam vobis*.

L. Mureum] L. Statius Mureus had been sent by Julius Caesar with three legions against Q. Caecilius Bassus, who, assisted by Parthian influence, had raised a revolt in Syria. Q. Marcius Crispus, governor of Bithynia, had come to Syria with three legions, to assist Marcus.

*imp.*] We do not know why they are so styled. Perhaps they had been saluted as *Imperatores* by their soldiers for some trifling successes. In Phil. xi. 30 Cicero does not give them this title. As the MSS give only *imp.*, perhaps it belongs only to Crispus.

*imp. q. v.*] For this subjunctive cp. D. Brutus in 855, 1.

Allienus] a legate of Dolabella. He had raised four legions in Egypt, and led them into Syria, but surrendered to Cassius after some resistance (App. iii. 77, 78).

2. *non deesse*] Nearly all the MSS omit *non*, but Pal and also one of Mr. Allen's MSS insert it. Baizer wishes to read *deesse*.

Taricheis] in Galilee, at the south end of the lake of Gennesaret.



## DCCCXXIII. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 7).

ROME; MARCH 6 OR 7 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero C. Cassio significat sententiam a se in senatu secundum dignitatem Cassii dictam eandemque in contione defensam.

CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Quanto studio dignitatem tuam et in senatu et ad populum defenderim, ex tuis te malo quam ex me cognoscere; quae mea sententia in senatu facile valuisset, nisi Pansa vehementer obstitisset. Ea sententia dicta productus sum in contionem a tribuno pl. M. Servilio: dixi de te, quae potui, tanta contentione, quantum forum est, tanto clamore consensuque populi, ut nihil unquam simile viderim. Id velim mihi ignoscas quod invita soeru tua fecerim: mulier timida verebatur ne Pansae animus offenderetur. In contione quidem Pansa dixit matrem quoque tuam et fratrem illam a me sententiam noluisse dici; sed me luceo non movebant; alia malebam: favebam et rei publicae, cui semper favi, et digni-

This letter was written shortly after the delivery of the Eleventh Philippic. The approximate date of that speech can be derived from the letter of Antony to Hirtius and Octavian which Cicero criticises in Phil. xiii. (delivered March 20). In that letter allusion is made to a decree of the senate which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and that decree was passed the day before the delivery of Phil. xi. (cp. § 16). It would take about six days for news to reach Mutina from Rome, so that we can hardly suppose that Dolabella was declared a public enemy later than March 7. Nor can we suppose that the decree was passed very much earlier, for M. Brutus, who was in Macedonia, had not, on April 1, received any letter from Cicero relating how the news of the murder of Trebonius had been received in Rome (cp. 837, 1). See Schmidt Cass., pp. 34-7.

1. *in senatu*] i. e. Phil. xi. For Cicero's motion cp. § 30, *senatui placere C. Cassium pro consule provinciam Syriam*

*obtineri uti qui optimo iure eam provinciam obtinuerit.*

*in contionem*] This Philippic, addressed to the people, has been lost.

*Servilio*] a relative of Servilia, sister of Cato of Utica, and mother of Cassius's wife Tertulla, and of M. Brutus. She is the *soerus* mentioned below.

*tanta . . . est*] 'straining my voice till it reached over the whole forum.'

*matrem*] It is not known who she was.

*fratrem*] L. Cassius, who, as we have seen, obtained much applause at the games held nominally by C. Cassius in 710 (44): cp. Att. xiv. 2. 1 (704); 790, 2.

*malebam*] Cicero means: 'These considerations (sc. that your family objected) did not move me. I preferred other considerations (to influence me), viz. 'that the cause I advocated tended to the advantage of the people and to your own glory.' Wessenberg and Krause alter to *valebant*, which makes the sentence



tati ac gloriae tuae. 2. Quod autem et in senatu pluribus verbis disserui *et* dixi in contione, in eo velim fidem meam liberes; promisi enim et prope confirmavi te non exspectasse nec exspectaturum decreta nostra, sed te ipsum tuo more rem publicam defensurum. Et, quamquam nihildum audieramus, nec ubi esses nec quas copias haberes, tamen sic statuebam, omnes, quae in istis partibus essent opes copiaeque, tuas esse, per teque Asiam provinciam confidebam iam rei publicae recuperatam. Tu fac in augenda gloria te ipse vincas. Vale.

## DCCCXXIV. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO (FAM. X. 31).

CORDUBA; MARCH 16; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

C. Asinius Pollio se excusat, quod sero suum erga rem publicam studium declaret, se tamen percupidum libertatis recuperandae ostendit.

### C. ASINIUS POLLIO CICERONI S. D.

1. Minime mirum tibi debet videri nihil me scripsisse de re publica, posteaquam itum est ad arma; nam saltus Castulonensis, qui semper tenuit nostros tabellarios, etsi nunc frequentioribus latrociniiis infestior factus est, tamen nequaquam tanta in mora est, quanta qui locis omnibus dispositi ab utraque parte scrutantur

simpler; but the nature of case hardly justifies the alteration.

2. *fidem meam liberes*] 'redeem my pledged word': cp. Flacc. 47.

For an account of Asinius Pollio see Introduction. An elaborate treatise on the language of Pollio has been written by J. H. Schmalz, *Ueber die Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio* (ed. 2, 1890, Munich).

1. *Castulonensis*] This was a pass at the north-east extremity of Baetica, lying to the north of the Baetis, near the towns of Illiturgi and Castulo, at the eastern side of the Sierra Morena. It is now called the Sierra de Cazlona: cp. Caes. B.C. i. 38.

*tanta in mora est*] 'causes such delay.' This is an expression very common in the

comic dramatists: cp. Lorenz on Plaut. Pseud. ii. 2, 68 (642), *ne in quaestione sis*, who quotes several passages from the comedies for *in mora esse*, e.g. Ter. Andr. iii. 2, 56; Adelph. iii. 2, 56; and *eum res in summa expectatione esset*, Cic. Att. viii. 11 D. 3 (343): cp. note to 808, 3, and Liv. iii. 24, 7; xlv. 22, 5. The preposition is omitted before *quanta*, as the same preposition governs both relative and antecedent and the verb in both clauses is the same: cp. Madv. Fin. i. 32; Mayor on Phil. ii. 26, who compares Att. iii. 19, 2 (77). See note on Q. Fr. i. 4, 4 (72). *ab utraque parte*] 'on both sides.'

Both Lepidus and Antony examine letter-carriers whether they come from Rome to me or go from me to Rome. Watson, after Süpflé and Wieland, supposes the meaning to be that the letter-carriers were

tabellarios et retinent. Itaque nisi nave perlatae litterae essent, omnino nescirem, quid istic fieret. Nunc vero nactus occasionem, postea quam navigari coeptum est, cupidissime et quam creberrime potero scribam ad te. 2. Ne movear eius sermonibus, quem tametsi nemo est qui videre velit, tamen nequaquam proinde ac dignus est oderunt homines, periculum non est: adeo est enim invisus mihi, ut nihil non acerbum putem, quod commune cum illo sit; natura autem mea et studia trahunt me ad pacis et libertatis cupiditatem. Itaque illud initium civilis belli saepe deflevi; cum vero non liceret mihi nullius partis esse, quia utrobique magnos inimicos habebam, ea castra fugi, in quibus plane tutum me ab insidiis inimici sciebam non futurum; compulsus eo quo minime volebam, ne in extremis essem, plane pericula non dubitanter adii. 3. Caesarem vero, quod

examined both by Pollio's outposts and those of Lepidus, and that thus exceptional delay was caused. But Pollio would hardly complain of what was done by his own officers without making some excuse for it.

*navigari coeptum est*] Navigation began on March 5 (Veget. v. 9).

2. *eius*] The general opinion of editors is that *eius* refers to Antony. We may be almost sure that Pollio is alluding to some one whom Cicero mentioned in his letter to which this is an answer: so that we think Wieland and Mr. Jeans are probably right in supposing that the reference is to Balbus, the quaestor of Pollio, whose actions (at least as narrated in 896, 1-3) were those of a dangerous lunatic. Doubtless his madness had not become so violent at this time.

*tametsi . . . tamen*] For this redundancy cp. Q. Cic. Fam. xvi. 8, 1 (314); Petit. Cons. 32 (12); Cael. Fam. viii. 1, 1 (192); 5, 2 (210). Even Cicero himself, Fam. iv. 15, 2 (484); cp. Schmalz, pp. 34-5.

*quem . . . videre velit*] 'although there is nobody who can bear the sight of him': cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 120, *obeundus Marsya, qui se Voltum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris*.

*proinde ac*] cp. Plant. Amph. ii. 1, 37 (583) where Professor Palmer notices that Plautus generally uses *proinde ut*; also Tusc. v. 6.

*nihil non acerbum*] All the mss give *non*; and, as it makes very fair sense, we have retained it, 'I hate everything I have to do in conjunction with him.'

Cobet ejects it, and thereby introduces what, in our opinion, is a most extravagant sentiment, 'I would be ready to suffer anything provided he shared it.'

*studia*] i.e. Pollio's historical studies: cp. Hor. Carm. ii. 1, 1.

*nullius*] For *neutrius*; as *quis* for *uter*: cp. Lehmann, p. 3, and Dräger i. 103, who quotes Att. xvi. 8, 1 (797), *quem (= utrum) autem sequamur*; 14, 1 (805); Fam. vii. 3, 1 (464), *quid (= utrum) esset optimum factu*.

*ea castra*] i.e. Pompey's.

*inimici*] Probably Gaius Porcius Cato, who was accused by Pollio in 700 (54) under the Lex Junia Licinia (vol. i.<sup>2</sup> p. 414), but acquitted: cp. Att. iv. 16, 5 (144). Pollio was only twenty years old at that time. This is the view of Zumpt (Criminalprocess, p. 537). Mr. Watson, however, suggests that the reference may be to Labienus: cp. Quintil. i. 5, 8, *et in oratione Labieni (sive illa Cornelii Galli est) in Pollionem*.

*ne in extremis essem*] 'lest I should be left completely in the background,' lit. 'among those in the extreme rear.' Wesenberg thinks that *plane* before *pericula* has crept into the text from the preceding line; but it was a favourite word of Pollio's (cp. § 5, 896, 1), so ought to be retained. Gitlbauer (p. 264) suggests *plurima*.

*pericula*] Plutarch (Caes. 32) says that Caesar, when on the banks of the Rubicon, consulted Pollio as to whether he should cross the river or not. Pollio also took a prominent part in the Battle of Pharsalia (App. ii. 82).

me in tanta fortuna modo cognitum vetustissimorum familiarium loco habuit, dilexi summa cum pietate et fide. Quae mea sententia gerere mihi licuit, ita feci, ut optimus quisque maxime probarit; quod iussus sum, eo tempore atque ita feci, ut appareret invito imperatum esse. Cuius facti iniustissima invidia erudire me potuit, quam iucunda libertas et quam misera sub dominatione vita esset. Ita, si id agitur, ut rursus in potestate omnia unius sint, quicumque is est, ei me profiteor inimicum; nec periculum est ullum, quod pro libertate aut refugiam aut deprecor. 4. Sed consules neque senatus consulto neque litteris suis praeceperant mihi, quid facerem; unas enim post Idus Martias demum a Pansa litteras accepi, in quibus hortatur me, ut senatui scribam me et exercitum in postestate eius futurum: quod, cum Lepidus contionaretur atque omnibus scriberet se consentire cum Antonio, maxime contrarium fuit; nam quibus commeatibus invito illo per illius provinciam legiones ducerem? Aut, si cetera transissem, num etiam Alpes poteram transvolare, quae praesidio illius tenentur?

3. *quod me . . . habuit*] 'because, though he only became acquainted with me when at the height of his fortune, yet he always treated me as if I were one of his very old friends.' Evidence of the gracious manners of Julius Caesar comes before us repeatedly.

*ita feci ut . . . probarit . . . appareret*] Schmalz (p. 22) shows that both these constructions are allowable. Cicero prefers the former, Att. iv. 1, 4 (90); v. 21, 8 (250).

*quod iussus sum feci*] cp. Caes. B. G. iii. 6, 1, *quod iussi sunt faciunt*. Cicero also uses a neuter pronoun as direct accusative after *iubere*, Fam. xiii. 26, 3 (521), *non quae* (sc. *litterae*) *te aliquid iuberent*.

*invito*] sc. *mihi*. For the omission cp. Att. vii. 7, 6 (298), *imbecillo* (sc. *ei*); 18, 3 (316), *invito* (sc. *ei*).

*Cuius facti*] The meaning of Pollio is, 'The hatred which society visited on me for obeying Caesar's orders, though most unjust—for I *had* to obey him—yet was a lesson to me that I should never again take the side of one who infringed on the liberties of the nation; it showed me the misery of being the despot's servant, and the joys of freedom.'

*Ita*] for *Itaque*: cp. Planeus (833, 4);

Caes. B. G. vi. 12, 8; even Cicero, Verr. ii. 127; Tusc. v. 66.

*quicumque*] This, according to Wölfflin, is more archaic than *quisquis*.

*deprecor*] 'beg to be excused from.'

4. *consules*] Probably the consuls of the present year, the consuls elect of the preceding year, as the mention of Pansa seems to show.

*contionaretur*] 'declared in a public speech.' Watson compares Q. Fr. ii. 4, 6 (105). This tends to show that Lepidus was disloyal to the republic almost from the beginning: cp. 827, 1, 2.

*contrarium*] 'dangerous' or 'injurious,' lit. 'opposed (to one's object or circumstances)': cp. Lucr. vi. 741, (*Aeterna loca*) *quia sunt avibus contraria cunctis*; Verg. Georg. i. 286, *Nona fugae melior, contraria furtis*; Quintil. iv. 2, 64. Perhaps it might mean 'in the highest degree impossible.' For the alliteration of *con-* Schmalz compares (p. 54), 890, 2.

*commeatibus*] 'roads,' 'ways': cp. Plaut. Stich. iii. 1, 44, *per hortum utraque commeatus continet*: Mil. ii. 1, 65. It is used in the ordinary sense of 'provisions' by Pollio in 890, 2.

*transvolare*] lit. 'to fly across': cp. Cornif. ad Heren. iv. 31, *Alexandro, si vita data longior esset, Oceanum manus Macedonum transvolasset*.

Adde huc quod perferri litterae nulla condicione potuerunt; sescen-  
tis enim locis excutuntur, deinde etiam retinentur ab Lepido tabel-  
larii. 5. Illud me Cordubae pro contione dixisse nemo vocabit  
in dubium, provinciam me nulli, nisi qui ab senatu missus venisset,  
traditurum: nam, de legione tricensima tradenda quantas conten-  
tiones habuerim, quid ego scribam? Qua tradita quanto pro re  
publica infirmior futurus fuerim, quis ignorat? Hac enim legione  
noli acrius aut pugnacius quicquam putare esse. Qua re eum me  
existima esse, qui primum pacis cupidissimus sim—omnes enim  
cives plane studeo esse salvos—deinde qui et me et rem publicam  
vindicare in libertatem paratus sim. 6. Quod familiarem meum  
tuorum numero habes, opinione tua mihi gratius est; invideo illi  
tamen, quod ambulat et iocatur tecum. Quaeres, quanti *id* aesti-  
mem? Si umquam licuerit vivere in otio, experieris; nullum  
enim vestigium abs te discessurus sum. Illud vehementer admiror,  
non scripsisse te mihi, manendo in provincia an ducendo exercitum

*Adde huc quod*] cp. Attius 209 (Ribb),  
*adde huc quod mihi portento caelestum*  
*pater Prodigium misit*, and often *adde quod*  
in Lucr. i. 847; iii. 829.

*excutuntur*] 'are examined,' 'searched.'

5. *pro contione*] 'in the meeting': cp.  
Cic. quoted by Quintil. iv. 4, 8, also Fam.  
iii. 8, 3 (222), *pro tribunali* and *pro*  
*rostris*, *pro aede*.

*dixisse*] For the accusative and infini-  
tive governed by a phrase of doubting:  
cp. Trebonius, Fam. xii. 16, 2 (736), Cic.  
fil. ap. Fam. xvi. 21, 2 (786) on which  
passage see note. It belongs to the  
language of ordinary life. Schmalz (p. 26)  
thinks that the infinitival construction  
is allowable when the phrase of doubting  
follows the clause it governs: cp. Ter.  
Hee. iii. 1, 44.

*nemo*] This is the most probable cor-  
rection for the mss *ne*.

*nulli*] Stürenberg declares that neither  
Cicero nor any of his correspondents,  
except Pollio, uses *nulli* for *nemini*.  
Schmalz (p. 39) refers to Att. ix. 14, 2  
(372), according to the reading adopted  
by most editors; but see our note.

*nam*] The argument is: 'No one will  
doubt but that I will retain my province  
when I resisted so strenuously the trans-  
ference of one *legion*.'

*legione*] cp. 896, 4.

*omnes . . . . salvos*] As Watson  
remarks, this was the regular plausible

argument of those who wished to come  
to terms with Antony: cp. Phil. viii.  
13, *Atque ais (Catene) cum te esse qui*  
*semper pacem optaris, semper omnes cives*  
*volucris salvos*; 885, 1 (from Lepidus to  
the Senate) *quam nihil antiquius communi*  
*salute ac libertate iudicarim*. For *studeo*  
with accusative and infinitive cp. Cic.  
Fam. xiii. 19, 3 (514); Matius xi. 28,  
2 (786).

6. *familiarem meum*]. This was the  
poet Cornelius Gallus: cp. 896, 5, *etiam*  
*praetextam, si voles legere, Gallum Corne-*  
*lium, familiarem meum, poscito*.

*tuorum numero*] For in omitted Schmalz  
(p. 21) compares Att. xi. 6, 6 (418), *hos-*  
*tium numero habebantur*. But Cicero  
sometimes adds it: cp. Att. xiv. 13, 2  
(718).

*opinione tua*] 'than you think.'  
Schmalz (p. 19) compares Plaut. Mil.  
iv. 6, 23, *istuc curavi ut opinione illius*  
*pulchrior sis*. Cicero generally says  
*opinione* alone: cp. Fam. xiv. 23 (443),  
but also *omnium opinione* (Brut. 1).

*iocatur*] cp. note to 820, 2.

*nullum vestigium*] This accusative of  
extent belongs to colloquial language:  
cp. Plant. Aul. i. 1, 18, *si digitum trans-*  
*versum aut unguem latum excesseris*;  
Bacch. iii. 3, 19; Att. xiii. 12, 3 (626),  
16, 1 (629); 20, 4 (634); Fam. vii. 25, 2  
(665). It is also found in Liv. xxvii. 4,  
1, cp. Schmalz, pp. 16–17.



in Italiam rei publicae magis satis facere possim : ego quidem, etsi mihi tutius ac minus laboriosum est manere, tamen, quia video tali tempore multo magis legionibus opus esse quam provinciis, quae praesertim recipiari nullo negotio possunt, constitui, ut nunc est, cum exercitu proficisci. Deinde ex litteris, quas Pansae misi, cognosces omnia; nam tibi earum exemplar misi. xvii. Kal. April. Corduba.

## DCCCXXV. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS

(FAM. XII. 25, §§ 1-5).

ROME. ABOUT MARCH 20 OR A LITTLE LATER; A. U. C. 711;

B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

De sententia Cornificii senatus consultum factum esse significat : ut in rem publicam incumbat hortatur : Luceio se nulla in re defuturum pollicetur.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Liberalibus litteras accepi tuas, quas mihi Cornificius altero vicensimo die, ut dicebat, reddidit : eo die non fuit senatus neque postero. Quinquatribus frequenti senatu causam tuam egi non

*ego quidem*] Schmalz (p. 45), after Jordan, notices that Cicero generally uses *Equidem*, whereas his correspondents use *Ego quidem*: cp. Caecina, Fam. vi. 7, 3 (532); Caelius viii. 5, 1 (210); 7, 1 (243); 10, 1 (226); C. Cassius xii. 13, 1 (901). The two exceptions are Caelius, viii. 17, 2 (408); Q. Cic. xvi. 16, 2 (927).

*quae praesertim . . . possunt*] 'as they certainly can be recovered without any trouble.' The indicative in causal relative sentences is a common construction in ordinary conversational language. The relative proportion in the Comic writers of such causal indicatives to causal subjunctives is as eight to three, cp. Schmalz, p. 23. A long list of such indicatives, taken from the Comedies is given by Holtze, ii. 125 ff.

*ut nunc est*] a colloquial expression 'as things go': cp. Hor. Sat. i. 9, 5; Att. xiv. 16, 3 (721).

*exemplar*] cp. 861, 3. Cicero only once uses the word in his letters, Att. iv. 5, 1 (108).

*Corduba*] the modern Cordova. It was the chief town of one of the four *conventus* into which Baetica was divided, and was the residence of the governor, cp.

Marquardt, i. 256.

The first five sections of what appears in the mss as Fam. xii. 25 were plainly written shortly after the occurrence of the events which are related in § 1; certainly long before §§ 6, 7 (891), which were written after the death of the consuls.

1. *Liberalibus*] March 17.

*Cornificius*] Son of the Cornificius to whom this letter is addressed. There is no need to add *tuus*. Cicero often calls his own son simply *Cicero*.

*altero vicensimo*] For this order with *et* omitted cp. Att. v. 19, 1 (220); Fam. xv. 4, 10 (238); Off. ii. 29; Liv. vii. 18, 1. Dr. Reid, on Senect. 13 (Crit. Note), lays down the rule that 'in compound numbers of this kind, when the smaller number follows, Cicero usually inserts *et*; when the smaller number precedes he omits it, except when the smaller number is *unus*': cp. note to 841, 1.

*eo die . . . postero*] As to the days on which the Senate was not held cp. vol. iii., p. 298 ff.

*Quinquatribus*] March 19 to 23. It was a festival in honour of Minerva.



invita Minerva: etenim eo ipso die senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, custos urbis, quam turbo deiecerat, restitueretur. Pansa tuas litteras recitavit: magna senatus adprobatio consecuta est cum summo meo gaudio et offensione Minotauri, id est Calvisii et Tauri; factum de te senatus consultum honorificum. Postulabatur, ut etiam illi notarentur; sed Pansa clementior. 2. Ego, mi Cornifici, quo die primum in spem libertatis ingressus sum et cunctantibus ceteris a. d. XIII. K. Ian. fundamenta ieci rei publicae, eo ipso die providi multum atque habui rationem dignitatis tuae; mihi enim est adsensus senatus de obtinendis provinciis; nec vero postea destiti labefactare eum, qui summa cum tua iniuria contumeliaque rei publicae provinciam absens obtinebat; itaque crebras vel potius cotidianas compellationes meas non tulit seque in urbem recepit invitus; neque solum spe, sed certa re iam et possessione deturbatus est meo iustissimo honestissimoque convicio. Te tuam

*non invita Minerva*] 'with the goddess herself propitious,' with an allusion to the proverbial saying *non invita Minerva* 'with skill and success,' lit. 'not against one's natural bent,' Off. i. 110: cp. Fam. iii. 1, 1 (181); Hor. A. P. 385, and Otto, p. 225.

*Minerva nostra*] This was the statue of Minerva which Cicero set up in the Capitol just before he went into exile: cp. Legg. ii. 42 (*Minervam*), *eustodem urbis, violari ab impiis passi non sumus, eamque ex nostra domo in ipsius patris domum* (i.e. Capitolium) *detulimus*.

*eustos urbis*] *Pio Domo 144, et te custos urbis Minerva, quae semper adiutrix consiliorum meorum, testis laborum exstisti*.

*eum summo meo gaudio*] Some word like *meo* or *nostro* must be added.

*offensione Minotauri . . . Tauri*] ' vexation of the Minotaur, that is of Calvisius and Taurus.' T. Statilius Taurus had been nominated a legate to Calvisius on his appointment to the governorship of Africa in place of Cornificius. Taurus afterwards held the consulship twice in 717 (37) and 728 (26), he governed Africa in 718 (36), Dalmatia in 720 (34), and Tarraconensis in 725 (29). At the Battle of Actium he held command of the land forces of Octavian. C. Calvisius Sabinus was consul in 715 (39). Beyond the suggestion contained in the name Taurus we do not know what appropriateness the nickname *Minotaurus* had for

these men. Perhaps they worked together, and their action in the senate may have been peculiarly aggressive. It is just possible that *id est, Calvisii et Tauri* may be a gloss, and that the nickname had been given by Cornificius; but it is more probable that Cicero was explaining a nick-name which had originated at Rome.

*senatus consultum*] doubtless that confirming Cornificius in the government of Africa.

*notantur*] 'censured'; something like 'named' in modern parliamentary language.

*clementior*] 'took a milder view.'

2. a. d. xiii. Kal. Ian.] December 20th the day on which Phil. iii. and iv. were delivered

*eo ipso die . . . tuae*] 'On that very day I looked far ahead and paid heed to your dignity.'

*eum qui . . . obtinebat*] i.e. Calvisius, who left his legates behind him at Utica while he himself returned to Rome: cp. note to 899, 7; also Phil. iii. 26.

*compellationes*] 'censures': cp. Phil. iii. 17, *nee sentit amens* (Antonius) *commendationem esse compellationem suam*.

*sed certa re et possessione*] 'from the actual holding and occupation of the position he had been dislodged by my most righteous and honourable invective.' The metaphor is a military one: cp. Caes. B.C. iii. 67, 4. For *spes opp. to res* cp. Orat. 107.

dignitatem summa tua virtute tenuisse provinciaeque honoribus amplissimis adfectum vehementer gaudeo.

3. Quod te mihi de Sempronio purgas, accipio excusationem; fuit enim illud [quoddam graecum] tempus servitutis. Ego, tuorum consiliorum auctor dignitatisque fautor, iratus temporibus in Graeciam desperata libertate rapiebar, cum me etesiae quasi boni cives relinquentem rem publicam prosequi noluerunt, austerque adversus maximo flatu me ad tribules tuos Regium rettulit, atque inde ventis remis in patriam omni festinatione properavi postridieque in summa reliquorum servitute liber unus fui. 4. Sic sum in Antonium invectus, ut ille non ferret omnemque suum vinulentum furorem in me unum effunderet meque tum elicere vellet ad caedis causam, tum temptaret insidiis; quem ego ructantem et nauseantem conieci in Caesaris Octaviani plagas; puer enim

*adfectum*] 'presented with the highest honours from the province,' probably the municipal towns passed votes of congratulation. For *adfectum* cp. Plaut. Amph. i. 1, 38, *praedat agrod adoriad qui adfecit populares suos*: 842, 2.

3. *Sempronio*] We do not feel sure what is the allusion here. Perhaps the decree of the Senate which gave the government of Africa to Calvisius may have been moved by Sempronius Rufus—whom we have met with previously in Fanl. viii. 8, 1 (223); Att. vi. 2, 10 (256). Cornificius may have blamed Cicero for having been a witness to that decree, and after Cicero had pointed out that he was not in Rome at the time, Cornificius may have written a letter of apology, cp. 831, 2. Or Cornificius may have acted unwisely and against Cicero's advice in a matter relating to Sempronius, cp. 813, 4, and acknowledged his error in a letter of apology. But the whole matter is very uncertain.

*fuit enim illud [quoddam graecum] tempus servitutis*] We venture to bracket *quoddam graecum* of the mss, and consider that the old correction *caecum* is an erroneous one, even though the archetype was written in uncials, and the expression 'the dark night of slavery' is a fine one: cp. *caeca nox*, Lucr. i. 115. Cicero would probably have said *caecum quoddam*, if he used *quoddam* at all in this connection. Rather *quoddam graecum* is a note of a copyist who could not read some Greek word or words in

the original. Perhaps the word was an adjective agreeing with *tempus* such as *νήλεες*; but it is more probable that what Cicero wrote was, as Cobet (Mnem. viii. 1880, p. 192) suggests, *fuit enim illud δούλιον ἡμῶν* over which was written a gloss *tempus servitutis* which crept into the text. Cicero may have been thinking of Homer, Odys. xvii. 322:—

ἦμισιν γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνονται εὐρύσιπα Ζεὺς  
ἀνέρος, εὐτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἡμῶν ἔλθῃσιν.

Georges suggests *quoddam ingratum tempus*; Orelli, *quoddam tetrum tempus*—neither of which is very probable.

*ventis remis*] cp. for similar phrases expressing the utmost haste, Tusc. iii. 25, *velis, ut ita dicam, remisque*; Plaut. Asin. i. 3, 5, *remigio veloque*; Phil. i. 9, Catull. iv. 4, Ovid Trist. i. 10, 3: cp. Cic. Off. iii. 116, *viris equisque*. There is some probability in the view of Ruhnken and Baiter, that *omni festinatione* is a gloss. For the events cp. Att. xvi. 7, 1 (783).

*postridie*] Cicero reached Rome on August 31. On September 2 he delivered the First Philippic. He did not attend the senate on September 1.

4. *ad caedis causam*] 'to have me murdered,' lit. 'for the purpose of murder.' For the statement cp. 790, 2.

*ructantem et nauseantem*] 'belching and spewing.'

*Caecaris Octaviani plagas*] Octavian had been conciliating the veterans in Campania and had levied a considerable force at his own expense to withstand Antony.

egregius praesidium sibi primum nobis, deinde summae rei publicae comparavit; qui nisi fuisset, Antonii reditus a Brundisio pestis patriae fuisset. Quae deinceps acta sint, scire te arbitror. 5. Sed redeamus illuc, unde devertimus: accipio excusationem tuam de Sempronio; neque enim statuti quid in tanta perturbatione habere potuisti.

Nunc hic dies aliam vitam defert, alios mores postulat, ut ait Terentius. Quam ob rem, mi Quinte, conscende nobiscum, et quidem ad puppin: una navis est iam bonorum omnium, quam quidem nos damus operam ut rectam teneamus. Utinam prospero cursu! Sed quicumque venti erunt, ars nostra certe non aberit: quid enim praestare aliud virtus potest? Tu fac ut magno animo sis et excelso cogitesque omnem dignitatem tuam cum re publica coniunctam esse debere.

## DCCCXXVI. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 6).

ROME; MARCH 20 (EVENING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus litteris ad senatum missis auctor pacis cum M. Antonio faciendae fuerat, quem M. Cicero his litteris ab illis partibus advocare studet.

## CICERO PLANCO.

1. Quae locutus est Furnius noster de animo tuo in rem publicam, ea gratissima fuerunt senatui, populo Romano probatissima;

When Antony returned from Brundisium in October, Octavian had a sufficient force to over-awe him: cp. Phil. iii. 3, 10; iv. 2-6.

5. *statuti quid*] 'any well-established plan.'

*Terentius*] sc. Andr. i. 2, 18 (iamb. tetram.). The mss of Ter. give *adfert*. Cic. probably misquotes; but even so, we must not alter the mss reading in Cicero.

*Una navis*] The 'ship of state' is one of the commonest metaphors in all languages: cp. L. S. s. v. *gubernare*; Æsch. Theb. 2. For *rectam* cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 13 (53), and note there; Otto (p. 86) quotes Aristides, Rhod., p. 302, ἅλλ' ὃ Ποσειδᾶν, ἵσθι, ὅτι ὁρθὰν τὰν ναῦν καταδύσω; Ennius

(p. 70, Vahlen) *Dum clavum rectum teneam navemque gubernem*; Quintil. ii. 17, 24, *dicitque notum illud 'Dum clavum rectum teneam.'*

In 827 Lepidus is rebuked for a letter of similar import to that of Plancus which is here censured. The fact that no mention is made here or in 827 of the capture of C. Antonius—news of which had just reached Rome (842, 2, note)—is due, Ruete (p. 78) thinks, to the fact that the news would not be wholly agreeable to the Caesarians, Lepidus, and Plancus. In Phil. xiii. mention is made of the letter of Lepidus, but no mention of

quae autem recitatae litterae sunt in senatu, nequaquam consentire cum Furnii oratione visae sunt : pacis enim auctor eras, cum collega tuus, vir clarissimus, a foedissimis latronibus obsideretur, qui aut positis armis pacem petere debent aut, si pugnantes eam postulant, victoria pax, non pactione parienda est. Sed de pace litterae vel Lepidi vel tuae quam in partem acceptae sunt, ex viro optimo, fratre tuo, et ex C. Furnio poteris cognoscere. 2. Me autem impulit tui caritas ut, quamquam nec tibi ipsi consilium deesset et fratris Furniique benevolentia fidelisque prudentia tibi praesto esset futura, vellem tamen meae quoque auctoritatis pro plurimis nostris necessitudinibus praeceptum ad te aliquod pervenire. Crede igitur mihi, Plance, omnes, quos adhuc gradus dignitatis consecutus sis—es autem adeptus amplissimos—eos honorum vocabula habituros, non dignitatis insignia, nisi te cum libertate populi Romani et cum senatus auctoritate coniunxeris. Seiunge te, quaeso, aliquando ab iis, cum quibus te non tuum iudicium, sed temporum vincla coniunxerunt. 3. Complures in perturbatione rei publicae consulares dicti, quorum nemo consularis habitus nisi qui animo exstitit in rem publicam consularis. Talem igitur te esse oportet, qui primum te ab impiorum civium tui dissimilli-

that of Plancus; perhaps the letter of Plancus had not reached Cicero, or more probably he had not read it till after the meeting. Streng p. 99 thinks that Cicero did speak of Plancus in that oration; but after the receipt of §33 which expressed loyal sentiments, and before publishing Phil. xiii., he cut out all the disparaging references to Plancus.

1. *Furnius*] He was trib. pl. in 703, 794 (51, 50), see note to Fam. viii. 10, 3 (226); Att. v. 15, 3 (215); ix. 6a, 1 (357). Now he was lieutenant to Plancus. Cicero wrote two letters to him (856, 907). *collega tuus*] Plancus and D. Brutus had been appointed by Caesar to hold the consulship in 712 (42).

*positis . . . parienda est*] The great number of *p*'s in this sentence is probably accidental; but it is strange that Cicero's well-trained ear did not notice the unpleasant effect which they produce.

*fratre tuo*] Gnaeus Plancus: cp. Att. xvi. 16 A, B, E (767, 777, 789).

2. *deesset*] The subjunctive after *quamquam* is rare in Cicero: cp. Roby, 1697. It is found in Fin. iii. 70.

*fidelisque prudentia*] 'honest advice.'

*vellem tamen*] 'I should wish that some admonition of mine might reach you such as my influence, in virtue of the many bonds of connexion between us, can offer.' *eos*] resumptive after a parenthesis: cp. Mil. 95: Fam. v. 12, 3 (109); Livy i. 19, 1.

*honorum vocabula non dignitatis insignia*] 'mere titles of office, not the honours of true worth.'

*nisi te . . . coniunxeris*] 'unless you identify yourself with.'

*iis*] most probably Lepidus is meant. Cicero was doubtful as to his loyalty: cp. Phil. xiii. 13–15.

3. *quorum*] sc. Calenus, Piso, and others: cp. Phil. viii. 20, *quam hesternus dies nobis, consularibus dico, turpis illuxit. consularis*] There is no reason to alter to *consulari*, as Lehmann (p. 83) has pointed out, comparing Pis. 23, *animo consulem esse oportet*. Sūpde adds Phil. vii. 5, *et quidem dicuntur vel potius se ipsi dicent consulares; quo nomine dignus est nemo nisi qui tanti honoris nomen potest sustinere*—a passage which, owing to the use of the present *est*, urged Giltbauer to read *habetur* for *habitus*.



morum societate seiungas, deinde te senatui bonisque omnibus auctorem, principem, ducem praebeas, postremo ut pacem esse iudices non in armis positus, sed in abiecto armorum et servitutis metu. Haec si et ages et senties, tum eris non modo consul et consularis, sed magnus etiam consul et consularis: sin aliter, tum in istis amplissimis nominibus honorum non modo dignitas nulla erit, sed erit summa deformitas. Haec impulsus benevolentia scripsi paulo severius, quae tu in experiendo ea ratione, quae te digna est, vera esse cognosces. d. XIII. Kal. Apr.

## DCCCXXVII. CICERO TO LEPIDUS (FAM. X. 27).

ROME; MARCH 20 (EVENING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero M. Lepidum obiurgat, quod summis honoribus ornatus a senatu gratias non egerit, et ne pacem cum Antonio inire velit hortatur.

## CICERO LEPIDO SAL.

1. Quod mihi pro summa erga te benevolentia magnae curae est, ut quam amplissima dignitate sis, moleste tuli te senatui gratias non egisse, cum esses ab eo ordine ornatus summis honoribus. Pacis inter civis conciliandae te cupidum esse laetor: eam si a servitute seiungis, consules et rei publicae et dignitati tuae; sin ista pax perditum hominem in possessionem impotentissimi dominatus restitutura est, hoc animo scito omnes sanos, ut mortem

*auctorem . . . ducem*] 'a moving influence, a chief actor, a leader.' Note the climax.

*ut*] Note the slight change of construction from that of the relative.

*sin aliter, tum*] So H Pal; but M has *tu*, which Giltbauer (p. 80) retains, putting the comma after *tu*, and understanding *ages* or *senties*.

*deformitas*] 'vileness.'

*in experiendo . . . est*] 'if you put them to the test in the only way that is worthy of yourself' (Jeans). Giltbauer thinks we should omit *in* and alter to *eam rationem*. He supposes the omission of the stroke in *rationē* led to the other corruptions. Kleyen has *in ita ratione*, 'if you reflect in a manner worthy of

yourself,' lit. 'if you enter on a course of reasoning.'

1. *pro summa . . . benevolentia*] 'in virtue of a strong regard towards you.' There is no necessity at all to add *mea*.

*honoribus*] A *supplicatio* had been voted to Lepidus in November (Phil. iii. 23), and a gilded statue and a triumph on January 1st (Phil. v. 41; xiii. 9).

*seiungis*] Wesenberg reads with some old edd. *seiunges*.

*impotentissimi*] 'most ungovernable tyranny.'

*hoc animo*] sc. *esse*. There is no need to add *esse* in the text. The ellipse is frequent after verbs, 'sentiendi et declarandi': cp. Heidemann, pp. 35 ff, who



servituti anteponant. 2. Itaque sapientius meo quidem iudicio facies, si te in istam pacificationem non interpones, quae neque senatui neque populo nec cuiquam bono probatur. Sed haec audies ex aliis aut certior fies litteris: tu pro tua prudentia, quid optimum factu sit, videbis.

## DCCCXXVIII. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 28).

ROME; LATTER PART OF MARCH; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero nimiam Cornificii elementiam improbat: laudat eius in rem publicam studium: addit de pecunia et de re publica.

### CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Adsentior tibi eos, quos scribis Lilybaeo minari, istie poenas dare debuisse, sed metuisti, ut ais, ne nimis liber in ulciscendo viderere; metuisti igitur, ne gravis civis, ne nimis fortis, ne nimis te dignus viderere. 2. Quod societatem rei publicae conservandae tibi mecum a patre acceptam renovas, gratum est, quae societas inter nos semper, mi Cornifici, manebit; gratum etiam illud, quod mihi tuo nomine gratias agendas non putas; nec enim id inter nos facere debemus. Senatus saepius pro dignitate tua appellaretur,

quotes (p. 38) Fam. iii. 11, 5 (265), where *esse* is omitted after *meum*; vii. 32, 2 (229), where it is omitted after *liberum*. Watson compares Att. xi. 6, 1 (418), *id si ita putarem*.

2. *te interpones*] 'mix yourself up with': cp. Q. Fr. iii. 4, 5 (152); Phil. ii. 9.

This letter was written after the departure of Pansa (March 20), cp. § 2; and before the news of the Battle of Forum Gallorum reached Rome; for if the news of that victory had arrived, Cicero would not have expressed himself with so little emotion as he does in the last words of this letter. Indeed Cicero seems in no excitement at all about the result of the campaign in North Italy; so we may place this letter at a time before events in that region became critical, i.e. about the end of March.

1. *Lilybaeo*] It would appear that certain mercenaries of Antony had started from Africa and attempted to seize Lilybaeum; that Cornificius had captured them; but had dismissed them without inflicting any punishment. Cicero is of opinion that 'this too much lenity and harmful pity should be laid aside.'

*metuisti . . . viderere*] 'you were afraid, therefore, lest you should seem a staunch patriot, should seem too courageous, too worthy of yourself.'

2. *Quod . . . est*] 'I am pleased that you renew our partnership in preserving the state—a partnership devolving on you from your father.' *Tibi* is governed by *acceptam*, and is used instead of a *te* in order to avoid ambiguity.

*gratum etiam . . . debemus*] cp. D. Brutus, 869, 1.

*appellaretur*] 'would have been addressed.'

si absentibus consulibus umquam nisi ad rem novam cogeretur. Itaque nec de HS. XX. nec de HS. DCC. quicquam agi nunc per senatum potest; tibi autem ex senatus consulto imperandum mutuumve sumendum censeo. 3. In re publica quid agatur, credo te ex eorum litteris cognoscere, qui ad te acta debent perscribere. Ego sum spe bona; consilio, cura, labore non desum; omnibus inimicis rei publicae esse me acerrimum hostem prae me fero. Res neque nunc difficili loco mihi videsur esse et fuisset facillimo, si culpa a quibusdam afuisset. †

si . . . cogeretur] 'if during the absence of the consuls, it were ever summoned except to consult on some pressing matter.' The senate was seldom called together during the absence of the consuls in the later times of the republic. In earlier times, when the consuls were absent with the army during the greater part of the year, this rule was of course not very strictly observed; though even then, in cases where delay was at all possible, the deliberations were postponed until the consuls returned, e.g. the conclusion of peace with Carthage, Liv. xxx. 23, 2: cp. Mommsen, St. R. iii. 911, note 4. The *praetor urbanus* summoned the senate when the consuls were absent: cp. 838, 3.

de HS. XX nec de HS. DCC] 'Your requests for grants of 20,000 sesterces and 700,000 cannot now be discussed in the senate.' These were probably two different grants for different purposes which Cornificius required. Mendelssohn

reads | XX | = 2,000,000, perhaps rightly.

tibi autem . . . censeo] 'I think that in accordance with the decree of the senate you ought to make requisitions for this or raise a loan.' The *senatus consultum* is probably the annual one which was passed *de ornandis provinciis consularibus*: cp. Willems Le Sénat, ii. 616, 755: cp. for similar powers granted to M. Brutus at the same time as the grant of the province, Phil. x. 26 and Mommsen St. R. iii. 1099.

3. actu] 'the public proceedings.' Cornificius had commissioned some friends, as Cicero had commissioned Caelius in 703 (51), to write to him an account of the principal public events which took place at Rome: cp. 813, 1.

si culpa . . . afuisset] 'if some people had not been blameworthy.' Cicero is probably thinking of the consulars Calenus, Piso, Servilius, and others: cp. 826, 3; 839, 3.

## DCCCXXIX. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 26).

ROME ; SPRING ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Q. Cornificio heredes Q. Turii de bonis in Africa relictis commendat.

CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Q. Turius, qui in Africa negotiatus est, vir bonus et honestus, heredes fecit similes sui, Cn. Saturninum, Sex. Aufidium, C. Anneum, Q. Considium Gallum, L. Servilium Postumum, C. Rubellium : ex eorum oratione intellexi gratiarum actione eos magis egere quam commendatione ; tanta enim liberalitate se tua usos praedicabant, ut iis plus a te tributum intellegerem, quam ego te auderem rogare ; audebo tamen ; scio enim, quantum ponderis mea commendatio sit habitura. 2. Qua re a te peto, ut ad eam liberalitatem, qua sine meis litteris usus es, quam maximus his litteris cumulus accedat : caput autem est meae commendationis, ne patiari Erotem Turium, Q. Turii libertum, ut adhuc fecit, hereditatem Turianam avertere ceterisque omnibus rebus habeas eos a me commendatissimos. Magnam ex eorum splendore et observantia capies voluptatem : quod ut velis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

It is quite impossible to fix at what exact time in the spring these letters of introduction (829, 830) were sent ; nor is it of much consequence.

1. *Q. Turius*] We do not know anything special about any of the men mentioned in this letter.

*negotiatu8 est*] 'has banking business,' i.e. is a negotiator.

*similes sui*] i.e. they also are negotiators.

*gratiarum actione*] 'expression of thanks.'

2. *Qua re a te . . . accedat*] 'Wherefore I beg of you that the generosity, which you have shown even without any letter from me, may be increased as far as possible by this letter.'

*Erotem Turium*] For the names of freedmen cp. note to Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (576).

*avertere*] 'to appropriate,' common in the Verrines, e.g. 2 Verr. i. 11.

*splendore*] cp. 830, note.

*observantia*] 'the respect they will show you.'

## DCCCXXX. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 27).

ROME; SPRING; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Q. Cornificio Sex. Aufidii equitis Romani Africana negotia commendat.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

Sex. Aufidius et observantia, qua me colit, accedit ad proximos, et splendore equiti Romano nemini cedit; est autem ita temperatis moderatisque moribus, ut summa severitas summa cum humanitate iungatur: cuius tibi negotia, quae sunt in Africa, ita commendo, ut maiore studio magisque ex animo commendare non possim. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam, ut is intellegat meas apud te litteras maximum pondus habuisse: hoc te vehementer, mi Cornifici, rogo.

## DCCCXXXI. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 29).

ROME; SPRING; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Q. Cornificio negotia L. Lamiae eius, qui olim, quod libere et fortiter salutem M. Ciceronis defenderat, ab A. Gabinio consule erat relegatus, summo opere commendat, eumque, quod suspectus fuerat Cornificio, excusat.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO SAL.

1. Non modo tibi, cui nostra omnia notissima sunt, sed neminem in populo Romano arbitror esse, cui sit ignota ea familiaritas, quae mihi cum L. Lamia est; etenim magno theatro spectata est tum,

*Sex. Aufidius*] He was one of the heirs of Turius: ep. 829, 1.

*accedit ad proximos*] 'comes near to my closest friends.'

*splendore*] ep. Vell. ii. 88, 2, *C. Maecenas equestri sed splendido genere natus*. The distinction between the different classes of knights is not a very definitely marked one under the republic; under the empire those knights who possessed the senatorial census, but remained within the equestrian rank from choice (as Maecenas did), and who held high imperial

offices, were considered somewhat superior (*equites illustres, primores, splendidi*) to the ordinary knights.

*est autem ita temperatis*] 'His character is so happily blended and ordered that the greatest strictness is united with the greatest kindness.'

This letter was probably written before the news of the Battle of Forum Gallorum reached Rome.

1. *L. Lamia*] ep. note to 888, 2. *magno theatro*] 'on a large stage.'

cum est ab A. Gabinio consule relegatus, quod libere et fortiter salutem meam defendisset; nec ex eo amor inter nos natus est, sed, quod erat vetus et magnus, propterea nullum periculum pro me adire dubitavit. Ad haec officia vel merita potius incundissima consuetudo accedit, ut nullo prorsus plus homine delecter. Non puto te iam exspectare, quibus eum tibi verbis commendem: causa enim tanti amoris intellegis quae verba desideret; iis me omnibus usum putato. 2. Tantum velim existimes, si negotia Lamiae, procuratores, libertos, familiam quibuscumque rebus opus erit defenderis, gratius mihi futurum, quam si ea tua liberalitas pertinuisset ad rem familiarem meam, nec dubito quin sine mea commendatione, quod tuum est iudicium de hominibus, ipsius Lamiae causa studiose omnia facturum sis: quamquam erat nobis dictum te existimare alicui senatus consulto, quod contra dignitatem tuam fieret, scribendo Lamiam adfuisse, qui omnino consiliis illis numquam fuit ad scribendum; deinde omnia tum falsa senatus consulta deferebantur; nisi forte etiam illi Semproniano senatus consulto me censes adfuisse, qui ne Romae quidem fui, ut tum de eo ad te scripsi, re recenti. Sed haec hactenus. 3. Te, mi Cornifici, etiam atque etiam rogo, ut omnia Lamiae negotia

*Ad haec officiu vel merita*] 'To these kind services or rather most pleasant obligations conferred on me.' A man seldom feels pleasure at being put under an obligation, except by one towards whom he feels a strong attachment; hence the addition of *incundissima*.

*causa enim*] 'You understand the words demanded by a connexion so affectionate as this.' For this sense of *causa* cp. Pro Quint. 48, *quicum tibi affinitas, societas, omnes denique causae et necessitudines veteres intercedebant*: Fam. xiii. 19, 1 (514), *cum Lysone est mihi quidem hospitium vetus . . . sed ea causa etiam cum aliis compluribus, familiaritas tanta nullo cum hospite*.

2. *scribendo adfuisse*] This is the usual expression for witnessing a decree of the senate: cp. Fam. viii. 8, 5, 6 (223); but *ad scribendum* is also found: cp. ix. 15, 4 (481), *ponor ad scribendum*.

*consulibus illis*] 'during the consulship,' i.e. Antony and Dolabella.

*deferantur*] sc. *ad aerarium*. Cicero often omits the latter word, e.g. Phil. xii. 12; xiii. 19. A decree of the senate

during the last two centuries of the Republic, and during the Empire, did not become valid until it was deposited in the *aerarium* under the charge of the quaestors: cp. Liv. xxxix. 4, 8, Tac. Ann. iii. 51, Josephus, Antiq. xiv. 10, 10. For forgery of decrees of the senate cp. Att. xv. 26, 1 (763); Phil. v. 12, xii. 12.

*Semproniano*] This was probably the decree of the senate proposed by Sempronius, which transferred the command of Africa from Cornificius to Calvisius: cp. 825, 3. It is very unusual to call a senatus-consultum after the proposer, at least before the time of Augustus: cp. Willems Le Sénat, ii. 216; the regular official manner of citation appears to have been by year: cp. Att. xiii. 33, 3 (616), and Mommsen, St. R. iii. 997, note 2, and 1012; the decrees of each year appear to have been bound up in separate volumes. Accordingly we have to suppose that the term here is used in a colloquial, not in a technical, sense, as we might speak of Mr. Balfour's Bill instead of 58 Vict.



mea putes esse curesque, ut intellegat hanc commendationem maximo sibi usui fuisse: hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Cura, ut valeas.

## DCCCXXXII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 7).

GALLIA COMATA; MARCH 23 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus causam brevitatis litterarum et studii in rem publicam sui serius patefacti indicat suamque dignitatem M. Ciceroni commendat.

## PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Plura tibi de meis consiliis scriberem rationemque omnium rerum redderem verbosius, quo magis iudicares omnia me rei publicae praestitisse, quae et tua exhortatione excepi et mea affirmatione tibi recepi—non minus enim a te probari quam diligi semper volui, nec te magis in culpa defensorem mihi paravi, quam praedicatorem meritorum meorum esse volui—; sed brevior me duae res faciunt: una, quod publicis litteris omnia sum persecutus, altera, quod M. Varisidium, equitem Romanum, familiarem meum, ipsum ad te transire iussi, ex quo omnia cognoscere posses.

2. Non medius fidius mediocri dolore adficiebar, cum alii occupare possessionem laudis viderentur, sed usque mihi temperavi, dum perducerem eo rem, ut dignum aliquid et consulatu meo et vestra exspectatione efficerem; quod spero, si me fortuna non fefellerit, me consecuturum, ut maximo praesidio rei publicae nos fuisse et nunc sentiant homines et in posterum memoria teneant. A te peto, ut dignitati meae suffrageris et, quarum rerum spe ad laudem me vocasti, harum fructu in reliquum facias alacriorem.

This is a private letter to Cicero sent by the same messenger as the official letter (833).

1. *verbosius*] 'at greater length.' We do not know of any other passage in which this word is used in a neutral sense. It elsewhere means 'wordy,' 'prolix.'

*quae et . . . recepi*] 'which I took

up at your advice, and on my own word, pledged to you, undertook to perform.'

*defensorem . . . praedicatorem*] Translate 'to defend' . . . 'to proclaim.'  
*sum persecutus*] 'I have treated of': cp. Sen. 16.

*ex quo . . . posses*] 'so that from him you may learn everything.'

2. *et quarum rerum . . . alacriorem*

Non minus posse te quam velle exploratum mihi est. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

### DCCCXXXIII. PLANCUS TO THE MAGISTRATES, SENATE, AND PEOPLE (FAM. X. 8).

GALLIA COMATA; MARCH 23 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;  
AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus publicis his litteris rationem reddit, quam ob rem sero se libertatis defensorem profiteatur, dein de exercitu et provinciae statu exponit.

PLANCUS IMP. COS. DESIG. S. D. COSS. PR. TR. PL. SENATUI  
POPULO PLEBIQUE ROMANAE.

1. Si cui forte videor diutius et hominum exspectationem et spem rei publicae de mea voluntate tenuisse suspensam, huic prius excusandum me esse arbitror quam de insequenti officio quidquam ulli pollicendum; non enim praeteritam culpam videri volo redemisse, sed optimae mentis cogitata iam pridem maturo tempore enuntiare. 2. Non me praeteribat in tanta sollicitudine hominum

‘and that by my obtaining the fruition of those things which you held out in hope when you summoned me to the path of glory, you may make me more energetic for the future.’ This is an admonition to Cicero, that he should use his best endeavour to procure honours for Plancus.

*meque mutuo diligas*] ‘love me as I love you.’ This is the conclusion which Plancus affects: cp. 808, 848, 860.

A letter took fifteen days to come from Cularo (Grenoble) to Rome, a distance of about 650 Roman miles: cp. 860, 3, with 884, 3. Plancus was some distance north of Cularo, across the Rhone, so that we cannot allow a shorter period for this official letter to reach the capital. It arrived on April 7 (838, 2), so it cannot have been despatched later than Mar. 23.

IMP.] We do not know for certain for what exploits Plancus obtained the title of Imperator: possibly his victory over the Raeti, for which he triumphed on December 29 (cp. C. I. L. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 179),

had been won before this time. The title is also found in Inscriptions which relate to Plancus, C. I. L. vi. 1316; x. 6087.

POPULO PLEBIQUE ROMANAE] This addition is not very usual; but there are two other examples of it in the Correspondence, 882 (Lentulus); 885 (Lepidus); cp. its use in solemn formulae (Muren. 1: Verr. v. 36; Liv. xxix. 27, 2). It points to the time when the patricians alone were the *populus* (cp. Halm on Muren. 1; Weissenborn on Livy xxv. 12, 10). Mommsen (St. R. iii. 6, note 4) says that, just as it was all the same whether a letter was addressed to the *populus* or to the consuls and praetors, so it was indifferent whether the *plebs* or their officers, the tribunes, were the addressees. Official letters were generally addressed to the magistrates (consuls, praetors, and tribunes) and senate, e.g. Fam. xv. 1 (221), 2 (219).

1. *huic . . . enuntiare*] ‘I think that I must first make my excuses to him before I make any promises to anyone about my services for the future. For I do not

et tam perturbato statu civitatis fructuosissimam esse professionem bonae voluntatis, magnosque honores ex ea re complures consecutos videbam; sed, cum in eum casum me fortuna demisisset, ut aut celeriter pollicendo magna mihi ipse ad proficiendum impedimenta opponerem aut, si in eo mihi temperavissem, maiores occasiones ad opitulandum haberem, expeditius iter communis salutis quam meae laudis esse volui. Nam quis in ea fortuna, quae mea est, et ab ea vita, quam in me cognitam hominibus arbitror, et cum ea spe, quam in manibus habeo, aut sordidum quidquam pati aut perniciosum concupiscere potest? 3. Sed aliquantum nobis temporis et magni labores et multae impensae opus fuerunt, ut, quae rei publicae bonisque omnibus polliceremur, exitu praestaremus neque ad auxilium patriae nudi cum bona voluntate, sed cum facultatibus accederemus. Confirmandus erat exercitus nobis, magnis saepe praemiis sollicitatus, ut ab re publica potius moderata quam ab uno infinita speraret; confirmandae complures civitates, quae superiore anno largitionibus concessionibusque praemiorum erant obligatae, ut et illa vana putarent et eadem a melioribus auctoribus petenda existimarent; eliciendae etiam voluntates reliquorum, qui finitimis provinciis exercitibusque praefuerunt, ut potius cum pluribus societatem defendendae liber-

wish to seem to have made an atonement for a past fault, but now, in the fulness of time, to be stating what a loyal mind has been long pondering.'

2. *complures*] Watson mentions Lepidus, Octavian, Egnatuleius (Phil. v. 41, 46, 52).

*demisisset*] cp. Fam. ix. 1, 4 (456).

*ad proficiendum impedimenta*] 'hindrances to doing any service': cp. for *ad* after *impedimentum*, Rosc. Am. 149; Caes. B. G. ii. 25, 1; B. C. i. 62, 2.

*expeditius*] 'I wished that there should be less obstacles in the way of the safety of the state than in the path of my renown.'

*ab ea vita*] 'after that life which I think is known to men in my case.' For *ab*, 'after,' cp. Fam. viii. 4, 1 (206), and note. It is very common in Livy, cp. Roby, § 1807. For *in* = 'in the case of,' cp. Phil. xiv. 9, *quae in Parmensium liberis et coniugibus effecerit*; Verg. Aen. ii. 541, *Talis in hoste fuit Priamo*, quoted by Roby, § 1978.

*spe*] That of the consulship, which Plancus was to hold next year.

*sordidum*] 'disgrace' (from connexion with Antony); *perniciosum*, 'dangerous,' to the state.

3. *opus fuerunt*] For this personal use of *opus esse*, cp. De Invent. ii. 57; Fam. ii. 6, 4 (177); Plaut. Capt. i. 2, 56, *maritumi milites opus sunt tibi*.

*exitu praestaremus*] 'eventually fulfil.' *nudi . . . facultatibus*] 'not naked of means, however loyal in heart, but with resources' (Jeans); 'not in the nakedness of mere loyalty, but with resources.'

*sollicitatus*] by Antony, who is also referred to in *uno*.

*concessionibusque praemiorum*] 'by grants of privileges': cp. Phil. ii. 92, 97; iii. 30; Att. xiv. 12, 1 (715).

*a melioribus auctoribus*] 'by more legitimate donors.'

*praefuerunt*] We should not follow Manutius, Wesenberg, and Rhodius, in altering to *praesunt*. The remarks of Plancus all apply to the past: he is thinking

tatis iniremus, quam cum paucioribus funestam orbi terrarum victoriam partiremur. 4. Muniendi vero nosmet ipsi fuimus aucto exercitu auxiliisque multiplicatis, ut, cum praeferremus sensus aperte, tum etiam invitis quibusdam sciri, quid defensuri essemus, non esset periculosum. Ita numquam diffitebor multa me, ut ad effectum horum consiliorum pervenirem, et simulasse invitum et dissimulasse cum dolore, quod, praematura denuntiatio boni civis imparati quam periculosa esset, ex casu collegae videbam. 5. Quo nomine etiam C. Furnio legato, viro forti atque strenuo, plura etiam verbo quam scriptura mandata dedimus, ut et tectius ad vos perferrentur et nos essemus tutiores, quibusque rebus et communem salutem muniri et nos armari conveniret praecepimus. Ex quo intellegi potest curam rei publicae summae defendundae iam pridem apud nos exebare. 6. Nunc, cum deum benignitate ab omni re sumus paratiores, non solum bene sperare de nobis homines, sed explorare iudicare volumus: legiones habeo

of those who *were* the governors of the provinces at the time he sounded their intentions, without in the least considering whether the same or different men *are now* holding the provinces.

*ut potius . . . partiremur*] 'that we should become partners with the majority in the defence of freedom, rather than share with the minority in a victory which would destroy the world.' Plancus means that his efforts were directed to securing such an overwhelming force in defence of the republic, that its opponents would not dare to fight, and in that way peace would be secured without a struggle. He preferred this course to throwing in his lot with the Antonians, who could at best only gain victory after such a severe contest that the state would be thereby ruined.

4. *praeferremus*] 'declared,' 'publicly expressed.' English idiom also, as well as Latin, would use the past tense in this case, even though it refers to the future. For *praeferre* in this sense cp. Rosc. Am. 87. Süpfle remarks that Cicero would have said *aperte ferre*, Att. xiv. 13, 2 (718); Planc. 34.

*etiam . . . periculosum*] 'even though some were unwilling (abl. abs.), it might not be dangerous to have it generally known what cause we were purposing to defend.'

*Ita*] = *itaque*: cp. 824, 3.

*simulasse*] sc. friendship for Antony and desire of peace, cp. 826, 1; *dissimulasse*, sc. devotion to the senate.

*quod . . . videbam*] 'because I saw from the misfortunes of my colleague, D. Brutus, the danger of an over-hasty proclamation of loyalty in the case of a good citizen who is unprepared.' If D. Brutus had not declared himself so soon he would not have been besieged in Mutina. For *collegae* cp. 826, 1.

5. *Quo nomine*] 'on which account': cp. Fam. xiv. 3, 4 (84); ii. 1, 1 (166), and note.

*Furnio*] For the difference between what Plancus wrote and what Furnius said cp. 826, 1.

*scriptura*] 'writing': cp. Fam. xv. 21, 3 (450), *ea quae scriptura persecutus es*.

*Ex quo . . . exebare*] 'From which it can be seen that for a long time I have been keeping my attention awake to defend the best interests of the state.' As *summae* follows *rei p.*, we may assume that it is a substantive; at least such is Ciceronian usage. If it preceded *rei p.* it should be regarded as an adjective: cp. Rhodius, p. 12 *Exebare* is used strictly of a sentinel keeping guard.

6. *ab omni re*] 'in every respect.' For this sense of *ab*, cp. Att. i. 1, 2 (10), note; 860, 2, and Roby, § 1813.

*explorate iudicare*] 'to form a well-grounded judgment.'

quinque sub signis et sua fide virtuteque rei publicae coniunctissimas et nostra liberalitate nobis obsequentes, provinciam omnium civitatum consensu paratissimam et summa contentione ad officia certantem, equitatus auxiliorumque tantas copias, quantus haec gentes ad defendendam suam salutem libertatemque conficere possunt; ipse ita sum animo paratus, *ut* vel provinciam tueri vel ire, quo res publica vocet, vel tradere exercitum, auxilia provinciamque vel omnem impetum in belli in me convertere non recusem, si modo meo casu aut confirmare patriae salutem aut periculum possim morari. 7. Haec si iam expeditis omnibus rebus tranquilloque statu civitatis polliceor, in damno meae laudis rei publicae commodo laetabor; sin ad societatem integerrimorum et maximorum periculorum accedam, consilia mea aequis iudiciis ab obtrectatione invidiorum defendenda commendo. Mihi quidem ipsi fructus meritorum in rei publicae incolumitate satis magnus est paratus: eos vero, qui meam auctoritatem et multo magis vestram fidem secuti nec ulla spe decipi nec ullo metu terreri potuerunt, ut commendatos vobis habeatis, petendum videtur.

*legiones habeo quinque*] In 860, 3 (May 12), Plancus speaks of *quattuor legionibus expeditis*; and in 916, 3 (July 28), of *legiones veteranae tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex omnibus una*. In the latter passage he wishes to under-rate his forces; in the passage before us to represent them in the best possible light.

*et summa . . . certantem*] 'most eager and emulous to perform its duties': cp. Tac. Hist. ii. 97, *certaturi ad obsequium*.

*ipse . . . morari*] 'As for myself—while I am willing and ready either to defend my province, or to go wherever my country orders me, or to hand over to another my army, allied forces, and province—yet I do not flinch from turning the whole brunt of the war upon myself, if only I can, by incurring risk myself, either assure the safety of my country, or check the danger which threatens her.' H Pal omit *ita*; but it is improbable that

Plancus, in such an elaborate and studied letter as this is, would have varied the construction with *paratus* from the infinitive to subjunctive, though, of course, the latter construction is quite allowable: cp. Ter. Heaut. v. 1, 75, *Age iam uxorem ut arcescat paret*. In either case we must supply *ut* before *vel*. Rhodius (p. 17) wishes to take *non recusem* as potential, so as to avoid having to introduce *ut*, 'I, being so minded . . . would not refuse.' Some editors read *ut* for *vel* before *omnem*. For *ita . . . ut* cp. vol. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 65.

7. *expeditis*] 'clear and open.'  
*in damno meae laudis*] 'though my own renown is injured.'  
*commodo*] abl.: cp. Fam. ii. 9, 1 (224).

*integerrimorum*] 'utterly unabated.'—(Jeans).

*ut . . . habeatis*] 'that you should watch over their interests.'



## DCCCXXXIV. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 10).

ROME ; MARCH 30 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Laudat M. Cicero L. Planci praeclaram voluntatem iuvandae rei publicae et praemia ab senatu sperare eum ob eam causam iubet, suam ei operam pollicetur et ad tuendam rem publicam adhortatur.

## CICERO PLANCO.

1. Etsi satis ex Furnio nostro cognoram, quae tua voluntas, quod consilium de re publica esset, tamen tuis litteris lectis liquidius de toto sensu tuo iudicavi. Quam ob rem, quamquam in uno proelio omnis fortuna rei publicae disceptatur—quod quidem, cum haec legeres, iam decretum arbitrabar fore—tamen ipsa fama, quae de tua voluntate percrebruit, magnam es laudem consecutus; itaque si consulem Romae habuissemus, declaratum esset ab senatu cum tuis magnis honoribus, quam gratus esset conatus et apparatus tuus. Cuius rei non modo non praeteriit tempus, sed ne maturum quidem etiam nunc meo quidem iudicio fuit; is enim denique honos mihi videri solet, qui non propter spem futuri beneficii, sed propter magna merita claris viris defertur et datur. 2. Qua re, sit modo aliqua res publica in qua honos elucere possit, omnibus, mihi crede, amplissimis honoribus abundabis. Is autem, qui vere appellari potest honos, non invitamentum ad tempus, sed perpetuae virtutis

1. *tuis litteris*] This cannot refer to 832 and 833, for these were written at latest on March 23, and could not possibly be in Rome sooner than April 7. The letter referred to is not extant.

*liquidius*] 'more clearly': cp. Fam. xi. 27, 7 (784), *liquido negare*.

*disceptatur*] 'is being now settled.' The mss read *disceptat* which is never used as a neuter verb in the active. For -ur omitted in mss cp. Wes. Em., pp. 81–84. Mendelssohn retains *disceptat*, referring to Elter (Rhein. Mus. xli. 1886, p. 538 ff). That scholar, in arguing with much power that in the tesserae of the gladiators, *spectavit* = *spectatus est*, adduces many verbs which are properly transitive and yet are occasionally used intransitively, e.g. *turbare* in Tac. Ann. iii. 47, *si una alterare civitas turbet*; Lucret.

v. 504, *sinit incertis turbare procellis*; but as far as we can see Elter does not touch on *disceptare* at all. Without corroborative evidence, and merely on the strength of this passage, we think that it would be unreasonable to suppose that the active *disceptare* can be used intransitively. Because we can say 'he boiled the kettle,' and 'the kettle boiled,' or 'he concluded the case,' and 'the case concluded,' it does not at all follow that we can say both 'he decides the case,' and 'the case decides.'

*consulem*] Hirtius had left Rome in January; but Pansa did not leave till March 20th.

*praeteriit*] 'past and gone' (of an opportunity lost).

2. *non invitamentum ad tempus*] 'is not an allurement to you to render aid

est praemium. Quam ob rem, mi Plance, incumbere toto pectore ad laudem; subveni patriae, opitulare collegae, omnium gentium consensum et incredibilem conspirationem adiuva. Me tuorum consiliorum adiutorem, dignitatis fautorem, omnibus in rebus tibi amicissimum fidelissimumque cognosces; ad eas enim causas, quibus inter nos amore sumus, officiis, vetustate coniuncti, patriae caritas accessit, eaque effecit ut tuam vitam anteferrem meae.

III. Kalendas Apriles.

## DCCCXXXV. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 6).

ROME; END OF MARCH OR BEGINNING OF APRIL; A. U. C. 711;

B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero C. Titium Strabonem laudat: in C. Cassio et M. Bruto, si res ad Mutinam male geratur spem omnem rei publicae sitam esse dicit.

## CICERO CASSIO SAL.

1. Qui status rerum fuerit tum, cum has litteras dedi, scire poteris ex C. Titio Strabone, viro bono et optime de re publica sentiente: nam quid dicam 'cupidissimo tui,' qui domo et fortunis relictis ad te potissimum profectus sit? itaque eum tibi ne commendando quidem: adventus ipsius ad te satis eum commendabit.

2. Tu velim sic existimes tibi persuadeas, omne perfugium bonorum in te et Bruto esse positum, si, quod nolim, adversi quid evenierit. Res, cum haec scribebam, erat in extremum adducta

for the moment but the reward of steadily-continued virtue.' Honour that is real honour only attends a course of long-continued virtue. For *invitamentum* cp. Fin. v. 17, *prima invitamenta naturae*.

Quam ob rem . . . adiuva] 'Wherefore, my dear Plancus, throw yourself heart and soul into the pursuit of true glory; assist your country, help your colleague, lend your aid to the union and marvellous coalition of all the nations of the earth.' For *toto pectore* cp. Att. xii. 35, 2 (577); xiii. 12, 4 (626).

ad eas enim . . . accessit] 'To those links by which we are united, affection, services, long-standing friendship, is added love of country.' The ablatives are in

apposition to *quibus*. For *vetustas* = *vetustas, amicitiae*, cp. 888, 2, and Reid on Arch. 31.

1. C. Titio Strabone] He is not mentioned elsewhere.

cupidissimo tui] 'most eager to be with you.'

potissimum] 'specially.'

2. Res . . . discrimen] 'At the time I am writing this our fortunes have come to a crisis; for Brutus can hardly hold out any longer at Mutina.' This sentence shows that this letter was written about the same time as 834 or a little later: cp. § 1 of that letter.

discrimen; Brutus enim Mutinae vix iam sustinebat: qui si conservatus erit, vicinus; sin—quod di omen avertant!—omnis omnium cursus est ad vos. Proinde fac animum tantum habeas tantumque apparatus, quanto opus est ad universam rem publicam recuperandam. Vale.

## DCCCXXXVI. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. II. 1).

ROME; END OF MARCH; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

In summo discrimine rem esse scribit Cicero, nec se tamen desperare: celeritatem in consulibus desiderat et prudentiam: maximam spem esse in Bruto et Cassio.

### CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Cum haec scribebam, res existimabatur in extremum adducta discrimen: tristes enim de Bruto nostro litterae nuntique

*sustinebat*] For the absolute sense of *sustinere*, Watson compares Caes. B.G. ii. 6, 4, *nuntium mittit Iccius sese diutius sustinere non posse*. See also 848, 2, Att. vii. 7, 5 (298).

*vicinus*] 'we have already conquered'—i.e. the rest of the actions against Antony will be attended with no risk.

*sin*] The use of *sin* for *sin minus* belongs to epistolary style: cp. Att. x. 7, 2 (388), *si vir esse volet, praeclara συνοδία*; *sin autem, erimus nos qui solemus*; 803, 2, *si pares aequae inter se, quiescendum*; *sin, latius manabit*.

*omnis . . . ad vos*] 'the one road for one and all of us is to you.'

The Second Book of the Epp. ad Brutum is ably treated in a long dissertation by Adolphus V. Streng entitled *De Ciceronis ad Brutum libro qui secundus inseribitur* (Helsingfors, 1885).

That this letter was written after March 20th is certain, for obviously (§ 1) Pansa had left Rome, and his departure took place on the morning of the 19th or 20th. Again, there is no account of the events which took place in the senate on April 7th (cp. 839, 3), and the very satisfactory letter from Plancus (833) which was read at that sitting (838, 2) is not referred to at all. A short time after the departure of Pansa an engagement was expected

every day: cp. 824, 1 (written March 20), *quod* (sc. *proclium*) *quidem cum haec legeres iam decretum arbitrarer fore*. It is strange that there is no allusion to Plancus and to the letter he wrote advocating peace, to which Cicero replied in somewhat severe language (826) on the evening of March 20th. The most probable solution of this difficulty is that Cicero wrote to Brutus a letter (now lost) on this subject immediately after the receipt of that letter of Plancus, and the letter before us was written some days later (cp. Schmidt. Cass., p. 31, note 3). It is of course possible that Cicero wrote this letter almost immediately after the departure of Pansa, and did not think it advisable to make any mention of what he felt was only a temporary exhibition of faint-heartedness on the part of Plancus; and that he was justified in this view of the conduct of Plancus is proved by the letter (833) received from him on April 7. According to this view the letter before us would be the first letter Cicero wrote to Brutus in 711 (43). But it is not likely that in the very first letter which Cicero wrote to Brutus after his successes in Greece he should make no mention whatever of them. A more serious difficulty as regards this letter is that no mention is made of C. Antonius: whereas the news of his capture was probably

adferebantur: me quidem non maxime conturbabant: his enim exercitibus ducibusque, quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere: neque adsentiebar maiori parti hominum: fidem enim consulum non condemnabam, quae suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam non nullis in rebus prudentiam et celeritatem, quae si essent usi, iam pridem rem publicam recuperassemus. Non enim ignoras quanta momenta sint in re publica temporum et quid intersit idem illud utrum ante an post decernatur, suscipiatur, agatur. Omnia, quae severe decreta sunt hoc tumul-tui, si aut, quo die dixi sententiam, perfecta essent et non in diem ex die dilata aut, quo ex tempore suscepta sunt ut agerentur, non tardata

known in Rome by March 19. If we suppose that Cicero wrote to Brutus on March 20 a letter which is now lost, in that lost letter he no doubt advised that C. Antonius should be carefully guarded until after the decisive engagement in North Italy had taken place, and there was no need to return to that subject in the present letter. After that engagement had turned out favourably for the constitutionalists, Cicero during the latter end of April frequently reverts to the question of the treatment which in his opinion ought to be applied to C. Antonius (842, 5; 846, 4).

1. *Cum haec scribebam*] cp. 835, 2 (written probably at the same time as the present letter).

*fidem enim consulum . . . erat*] Though Cicero at times expressed a somewhat poor opinion of the consuls, especially of Pansa: cp. Att. xvi. 1, 4 (769) in *Pansa spes?* ἄσπρος πολὺς in vino et somno istorum; also cp. Att. xiv. 20, 4 (727); yet this was to his intimate friend Atticus; in general he defended them against adverse criticism, e.g. 840, 4; and in public he always spoke highly of them (Phil. iii. 2; x. 17; xii. 6: cp. 851, 6). Quintus Cicero, writing to Tiro (815, 1), judges them in his usual unmeasured style *de consulibus designatis, quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi plenos; qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est*.

*celeritatem*] The procrastination and dilatoriness of the consuls are constantly harped on in the Philippics, e.g. iii. 2, v. 26-34; vi. 7, 15; xi. 25, and especially v. 53, *celeritate autem opus est, quae si essemus usi bellum, ut saepe dixi, nullum haberemus*.

*idem illud*] These words go closely with *intersit* and the clause *utrum . . . agatur* is explained by them: cp. Att. xv. 26, 1 (763), in quibus unum alienum summa sua prudentia, idem illud, ut spectem ludos suos.

*tumultu*] Cicero argues in Phil. viii. 2 ff, that a *tumultus* is really a more serious matter than a *bellum*.

*in diem ex die dilata*] We cannot quote an exact parallel. Where the phrase *diem ex* (or *de*) *die* occurs it is always found after a transitive verb which directly governs *diem*, and accordingly we do not find the preposition *in*, e.g. Att. vii. 26, 3 (326), *diem ex die expectare*; Caes. B.G. i. 16, 4; Liv. v. 48, 6; xxv. 25, 4; Tac. Ann. vi. 42 fin.; but if the verb has another accusative or is used passively we find that *in dies* takes the place of *diem ex die*, Suet. Otho 5, *idque in dies expectabat*; Liv. xxxvi. 17, 14, *adventus qui in dies expectatur*. But while this often appears with *expectare* we cannot find any example of a verb of deferring (*differre, proferre*) used in the passive with any phrase signifying 'from day to day,' except this present one, and perhaps Att. xiii. 37, 4 (657), where, however, the reading is uncertain. Certainly in *singulos dies* would be more natural. Becher originally (Rh. Mns. xxxvii. 587) considered this phrase a Grecism and compared Herod. ix. 8, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέραν ἀναβαλλόμενοι; but later (Philol. xvii. 475) he regards it as an archaic Latin usage, since Prof. Iwan Müller referred him to Cato ap. Priscian, ix. p. 482 (Hertz), *beneficii postridie insisti adesse*; in *diem ex die non ausi* (archaic for *ausus sum*) *recusare*, which sufficiently justifies the phrase.



et procrastinata, bellum iam nullum haberemus. 2. Omnia, Brute, praestiti rei publicae, quae praestare debuit is, qui esset in eo; in quo ego sum, gradu senatus populique iudicio collocatus, nec illa modo, quae nimirum sola ab homine sunt postulanda, fidem, vigilantiam, patriae caritatem: ea sunt enim, quae nemo est qui non praestare debeat: ego autem ei, qui sententiam dicat in principibus de re publica, puto etiam prudentiam esse praestandam, nec me, cum mihi tantum sumpserim, ut gubernacula rei publicae prenderem, minus putarim reprehendendum, si inutiliter aliquid senatui suaserim quam si infideliter. 3. Actae quae sint quaeque agantur scio perscribi ad te diligenter. Ex me autem illud est quod te velim habere cognitum, meum quidem animum in aciem esse neque respectum ullum quaerere, nisi me utilitas civitatis forte converterit. Maioris autem partis animi te Cassi-

*procrastinata*] This is a good Ciceronian word, Rosc. Am. 26; Verr. iv. 100: cp. Phil. vi. 7, *tarditus et procrastinatio*.

2. *Brute*] Becher has noticed that whereas in the 397 Letters to Atticus such addresses are found only 22 times, in the 11 letters of Brut. i. there are 15 instances; and he considers this an argument against the genuineness of the correspondence with Brutus. Ruete (p. 103) answers this objection by pointing out that in the 14 letters to D. Brutus such addresses are found 11 times, in the 13 letters to Plancus 9 times, and in one letter to Dolabella, viz. Fam. ix. 14 (722), 3 times. The fact is that Cicero used these addresses with different degrees of frequency according to the character of his correspondent; thus only one such vocative occurs in the 10 letters to Cassius in Fam. xii.

*gradu*] 'position': cp. Phil. ii. 6, vi. 18—a military or gladiatorial term: cp. *de gradu dei*, Off. i. 80.

*infideliter*] 'disloyal.' No doubt, as Markland says (p. 16), this word is ἀπαξ εἰρημένον in classical literature; but Cobet (Mnem. vii. 292) points out that the antithesis to *inutiliter* 'disadvantageous' demanded such a word, that it is correctly formed, and that the Latins readily coined such words, 'hoc unum caventes ne dura et inficeta et auribus molestae procudant.' Thus Cicero coins *desideratio* (Sen. 47), and C. F. Hermann quotes the following negative adverbs which are each used only once by Cicero:—

*impolite, incallide, indiserte, immortaliter, insaturabiliter, intemperate.*

3. *Ex me autem*] Madvig (A. C. iii. 276) reads *extremum* for these words: cp. Att. xi. 16, 5 (431); but there is no serious difficulty in *ex*, which often occurs after such words as *cognoscere, audire*: cp. Rep. i. 17, *studeo ex te audire quid sentias*; Leg. i. 56, *ut ex te ipso saepe cognovi*.

*in aciem esse*] So we read with the mss. Lamb. alters to *in acie esse*, a simple course: cp. Att. xii. 12, 1 (556); xv. 12, 1 (745); Plaut. Pers. iv. 6, 27; Ter. Eun. iv. 7, 46. In some legal expressions, *in potestatem esse, in vadimonium esse, in dicionem esse*, the accusative is found: cp. Fam. viii. 8, 8 (223); also in early Latin, cp. Plaut. Amph. i. 1, 26, *in mentem fuit* and Palmer ad loc. who quotes Bacch. i. 2, 53, Prop. iii. 9, 60. Add Plaut. Epid. ii. 28, *in amorem haerere*, Cas. ii. 3, 28, *in lustra iacui*. The construction is a pregnant one, 'has gone to the field of battle and is there': cp. Herod. i. 199, 1, *δεῖ πάσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἱζομένην ἐς ἰπὸν Ἀφροδίτης*. See Kritz on Sall. Jug. 112, 3.

*neque respectum ullum habere*] cp. Phil. xi. 26, *in Brutum colligassemus in Graecia et eius auxilium ad Italiam vergere quam ad Asiam maluissimus; non ut eo ex acie respectum haberemus, sed ut ipsa acies subsidium haberet etiam transmarinum* (to adopt the correction of Ferrarius for *ex ea acie*); also Phil. x. 9.

*Maioris autem partis*] The mss give



umque respiciunt. Quam ob rem ita te para, Brute, ut intellegas aut, si hoc tempore bene res gesta sit, tibi meliorem rem publicam esse faciendam aut, si quid offensum sit, per te esse eandem recuperandam.

## DCCCXXXVII. BRUTUS TO CICERO

(BRUT. II. 3 = 5 AND 3).

DYRRHACHIUM; APRIL 1; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

De Trebonii morte et provincia scribit Brutus; de Antonio consulit. Res a Cassio gestas non ante tempus publicandas esse ostendit. Orationes Ciceronis laudat et pecuniam supplementumque postulat. Postremo de Dolabellae crudelitate Antistii liberalitate et Ciceronis filii laudibus narrat.

## BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Litteras tuas valde exspecto, quas scripsisti post nuntios nostrarum rerum, et de morte Trebonii: non enim dubito quin mihi consilium tuum explices. Indigno scelere et civem optimum amisimus et provinciae possessione pulsi sumus, quam recuperari facile est: neque minus turpe aut flagitiosum erit post recuperari.  
2. Antonius adhuc est nobiscum, sed me dius fidius et moveor hominis precibus et timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat.

*maiores partes* which Meyer (p. 111) objects to as poetical, comparing Hor. Carm. ii. 17, 5, *Ah! te meae si partem animae rapit maturior vis*, Ovid Pont. i. 6, 16, *Magnaue pars animi consiliiue mei*; but ep. Att. iii. 7, 3 (63), *nisi dolor meus cum omnes partes mentis tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset* and Boot's note; iii. 20, 2 (78), *partes meae salutis*; iv. 18, 2, *partes securitatis* quoted by Streng (p. 38). He, however, adopts the simple and convincing emendation of Ruete (p. 104) and Madvig (A. C. iii. 102), which he had already thought of himself. The objection to the mss reading is that Cicero could not say that his whole mind was with the army, and immediately after that the greater part of his mind was looking to Brutus and Cassius. For *maior pars*, without any further specification, signifying 'a number of men,'

Ruete compares *magna pars* in Balb. 21, Liv. iii. 24, 8.

1. *exspecto*] Brutus probably heard of the death of Trebonius from Lentulus, not from Cicero; and Cicero may, as O. E. Schmidt suggests (N. Jahrb., 1884, p. 622), have avoided mentioning the occurrence to Brutus as he had himself proposed that the war against Dolabella should be entrusted to Cassius.

*nostrarum rerum*] i.e. the capture of C. Antonius, at Apollonia. Concerning the death of Trebonius, see Phil. xi. init. *quam . . . recuperari*] 'but none the less disgraceful and scandalous that its subsequent recovery is necessary.' Some commentators lay stress on *post*, 'that its recovery sometime hence (and not immediately) will be disgraceful.'

2. *excipiat*] 'carry off,' a slightly unusual meaning of the word.

Plane aestuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine sollicitudine essem. Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Qua re quam primum fac me certiore quid tibi placeat. 3. Cassius noster Syriam, legiones Syriacas habet, ultro quidem a Murco et a Marcio et ab exercitu ipso arcessitus. Ego scripsi ad Tertiam sororem et matrem, ne prius ederent hoc, quod optime ac felicissime gessit Cassius, quam cum consilium cognovissent tibi que visum esset. 4. Legi orationes duas tuas, quarum altera Kal. Ian. usus es, altera de litteris meis, quae habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui maior in his libellis laus contineatur. Iam concedo ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola iocans scripsisti. 5. Duabus rebus egemus, Cicero, pecunia et supplemento: quarum altera potest abs te expediri, ut aliqua pars militum istinc mittatur nobis, vel secreto consilio adversus Pansam vel actione in senatu, *ab ipso senatu* altera, quae magis est necessaria neque meo exercitui magis quam reliquorum. Hoc magis doleo

3. *Murco*] cp. 822, 1; 856, 3.

*Ego scripsi ad Tertiam*] cp. 840, 5.

*hoc quod . . . gessit*] Cicero would have used the plural *haec quae*: cp. 840, 5.

4. *orationes duas tuas*] i.e. Phil. v. (delivered Jan. 1), and Phil. x. (delivered end of Febr.). The word *uti* is strangely used of 'delivering a speech.' We cannot quote a parallel; it looks like a Grecism χρῆσθαι λόγῳ. With the second *altera* supply *usus es*. We must remember that the writer is Brutus, not Cicero.

*expectas dum eas laudem*] 'you are waiting for me to praise them.' This is a slightly brusque remark; but it is the only meaning the words can bear: cp. 867, 1.; Att. i. 1, 1 (10). *De Palicano non puto te expectare dum scribam*. If Brutus meant to say: 'you expect me to praise them' he would have used *ut*, not *dum*. We know that Brutus had a habit of saying things in a disagreeable way, Att. vi. 1, 7 (252), *ad me autem etiam cum rogat aliquid contumaciter, arroganter ἀκουονοήτως solet scribere*.

*Philippici*] The masculine is used because *libelli* had just preceded: cp. Plut. Cic. 48, αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τοὺς κατ' Ἀντωνίου λόγους Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραψε καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὰ βιβλία Φιλιππικοὶ καλοῦνται: cp. App. B. C. iv. 20; Juv. x. 125. Gellius (xiii. 1, 1) called the orations *Antonianae*: cp. Tac. Dial. 37.

5. *pecunia*] The need which Brutus had of money, the sinews of war, can be seen from what is said about the large sum transferred to him by Vetus Antistius (850, 1), and the present made to him by Atticus: cp. Nep. Att. 8, *eidem (M. Bruto) in Epiro absens trecenta millia iussit dari*.

*secreto consilio adversus Pansam*] 'by a secret arrangement with Pansa.' That this is the meaning of *adversus*, not 'in opposition to,' can be clearly seen from 840, 4, *ut Pansa . . . tribuat*. For this use of *adversus*, cp. Fam. iii. 13, 2 (277), *eo brevior est epistola et ut adversus magistrum morum modestior*; Ter. Andr. 1, 1, 15, *et id gratum fuisse adversum te habeo gratiam*: cp. i. 5, 30; Plant. Pseud. i. 5; 39; Cic. Off. ii. 68, and Madv. 283, Obs. 2. Brutus asked Cicero to use his influence either to induce Pansa privately to lend Brutus some forces, just as Pompey had sent Caesar two legions in 703 (51); or else to mention the matter in the senate, and urge the senate to recommend Pansa to make the transfer. This would put pressure on Pansa in case he was unwilling himself to give the forces.

*ab ipso senatu altera*] We have ventured to add *ab ipso senatu*, which might readily have dropped out after the preceding *senatu*. Some alteration must be

Asiam nos amisisse: quam sic vexari a Dolabella audio, ut iam non videatur crudelissimum eius facinus interfectio Trebonii. Vetus Antistius me tamen pecunia sublevavit. Cicero, filius tuus, sic mihi se probat industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus numquam dimittere videatur cogitationem cuius sit filius. Qua re quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue iudicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kalend. April. Dyrhachio.

## DCCCXXXVIII. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 12).

ROME; APRIL 11; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Planco significat gratas senatui eius litteras fuisse, et quae eius causa in senatu acta sint significat et ad liberandam rem publicam adhortatur.

## CICERO PLANCO.

1. Etsi rei publicae causa maxime gaudere debeo tantum ei te praesidii, tantum opis attulisse extremis paene temporibus, tamen ita te victorem complectar re publica recuperata, ut magnam

made. Ernesti omits *quae*, and Wesenberg alters to *-que*; but *altera . . . alteraque* is a solecism. As regards the transference of forces, the authority, though formally resting in the senate, was practically in the hands of the general, and the senate would not interfere further than to make a recommendation, except in very important cases; grants of funds, however, were both formally and practically made by the senate. Streng (p. 63) ingeniously suggests *altera quo magis est necessaria . . . , hoc magis doleo*, 'as to money, the more necessary it is so much the more do I regret the loss of Asia.' Brutus regrets that he is not able to get supplies of money from Asia owing to the plundering of Dolabella, but goes on to say that he has received aid from Antistius. If this view be adopted we should prefer to read *<ab ipso senatu> altera, quae <quo> magis*.

*nos amisisse*] see note to 839, 3, *sed quo*.\*

*quam*] relative, with *Asiam* as antecedent.

*Vetus Antistius*] cp. 850, 1.

*Cicero, filius tuus*] For young Cicero's exploits see Plut. Brut. 24: cp. Phil. x. 13.

*abutendum tua gloria*] 'he will not have to make undue claims on your renown'; Plut. Brut. 24, says of young Cicero, *ὅν ἐπαινεῖ* (sc. Brutus) *διαφερόντως καὶ φησιν, εἴτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἴτ' ἐνυπνίδζεται, θαυμάζειν οὕτω γενναῖον ὄντα καὶ μισοῦραννον*. Though this panegyric was no doubt contained in a letter from Brutus to Cicero we have no similar remark contained in any of the letters which we possess.

This letter is an answer to 832, 833.

1. *extremis*] 'desperate': cp. Att. xi. 1, 1 (406).

*ita . . . complectar . . . ut . . . adfert*] cp. Quintus ap. 927, 1, *ita te videam ut mihi gratissimum fecisti*; and *ita me di*

partem mihi laetitiae tua dignitas adfert, quam et esse iam et futuram amplissimam intellego. Cave enim putes ulla umquam litteras gratiores quam tuas in senatu esse recitatas. Idque contigit cum meritorum tuorum in rem publicam eximia quadam magnitudine tum verborum sententiarumque gravitate. Quod mihi quidem minime novum, qui et te nossem et tuarum litterarum ad me missarum promissa meminissem et haberem a Furnio nostro tua penitus consilia cognita: sed senatui maiora visa sunt quam erant expectata, non quo umquam de tua voluntate dubitasset, sed nec quantum facere posses nec quoad progredi velles exploratum satis habebat. 2. Itaque cum a. d. vii. Idus Apriles mane mihi tuas litteras M. Varisidius reddidisset easque legissem, incredibili gaudio sum elatus, cumque magna multitudo optimorum virorum et civium me de domo deduceret, feci continuo omnes participes meae voluptatis. Interim ad me venit Munatius noster, ut consuerat: at ego ei litteras tuas, nihildum enim sciebat. Nam ad me primum Varisidius, idque sibi a te mandatum esse dicebat. Paullo post idem mihi Munatius eas litteras legendas dedit, quas ipsi miserat, et eas, quas publice. 3. Placuit nobis, ut statim ad Cornutum praetorem urbanum litteras deferremus, qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more maiorum. Senatus est continuo convocatus frequensque convenit propter famam atque expectationem tuarum litterarum. Recitatis litteris oblata religio Cornuto est pullariorum admonitu, non satis dili-

ament ut is frequent in Plautus. H reads *adferat*, which would be quite allowable: cp. Fam. v. 21, 1 (458), *nam tecum esse ita mihi quae opto contingant ut vehementer velim*.

*litteras . . . tuas*] i.e. 832.

*Furnio*] cp. 826, 1. This passage shows that the senate had good grounds for their uncertainty as to the extent of the devotion of Plancus to the state.

2. *M. Varisidius*] cp. 832, 1.

*de domo deduceret*] A distinguished man was generally accompanied from his house on the hills down to the Forum, or the Curia, by a body of his friends, especially young men (Mur. 70). They also sometimes accompanied him home (*reducere*): cp. Sen. 63; Val. Max. ii. 1, 9.

*Munatius*] a relative of Plancus, but

not his brother, who was with Plancus himself in Gaul (848, 2).

*litteras tuas*] sc. *dedi*, a frequent ellipse: cp. Att. xii. 38, 1 (581), and Heidemann, p. 70.

*Varisidius*] sc. *venit*, another common ellipse: cp. Att. ix. 18, 3 (376), and Heidemann, p. 51 ff.

3. *propter famam . . . litterarum*] 'as your letter had been talked about and expected.'

*pullariorum*] Strictly the *pullarii* were the guardians of the sacred chickens, and interpreted omens *ex tripudiis*, i.e. from the motions of the chickens when feeding: cp. Dict. Antiq. i. 250 (ed. 2); but they appear to have trenchoned on the functions of the augurs, being even employed *servare de caelo* for the magistrates, De Div. ii. 74, *iam de caelo servare non ipsos censes*



genter eum auspiciis operam dedisse, idque a nostro collegio comprobatum est. Itaque res dilata est in posterum. Eo autem die magna mihi pro tua dignitate contentio cum Servilio: qui cum gratia effecisset ut sua sententia prima pronuntiaretur, frequens eum senatus reliquit et in alia omnia discessit, meaeque sententiae, quae secunda pronuntiata erat, cum frequenter adsentiretur senatus, rogatu Servilii P. Titius intercessit. 4. Res in posterum dilata. Venit paratus Servilius, Iovi ipsi iniquus, cuius in templo res agebatur. Hunc quem ad modum fregerim quantaque contentione Titium intercessorem abiecerim ex aliorum te litteris malo cognoscere. Unum hoc ex meis: senatus gravior, constantiior, amicioi tuis laudibus esse non potuit, quam tum fuit, nec vero tibi senatus amicioi quam cuncta civitas. Mirabiliter enim populus Romanus universus et omnium generum ordinumque

*solitos qui auspicabantur? nunc imperant pullario; ille renuntiat;* or, perhaps, the name of those diviners who officiated in the *auspicia ex tripudiis* was transferred to those who officiated in other kinds of divination, popular language not regarding nice distinctions of ritual. It would appear that *auspicia ex avibus* were taken prior to the sittings of the senate: cp. App. ii. 116, ἔθος δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσιούσιν οἰωνίζεσθαι προσιοῦσιν; Plin. Paneg. 76, una erat in limine (sc. curiae) mora consultare aves revererique numinum monitus.

*admonitu . . . dedisse]* For a verbal substantive governing a clause Andr. compares 896, 4, *pollicitatione . . . daturum*; Att. xii. 26, 1 (562), *voluntate tua ut simul simus*. Madvig (§ 395) quotes Off. ii. 22, *spe sibi id utile*.

*collegio]* sc. of augurs.

*in posterum]* There is no need to add *diem*: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 3, 2 (102); Att. x. 14, 3 (400).

*Servilio]* Isaurico, who had been consul with Caesar in 706 (48). He appears to have been a personal enemy of Plancus.

*sententia prima]* If, in the course of the debate, several *sententiae* had been delivered, the president had the right of choosing the order in which these different opinions should be submitted to the votes of the house. On this occasion Servilius was able to secure, by private influence, that Cornutus should put his

opinion to the house before that of Cicero: cp. Fam. viii. 13, 2 (271), *nam cum de intercessione referretur . . . primaque M. Marcelli sententia pronuntiata esset qui agendum cum tribunis plebis censebat frequens senatus in alia omnia iit*.

*in alia omnia discessit]* 'voted directly against it': cp. last note. This is the technical expression for voting with the Noes in a division (*discessio*): cp. Fam. i. 2, 1 (96), *frequentes ierunt in alia omnia*, and note.

*P. Titius]* trib. pl.: cp. 861, 3.

4. *Iovi ipsi iniquus]* A proverbial expression for violent and headstrong passion, 'prepared to outstare the lightning': cp. Att. viii. 15, 2 (350), *nec me movet quod scribis Iovi ipsi iniquum* (sc. *Pompeium fore si vicerit*); Plaut. Cas. ii. 5, 15, *negavi ipsi me concessurum Iovi*; also Otto, p. 179. The origin of the proverb does not appear to be known; perhaps it may be referred to the impiety of Capaneus: cp. Aesch. Theb. 428.

*fregerim]* 'crushed': cp. Att. i. 16, 8 (22), *Clodium praesentem fregi in senatu*. *abiecerim]* 'humbled.' Att. i. 18, 3 (24), *senatus auctoritatem abiecit*.

*Unum hoc ex meis]* sc. *litteris te malo cognoscere*.

*senatus]* 'The senate could not have been more dignified, more firm, or more well-disposed towards granting you your honours than it was at that time.'

*generum ordinumque]* 'peoples and ranks.'



consensus ad liberandam rem publicam conspiravit. 5. Perge igitur, ut agis, nomenque tuum commenda immortalitati, atque haec omnia, quae habent speciem gloriae, collecta inanissimis splendoris insignibus, contemne: brevia, fucata, caduca existima. Verum decus in virtute positum est, quae maxime illustratur magnis in rem publicam meritis. Eam facultatem habes maximam; quam quoniam complexus es et tenes, perfice ut ne minus res publica tibi quam tu rei publicae debeas. Me tuae dignitatis non modo fautorem, sed etiam amplificatorem cognosces. Id cum rei publicae, quae mihi vita est mea carior, tum nostrae necessitudini debere me iudico. Atque in his curis, quas contuli ad dignitatem tuam, cepi magnam voluptatem, quod bene cognitam mihi T. Munatii prudentiam et fidem magis etiam perspexi in eius incredibili erga te benevolentia et diligentia. III. Idus Apriles.

*consensus . . . conspiravit*] Andr. compares Ligar. 34, *qui horum consensum conspirantem et paene conflatum in hac prope aequalitate fraterna noverit.*

5. *Perge igitur*] 'Go on then as you are going, and consign your name to eternal remembrance; all these things which have but the semblance of renown, a mere mass of the most empty pomp and pageantry, all these despise; consider them to be short-lived, painted unrealities, sure to fall and fail.' For *commenda immortalitati*, cp. De Orat. ii. 36; Fam. v. 12, 6 (109). For the tone of the latter clause cp. Phil. iv. 13, *nam cum alia omnia falsa incerta sint, caduca mobilia; virtus est una altissimis defixa radicibus.* Lambinus and Wesenberg read *collectam*, but the mss have

*collecta*, which need not be altered. Andr. compares Phil. ii. 3, *gratiam non virtutis spe sed aetatis flore collectam.* Gitlbauer (p. 84) suggests *contecta*, needlessly. We have adopted *fucata* from H Pal, to which the mss tradition leads; *fugatia* (ia in rasura) M; *fugato* (Petrarch's ms teste Victorio); besides, it is certainly the more difficult reading, at least for a copyist, and corresponds very well with *falsa* of the passage from the Philippias.

*maxime illustratur*] 'shines out most clearly.'

*complexus es et tenes*] So H Pal; *complexus es tene* M (but *es* and a letter after *tene* in an erasure).

*amplificatorem*] 'that I am at hand, not merely to favour, but to further your advancement.'

## DCCCXXXIX. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. II. 2).

ROME ; APRIL 11 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

De Planci egregio, de Lepidi inconstanti in rem publicam animo, et de suis cum Servilio in senatu contentionibus, quibus Plancum tandem fregit.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Planci animum in rem publicam egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litteris eius, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perspicere potuisti. Lepidi, tui necessarii, qui secundum fratrem adfines habet quos oderit proximos, levitatem et inconstantiam animumque semper inimicum rei publicae iam credo tibi ex tuorum litteris esse perspectum. 2. Nos exspectatio sollicitat, quae est omnis iam in extremum adducta discrimen. Est enim spes omnis in Bruto expediendo, de quo vehementer timebamus. 3. Ego hic cum homine furioso satis habeo negotii, Servilio, quem tuli diutius quam dignitas mea patiebatur, sed tuli rei publicae

The date is fixed by 839, 1.

1. *litteris*] viz. 833, read in the senate on April 7 (838, 2).

*Lepidi . . . perspectum*] cp. 898, 1. 'The unprincipled and vacillating conduct of your relation Lepidus (who chooses, after his brother, his closest connexions as the special objects of his hate), and his constant hostility to the free state, I now believe you thoroughly perceive from the letters of your friends.' The brother of Lepidus was Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 704 (50). They appear to have been already on bad terms: cp. Att. xiv. 8, 1 (710). Paullus voted afterwards for the outlawry of Lepidus, and was accordingly proscribed by the triumvirs. He fled to M. Brutus, and never returned to Rome. For *secundum*, cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 18 (148), *ille mihi secundum te et liberos nostros ita est ut sit paene par*; also Att. xii. 15 (547). The very severe judgment here passed on Lepidus expressed probably Cicero's real opinion of the man, even at this time, and was justified by his subsequent conduct. In 705 (49) Cicero had roundly spoken of him as *iste omnium turpissimus et sordidissimus*: cp. Att. ix. 9, 3 (364). His want of principle was notorious; D.

Brutus styles him *homo ventosissimus* (847, 1); and Lepidus himself knew that he was not in very good odour (876, 3). Cicero's letter (827) of March 20th to him is cold enough, and even publicly, in Phil. xiii. 13, 14, Cicero had spoken severely (cp. *atque etiam hoc M. Lepido providendum est ne quid arrogantius quam eius mores ferunt facere videatur*) against the threats which Lepidus used when he urged that peace should be made with Antony (*si enim nos exercitu terret*).

2. *in extremum . . . discrimen*] cp. 836, 1.

3. *Servilio*] He had been consul in 706 (48) with Julius Caesar. It is instructive to compare the account of the proceedings of the senate as they are related in this section, and in a letter to Plancus (838). In the latter epistle, addressed to a Caesarian, there is naturally no mention of the great effect produced by the account of the successes of Cassius; the whole narration has reference to the manner in which the cause of Plancus was supported by Cicero. Ruete (p. 74) notices that in the whole correspondence between Plancus and Cicero, neither Cassius nor Brutus is ever mentioned.

causa, ne darem perditis civibus hominem, parum sanum illum quidem, sed tamen nobilem, quo concurrerent, quod faciunt nihilo minus, sed cum alienandum a re publica non putabam. Finem feci eius ferendi. Coeperat enim esse tanta insolentia, ut neminem liberum duceret. In Planci vero causa exarsit incredibili dolore, mecumque per biduum ita contendit et a me ita fractus est, ut eum in perpetuum modestiorem sperem fore. Atque in hac contentione ipsa, cum maxime res ageretur, a. d. v. Idus Apriles litterae mihi in senatu redditae sunt a Lentulo nostro de Cassio, de legionibus, de Syria: quas statim cum recitavissem, cecidit Servilius, complures praeterea: sunt enim insignes aliquot, qui improbissime sentiunt, sed acerbissime tulit Servilius adsensum esse mihi de Planco. Magnum illud monstrum in re publica est; sed quo . . .

*quo concurrerent*] 'as a centre to rally round.' Quo is an adverb. For *concurrere* cp. 818, 1; Phil. v. 29.

*Coeperat . . . duceret*] 'for he began to show such arrogance as to treat everyone like a slave.'

*In Planci . . . fore*] 'But in the case of Plancus, mortified as he was past belief, he burst out at me; but, after a contest of two days, was so crushed by me that I trust he will be more quiet for the rest of his life.'

*biduum*] The first day (April 7th) the meeting was put off *pullariorum admonitu*. The next day there was an animated debate, which was terminated by the veto of Titius. The following day Servilius appears to have been finally crushed (838, 3, 4).

*eum maxime res ageretur*] 'at the very time when the debate was going on.'

*Lentulo nostro*] We have two letters and a postscript preserved which were written by this Lentulus, quaestor of Trebonius, a few months later (882, 883, 891). The letter which arrived on April 9 is not extant, but it, doubtless, contained a full record of the services which Lentulus had rendered to Cassius, on which he appears to have laid great stress: cp. 883, 6, *solus Cassio et rei p. Syriam exercitusque qui ibi erant coniuncti*. Cassius seems to have got footing in Syria during the latter part of February: certainly on March 7 he was at the head of many legions at Tarichea (822, 1).

*insignes*] 'eminent men,' 'men of note': cp. Bell. Gall. viii. 42, 5, *ita quam*

*quisque poterat maxime insignis . . . telis hostium se offerebat*; Tac. Ann. xi. 19. Post red. in Sen. 28, *equis insignibus reportati*; Phil. xi. 10, *insignes latrones*. Generally *insignis*, when used of animate objects, has the characteristic in which the person or animal is distinguished added (Legg. iii. 19; Rabir. 24). Wessenberg wishes to read *sentiant*, 'distinguished in expressing most scandalous opinions.'

*sed quo . . .*] The rest of this letter has been lost: some editors think a whole sheet of the archetype, some merely a line or two. The next two sheets in the archetype have been transposed. The following letters of Brut. ii. appear in the mss to be arranged thus:—

iii. and iv. *sed quo nos amisisse* (837, 5) down to *non erit* (840, 3).

v. *Litteras tuas* (837, 1) down to *Asiam* (837, 5), after which immediately follows *at in Asiam . . . aeturus* (840, 3).

vi. *Quod egere* (840, 4) down to *diligi* (840, 6).

vii. Ep. 842.

We can thus judge of the length of a sheet of the archetype, about 27 lines of this edition. We have seen that a similar transposition of sheets occurred in the archetype of the Epp. ad Q. Fr. ii. Any disorder found in the Letters to Brutus is of a merely mechanical nature, as has been demonstrated by Gurlitt, who has written most valuable and convincing articles on *Die Archetypus der Brutus-briefe* in Jahrb. für Klass. Philol., 1885 and 1892.

## DCCCXL. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. II. 4 = 4 AND 6).

ROME; APRIL 12; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Respondet Cicero Bruti litteris de Cassii et Dolabellae rebus in Asia et de Antonio sententiam scribit; idem respondet Bruto de supplemento et pecunia sollicita, de Cassii rebus evulgandis et de filii sui laudibus.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Datis mane a. d. III. Id. April. Scaptio litteris, eodem die tuas accepi Kal. April. Dyrrhachio datas vesperi. Itaque mane prid. Id. Apr. cum a Scaptio certior factus essem non esse eos profectos, quibus pridie dederam, et statim ire, hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinae salutationis. 2. De Cassio laetor et rei publicae gratulor, mihi etiam, qui repugnante et irascente Pansa sententiam dixerim, ut Dolabellam bello Cassius persequeretur. Et quidem audacter dicebam sine nostro senatus consulto iam illud eum bellum gerere. De te etiam dixi tum quae dicenda putavi. Haec ad te oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris. 3. Quod me de Antonio consulis, quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ex iis litteris, quas mihi misisti, Dolabella Asiam vexare videtur et in ea se gerere teterrime. Compluribus autem scripsisti Dolabellam a Rhodiis esse exclusum, qui si ad Rhodum accessit, videtur mihi

1. *Datis . . . litteris*] i.e. 839. Brutus had two agents of the name of Scaptius, one in Cilicia, the other in Cappadocia: cp. note to Att. vi. 1, 4 (252); perhaps they were brothers. Cp. also 915, 1.

III. *Id.*] Cratander's ed. has *VI.*, a date which is shown to be wrong both from *prid. Id.* following, and from the fact that it would be almost impossible for a letter to reach Rome from Dyrrhachium in 7½ days. The usual time was from 10 to 12 days. For the confusion between V. and II. in mss cp. note to 842, 5.

*tuas*] i.e. 837.

*paullulum*] This epistle is a fairly long one; but we too often begin a letter with 'just a line' and yet prolong it to more than one sheet of paper. For similar excuses for the shortness of a letter which

afterwards extends to considerable length: cp. Att. i. 14, 1 (20); xi. 17, 1 (432); Fam. iii. 7, 1 (244); 8, 1 (222).

2. *ut . . . Cassius persequeretur*] cp. Phil. xi. 29 ff. For the alliteration *Dolabellam bello* cp. 843, 4; 852, 1.

*De te . . . putavi*] What Cicero said (Phil. xi. 26 ff) was that Brutus was sufficiently occupied in defending Macedonia against C. Antonius, and that the actions against Dolabella should be conducted by Cassius. *Haec oratio* is Phil. xi.

3. *Dolabellam . . . exclusum*] This was an utterly false report: see the letters of Lentulus (882, 2-4; 883, 2-3) which show that the Rhodians sided with Dolabella. But the distance between Rhodes and Dyrrhachium was sufficiently great to admit of false rumours arising; and



Asiam reliquisse. Id si ita est, istic tibi censeo commorandum : sin eam semel cepit, mihi crede, non erit, at in Asiam censeo persequendum : nihil mihi videris hoc tempore melius acturus.

4. Quod egere te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento et pecunia, difficile consilium est. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te posse videam praeter illas, quas senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De supplemento autem non video quid fieri possit. Tantum enim abest ut Pansa de exercitu suo aut dilectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleste ferat tam multos ad te ire voluntarios, quo modo equidem credo, quod iis rebus, quae in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas esse arbitretur, quo modo autem multi suspicantur, *quod* ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit, quod ego non suspicor.

5. Quod scribis te ad Tertiam sororem *et matrem* scripsisse, ut ne

Ruete (p. 76) points out that in 710 (44) many false rumours of Antony's actions at Brundisium were rife at Puteoli (cp. 805, 1). Also in 705 (49) there were false reports as to the departure of Pompey and the consuls for Greece: cp. vol. iv. p. xxxi.

*non erit*] Understand *commorandum* from the previous line. For an ellipse after *crede* cp. 880, 1, *nolo te ignorare quantam laudem consecutus sis; mihi crede proximam Planco*. Cratander's ms has after *erit* the words *Id. April.*, which we have omitted with Ruete (p. 76). O. E. Schmidt (Jahrb., 1890, p. 109) thinks that these words (or rather *prid. Id. April.*) should be retained, and that they mark the end of a letter. He supposes that a whole leaf of the archetype has been lost containing the beginning of a new letter of which the conclusion is *at in Asiam . . . diligi*. As the words *at in Asiam . . . acturus* fit in so exactly with the sense of the preceding clause we have thought it advisable to adhere to the arrangement of Wesenberg. Schmidt, of course, supposes that Brut. ii. consists of 6, not of 5, letters.

*persequendum*] In Phil. x. 26 (delivered towards the end of February or beginning of March), Cicero had proposed that Brutus should defend Macedonia Illyricum and Greece, remaining close to Italy; for at that time C. Antonius was the most dangerous opponent of the state in those quarters, and news of the violent outbreaks of Dolabella had not yet reached

Rome. But now in April things had changed. C. Antonius was a prisoner, Macedonia and Greece were quite secure, but there was imminent danger of Dolabella's being able to acquire considerable power in Western Asia Minor. This had to be prevented even if Brutus were compelled to leave that part of Greece which was near Italy. It certainly seems strange that Cicero should advise this, when an engagement in North Italy was expected every day; but it would be fatal to allow Dolabella to consolidate a power in Asia. Cicero may have considered that a very serious defeat at Mutina was unlikely; and, even if a defeat were sustained, that Pollio, Plancus and perhaps Lepidus would be able sufficiently to defend Italy. Later on, at the end of May, when the unsteadfastness of Lepidus was becoming more certain, Cicero begins to express an opinion that Brutus should be recalled (886, 2).

4. *ut pecunias . . . mutuas sumeres*] cp. Phil. x. 26, *pecuniamque ad rem militarem, si qua opus sit, quae publica sit et exigi possit, utatur, exigat pecuniasque a quibus videatur ad rem militarem mutuas sumat, frumentumque imperet*. Cicero writes to the same effect to Cornificius (828, 2).

*quod ego non suspicor*] Cicero was always inclined to take the most charitable view of people's conduct: cp. Att. i. 16, 12 (22), *quod ego non credo*.

5. *et matrem*] So Wesenberg adds from 837, 3.



prius ederent ea, quae gesta a Cassio essent, quam mihi visum esset, video te veritum esse id, quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Caesaris, quomodo etiam nunc partes appellantur, vehementer commoverentur. Sed ante quam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat et pervulgata, tui etiam tabellarii ad multos familiares tuos litteras attulerant. Qua re neque suppressenda res erat, praesertim cum id fieri non posset, neque, si posset, non divulgandam potius quam occultandam putaremus. 6. De Cicerone meo et, si tantum est in eo, quantum scribis, tantum scilicet, quantum debeo, gaudeo, et si, quod amas eum, eo maiora facis, id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum diligere.

## DCCCXLI. GALBA TO CICERO (FAM. X. 30).

CAMP AT MUTINA; APRIL 15; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Ser. Galba, nepos Ser. Galbae oratoris, de proelio exponit ad Mutinam facto victoriaque de M. Antonio relata.

## GALBA CICERONI S.

1. A. d. xviii. Kal. Maias, quo die Pansa in castris Hirtii erat futurus, cum quo ego eram—nam ei obviam processeram

*ne animi partium . . . commoverentur*] The senate had a certain amount of fear lest Brutus and Cassius should acquire too great military power and become dangerous to the state (Phil. x. 14, 15; xi. 36 ff.). For *animi partium* cp. Fam. viii. 14, 1 (280), *ex partium sensu*; Phil. v. 32, *partium contentio*; for *partes Caesaris* cp. note to 890, 1.

*quomodo . . . appellantur*] 'as even still the party is called'; that is, even though Caesar is dead, the party is still called 'the party of Caesar.' For this use of *quomodo* cp. De Orat. ii. 18; Fam. vii. 5, 3 (134). This interpretation has more point than the view that the meaning merely is that Antony's following should be called *hostes* rather than *partes*: cp. Phil. xiii. 39, *partes, furiose, dicuntur in foro, in curia; bellum contra patriam nefarium suscepisti*; 47, *quod si partium certamen esset, quarum omnino nomen extinctum est Antoniusne potius et Ventidius partes Caesaris defenderent.*

*tui etiam tabellarii*] i.e. your messen-

gers had spread the news as well as the letter of Lentulus: cp. 839, 3. This use of *etiam* would show that the letter of Lentulus was the primary authority.

*suppressenda*] cp. Liv. iii. 55, 13, *quae senatusconsulta . . . supprimebantur vitabanturque*. Cicero often (e.g. Clu. 68, 99) uses *supprimere* in the sense of 'to embezzle.'

*neque, si posset, non divulgandam*] We must consider *neque . . . non* equivalent to *et*.

6. *De Cicerone . . . diligere*] cp. 837, 5. *et si . . . facis*] 'and if because you love him you make more of what he has done' (than you would otherwise do).

For Galba see Introduction. There is an elaborate section on the language of Galba in a Würzburg Programme by Dr. Hermann Hellmuth, entitled *Über die Sprache der Epistolographen S. Sulpicius Galba und L. Cornelius Balbus* (1888).

1. *A. d. xviii. Kal. Maias*] The mss MH have *xvii.* in the text, and M also in

millia passus centum, quo maturius veniret—, Antonius legiones eduxit duas, secundam et quintam tricensimam et cohortes praetorias duas, unam suam, alteram Silani, et evocatorum partem. Ita obviam venit nobis, quod nos quattuor legiones tironum habere solum arbitrabatur. Sed noctu, quo tutius venire in castra potuissemus, legionem Martiam, cui ego praeesse solebam, et duas cohortes praetorias miserat Hirtius nobis. 2. Cum equites Antonii apparuissent, contineri neque legio Martia neque cohortes prae-

the Index. But Ovid (Fast. iv. 625–7) so circumstantially states the date of the battle as the day after the Ides, that we must suppose there was in the archetype of the Letters the slight error, xvii. for xviii. Mommsen (Hermes xvii. 636) appears to hold that the battle lasted two days. But surely, if so, Galba would have given some hint of it.

*cum quo*] sc. Pansa. For the antecedent not being the nearest subject cp. 895, 6, *cuius ipsius* refers to *Caesar*, not to *exercitus*; Att. x. 8, 9 (392), *cuius* refers to *Tullia*, not to *ego*; Tusc. i. 3, *qui* refers to *Livius*, not to *Emmius*, where, however, see Kühner: cp. also Hellmuth, p. 16.

*millia passus*] cp. note to 872, 1. *centum*] Galba had perhaps been sent to the top of the pass of the Apennines, on the Via Cassia, by which road Pansa was advancing. It is strange that Galba mentions no town. Possibly we should read L (50) for C (100): that would give us a spot between Bononia and Faesulae, and there is no town between these two places.

*quintam tricensimam*] According to normal usage *et* should be added; but it might have caused ambiguity, and the omission can be paralleled from the Letters, e.g. 825, 1, where see note; Fam. xv. 4, 10 (238); Att. v. 19, 1 (200), quoted by Hellmuth, p. 12.

*cohortes praetorias*] cp. Dict. Antiq. i3, p. 791.

*Silani*] M. Junius Silanus was son of D. Silanus and Servilia, mother of M. Brutus. He deserted Lepidus for Antony, but, as he afterwards rejoined Lepidus (869, 2), he most probably played the deserter at the order of Lepidus. Afterwards he quarrelled with the triumvirs, and fled to Sextus Pompeius, but returned to Rome at the Peace of Misenum, 715 (39), and held the consulship with Octavian in 729 (25): cp. Vell. ii. 77.

*evocatorum*] cp. vol. III. Addendum v., p. 301.

*Ita*] 'with this force.'—(Jeans).

*solum*] This adverb is rarely found with numerals, yet cp. Att. xvi. 4, 2 (771); Fam. iv. 9, 1 (487); Leg. Agr. ii. 87; De Legg. i. 53, quoted by Hellmuth (p. 15), who also notices the strange position of *solum* in the sentence, and compares Nep. Hannib. 10, 5, *praecipit omnes ut . . . a ceteris tantum satis habeant se defendere*.

*potuissemus*] With some hesitation we have retained this, the ms reading (*possuissemus* M: *potuissemus* H Pal). The pluperfect indicative is occasionally found for the imperfect indicative in the classical period, e.g. Orat. 101; Kritz on Sall. 37, 1 (but yet cp. Reisig Vorlesungen iii. 358 ff., ed. Schmalz-Landgraf, especially note 456); but the pluperfect subjunctive for the imperfect subjunctive appears to be first found in Apuleius. Still, recollecting that this letter is by Galba, and not by Cicero, we think it more probable that the usage was a colloquialism in Galba's time, and its not being found in literature before Apuleius is an accident, than that the mss are in error. Hellmuth (p. 18), however, agrees with Mendelssohn in reading *potis essemus*. In Att. iv. 13, 1 (130); xiii. 38, 1 (658) M reads *pote*.

*cui ego praeesse solebam*] Appian (iii. 66), in his account of this battle, states that D. Carsuleius (as he calls Carfulenus) was on this occasion in command of the Martian legion. It is noticeable that Galba makes no mention of Carfulenus.

*duas cohortes praetorias*] sc. those of Octavian (§ 4) and Hirtius.

2. *contineri*] The Martian legion was especially indignant with Antony, on account of his having executed several of their centurions at Brundisium; and, as they had deserted Antony at Alba, they

toriae potuerunt: quas sequi coepimus coacti, quoniam retinere eas non potueramus. Antonius ad Forum Gallorum suas copias continebat, neque sciri volebat se legiones habere: tantum equitatum et levem armaturam ostendebat. Postea quam vidit se invito legionem ire Pansa, sequi se duas legiones iussit tironum. Postea quam angustias paludis et silvarum transiimus, acies est instructa a nobis duodecim cohortium. 3. Nondum venerant legiones duae: repente Antonius in aciem suas copias de vico produxit et sine mora concurrit. Primo ita pugnatum est, ut acrius non posset ex utraque parte pugnari: etsi dexterius cornu, in quo ego eram cum Martiae legionis cohortibus octo, impetu primo fugaverat legionem xxxv. Antonii, ut amplius passus D. ultra aciem, quo loco steterat, processerit. Itaque cum equites nostrum cornum circumire vellent, recipere me coepi et levem arma-

expected no quarter, and fought with desperation. Cicero (Phil. xiv. 26) states that were it not for this over-eagerness on the part of the Martian legion to engage Antony, the latter would have been defeated even before the arrival of Hirtius. Of Pansa and the Martian legion, he says *dignus imperator legione Martia, digna legio imperatore*.

*Forum Gallorum*] now Castel Franco, about ten miles south-east of Mutina, on the Aemilian road. Just here the high road ran through a marshy country, after issuing from a defile, consisting of woods and swamps: cp. Frontin. Strat. ii. 5, 39, *per silvestria Aemiliae viae*.

*Postea quam*] Note that two sentences which follow one another begin with this word. Even such an excellent writer as Caesar begins (B. G. i. 3, 2) two sentences one after the other with *ad eas res conficiendas*.

*duas legiones . . . tironum*] Pansa had with him four legions of recruits (§ 1). Two were left in the rear with the quaestor Torquatus (App. iii. 69) to guard the camp where Pansa had rested during the previous night.

*duodecim cohortium*] The ten cohorts of the Martian legion and the two praetorian cohorts.

3. *legiones duae*] i.e. the recruits.

*concurrit*] The battle was divided into three divisions. On the right wing, facing north-west, in the swampy ground to the right of the road, Carfulenus and Galba, with eight cohorts of the Martian

legion, stood opposed to the 35th legion of Antony. On the left wing the remaining two cohorts of the Martian legion and the praetorian cohort of Hirtius were opposed to the 2nd legion. Separating the two wings, and preventing one from seeing the other, was the raised Aemilian highway, on which the praetorian cohort of Octavian engaged in unequal conflict with the praetorian cohorts of Antony and Silanus.

*etsi*] The sense is: (the whole battle was vigorously fought) though at first our wing routed the enemy.

*dexterius*] Andr. compares Ovid, Met. ii. 138, for this double comparative form. It first occurs in Varro, L. L. ix. 27, 34, and frequently after him: see Neue ii<sup>3</sup>. 187.

D] We add this numeral from H; it is omitted in M.

*processerit*] For this unusual sequence of tenses after a perfect or pluperfect tense, Andr. compares Att. ii. 16, 1 (43), *ita me pupugit ut somnum mihi ademerit*; iv. 3, 3 (92), *adduxerit*; Liv. xxii. 6, 6: see Roby, § 1516. It is especially common in negative sentences: cp. 823, 1; Fam. i. 1, 2 (95); Verr. v. 27.

*cornum*] so M; *cornu* H Pal. We have retained *cornum*, as it is found in Lucr. ii. 388, and elsewhere.

*circumire*] Watson suggests that the 35th legion may have permitted itself to be driven back, in order to allow the cavalry to cut off the pursuing Martian legion from the rest of Pansa's army.

turam opponere Maurorum equitibus, ne aversos nostros aggredirentur. Interim video me esse inter Antonianos Antoniumque post me esse aliquanto. Repente equum immisi ad eam legionem tironum, quae veniebat ex castris, scuto reiecto. Antoniani me insequi; nostri pila coicere velle. Ita nescio quo fato sum servatus, quod sum cito a nostris cognitus. 4. In ipsa Aemilia, ubi cohors Caesaris praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est. Cornu sinisterius, quod erat infirmius, ubi Martiae legionis duae cohortes erant et cohors praetoria, pedem referre coeperunt, quod ab equitatu circumibantur, quo vel plurimum valet Antonius. Cum omnes se recepissent nostri ordines, recipere me novissimus coepi ad castra. Antonius tamquam victor castra putavit se posse capere. Quo cum venit, complures ibi amisit nec egit quicquam. Audita re Hirtius cum cohortibus viginti veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua

He also supposes that the Moorish cavalry had been levied by Caesar for his expedition against the Parthians. In their deserts, and against their famous cavalry, such a force would have been extremely useful.

*Repente . . . cognitus*] 'Suddenly I put my horse at full gallop towards that legion of recruits which was coming up from the camp, and threw my shield behind me [partly to show that he was a friend, partly to protect himself from the missiles of the enemy]. The Antonians pursued me; our men wanted to hurl their javelins; in this plight, by some special providence, I was saved, because I was quickly recognized by our soldiers.' *Insequi, velle*, are historical infinitives. For *ita* cp. § 1.

4. *cohors praetoria*] We think that there should be some word to distinguish this cohort from that of Caesar, and suggest that possibly *altera* fell out after *praetoria*, or *Hirtii* after *cohors*.

*coeperunt*] It is rare to find the plural after a collective noun which is applied to an organized whole; it is quite common after collectives which are applied to an unorganized mass, like *pars*, *vis*, *multitudo*. Here, however, the left wing is regarded (as the parenthesis *ubi . . . cohors* shows), as consisting of three cohorts (Hellmuth, p. 13). It is noticeable that Galba uses the circumlocution of *coepi* with infinitive no less than four times in this letter.

*quo . . . Antonius*] 'in which arm Antony was quite distinctly the stronger.' *novissimus*] see note to Fam. xi. 1, 3 (700).

*tamquam victor*] 'supposing himself victor.'

*Quo cum venit*] *Venisset* would have been more normal, as the actions of the two clauses are not strictly simultaneous, in which case the perfect indicative with *cum* would have been allowable: cp. 883, 8, *filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui*; Caes. B. G. vi. 12, 1, *Cum Caesar in Galliam venit alterius factionis principes erant Aedui*. But Galba, as Hellmuth (p. 19) observes, writes with great conciseness and rapidity of the events in which he was not concerned himself, and accordingly, we have him here virtually saying, 'and no sooner did he come there than he lost a number of soldiers, and effected nothing.'

*nec egit quicquam*] Appian (iii. 69) says that the Martians stood outside the camp, fearing to be reproached with having fled from the enemy; and fatigued though they were, determined to resist to the death any attack. Antony kept aloof from these, as they were sturdy warriors (*ὡς ἐπιτόνων*, lit. 'able to endure toil'), but dealt great slaughter among the recruits. Throughout his whole account of the war at Mutina Appian's bias is very much against the senate's side, and in favour of Antony.

*cohortibus viginti*] i.e. the 4th legion,



castra occurrit copiasque eius omnes delevit fugavit eodemque loco, ubi erat pugnatum, ad Forum Gallorum. Antonius cum equitibus hora noctis quarta se in castra sua ad Mutinam recepit. 5. Hirtius in ea castra redit, unde Pansa exierat, ubi duas legiones reliquerat, quae ab Antonio erant oppugnatae. Sic partem maiorem suarum copiarum Antonius amisit veteranarum. Nec id tamen sine aliqua iactura cohortium praetoriarum nostrarum et legionis Martiae fieri potuit. Aquilae duae, signa sexaginta sunt relata Antonii. Res bene gesta est. A. d. xvii. Kalendas Maias ex castris.

which had deserted from Antony at the end of the preceding year, and the 7th legion. The latter consisted of veterans recalled to arms: cp. Phil. xiv. 27 (Watson).

*delevit fugavit*] Watson notices that the first word refers to the infantry, the second to the cavalry. For the asyndeton cp. the narrative of the same events, Phil. xiv. 27, *prostravit, fudit, occidit*; 37, *profigavit, occiderit*.

*eodemque loco*] 'and in the same place too.' It is more glorious (says Wölfflin cp. Hellmuth, p. 21) to defeat the enemy on the original field of battle than in flight, or in a subsequent engagement elsewhere. Wesenberg ingeniously, but unnecessarily, supplies <*eodem die*> *eodemque loco*, comparing Phil. xiv. 25, *unius autem diei quot et quantae fuerunt virtutes*; 28, *ita trium imperatorum virtute consilio felicitate uno die locis pluribus res publica est conservata*. The three generals referred to in this latter passage are Pansa, Hirtius, and Octavian. The latter repulsed an attack made by L. Antonius on the camp of Hirtius at Mutina (Phil. xiv. 37). After the battle all three generals were saluted as *imperatores* by the army (Dio Cass. xlv. 38, 1). This was the first time on which Octavian received the title, and it is accordingly noted in the Feriale Cumanum, C. I. L. x. 8375, [*xviii. K. Mai. eo die Caesar primum vicit Supplicatio Victoriae Augustae. xvii. K. Mai. eo die Caesar primum imperator appellatus est Supplicatio Felicitati Imperi*]. Subsequently he was proclaimed *Imperator* twenty times.

*quarta*] about 10 p.m.

*5. redit*] So the mss. For the historical present appearing with past tenses in narrative, cp. Dräger i. 230-1, who quotes, among many other passages, Caes. B. G. i. 46, 2, *Caesar loquendi finem facit seque ad suos recepit*.

*partem maiorem*] The fifth legion does not appear to have engaged at all in the battle of Forum Gallorum, though Cicero implies that it did (Phil. xiv. 27, *cum tribus Antonii legionibus*). It played a vigorous part twelve days later at the battle of Mutina: cp. 890, 4.

*Aquilae*] standards of the legions; *signa*, ensigns of the maniples: cp. Dict. Antiq. iii. 672. There were 30 maniples in each legion; so, if Galba is to be believed, *all* the standards of Antony's two legions were captured.

*Res bene gesta est*] 'It was a victory for us,' 'we won the day.' πολλὴ ἐκράτησεν, Dio Cass. xlv. 37, 7.

*A. d. xvii. Kalendas Maias*] The mss give *a. d. xii*. Though accepted by Lange (R. A. iii. 533, note 14), this is quite impossible. Galba obviously wrote the day after the battle, otherwise he would have mentioned events which took place later than the night after the battle, especially the wound which Pansa received. Of this he probably knew nothing on the day after the battle, as Pansa had been brought to Bononia, but he cannot have been ignorant of it much longer. Besides, this date (April 16) will admit of Cicero's having received the letter before he delivered Phil. xiv. (April 22): cp. §§ 26, 27, of that speech.



## DCCCXLII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. II. 5).

ROME; APRIL 14; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero de tota belli constitutione quid sentiat perscribit et Brutum ad maiorem severitatem rei p. causa excitat.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Quae litterae tuo nomine recitatae sint Id. April. in senatu eodemque tempore Antonii, credo ad te scripsisse tuos, quorum ego nemini concedo; sed nihil necesse erat eadem omnes, illud necesse me ad te scribere, quid sentirem tota de constitutione huius belli et quo iudicio essem quaque sententia. Voluntas mea, Brute, de summa re publica semper eadem fuit, quae tua, ratio quibusdam in rebus—non enim omnibus—paullo fortasse vehementior. Scis mihi semper placuisse non rege solum, sed regno liberari rem publicam: tu lenius, immortalis omnino cum tua laude, sed, quid melius fuerit, magno dolore sensimus, magno periculo sentimus. Recenti illo tempore tu omnia ad pacem, quae oratione confici non poterat, ego omnia ad libertatem, quae sine pace nulla est, pacem ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar: studia non deerant arma poscentium, quorum repressimus impetum

1. *tuo nomine*] 'from you,' a phrase used generally of messages sent by a second person: cp. Att. i. 16, 16 (22); iii. 15, 8 (73).

*tuos*] 'your friends, and I yield to none of them in being your friend.'

*constitutione*] 'nature.' For this meaning Ruete (p. 106) compares De Inv. i. 10, *eam igitur quaestionem, ex qua causa nascitur, constitutionem appellamus . . . eum qualis res sit quaeritur quia et de vi et de genere negotii controversia est, constitutio generalis vocatur*. That Cicero was fond of rare words in -io is shown at length by Stinner (pp. 7 ff.) and Streng (p. 114).

*et quo iudicio essem quaque sententia*] 'and what judgments I express and motions I bring forward.' If a distinction is to be made, *quid sentiam* = my real

sentiments, *quo iudicio* = my expressed opinions, *qua sententia* = my motions in the senate. That Cicero's expressed opinions were not necessarily his real ones see § 5, *tuam sententiam defendam, non relinquam meam*.

*lenius*] i.e. you judged; that Antonius should not be put to death with Caesar: cp. Shakespeare, Jul. Caes. ii. 1, 162:—

*Cass.* Let Antony and Caesar fall together.

*Brut.* Our course will seem too bloody,

Caius Cassius,

To cut the head off and then hack the limbs,  
Like wrath in death and envy afterwards;

For Antony is but a limb of Caesar:

Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers, Caius.

*tu omnia ad pacem*] sc. *referabas*. This is a somewhat harsh ellipse, yet cp. Att. iv. 17, 3 (149), *res ad senatum*, sc. *refertur*; v. 2, 4 (187).

ardoremque restinximus. 2. Itaque res in eum locum venerat, ut, nisi Caesari Octaviano deus quidam illam mentem dedisset, in potestatem perditissimi hominis et turpissimi M. Antonii veniendum fuerit, quocum vides hoc tempore ipso quod sit quantumque certamen: id profecto nullum esset, nisi tum conservatus esset Antonius. Sed haec omitto: res enim a te gesta memorabilis et paene caelestis repellit omnes reprehensiones, quippe quae ne laude quidem satis idonea affici possit. Exstitisti nuper vultu severo; exercitum, copias, legiones idoneas per te brevi tempore comparasti: di immortales! qui ille nuntius, quae illae litterae, quae laetitia senatus, quae alacritas civitatis erat! nihil umquam vidi tam omnium consensione laudatum. Erat expectatio reliquiarum Antonii, quem equitatu legionibusque magna ex parte spoliaras: ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem; nam tuae litterae, quae recitatae in senatu sunt, et imperatoris et militum virtutem et industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei, declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his litteris referri et nisi in tempus turbulentis-

2. nisi . . . dedisset] cp. Phil. v. 43, *quis tum nobis quis populo Romano obtulit hanc divinum adolescentem deus*: xiii. 18. The reference is to Octavian's raising of forces, and marching to the defence of Rome in November 44: cp. Phil. iii. 3-6.

*repellit omnes reprehensiones*] Streng (p. 116) thinks that possibly Cicero is translating the Greek verse quoted by him, Att. xiv. 22, 2 (729), ἄλλοις ἐν ἐσθλοῖς τόνδ' ἀπωθύνται φόγον.

*affici*] 'greeted with sufficient laudations': cp. 825, 2, *te . . . honoribus amplissimis affectum*.

*vultu severo*] cp. Att. xiv. 20, 5 (727), *non te Bruti nostri vulticulus ab ista oratione deterret*; xv. 12, 1 (745), *noster vero καὶ μάλα σεμνὸς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ*.

*qui ille nuntius*] This was the first despatch which Brutus sent: it announced the blockade of C. Antonius in Apollonia, and was the occasion of Phil. x.

*Erat . . . Antonii*] 'We were in expectation of news concerning the remnants of the forces of Antonius.'

*nam tuae litterae*] This was the second despatch: it announced the capture of C. Antonius.

*Ciceronis mei*] Plutarch (Brut. 26) relates that prior to his blockade, C. Antonius had attempted to seize some

forts near Byllis, but was routed in a pitched battle by young Cicero. Brutus probably did not mention those who had distinguished themselves in the campaign against C. Antonius until he wrote the official account of its successful result.

*tempus turbulentissimum*] Pansa left Rome on March 19, on the evening of which day the letter of Brutus arrived. On that day that letter was read along with the letter of Lepidus advocating peace. On the subject of this letter Cicero delivered Phil. xiii., strongly opposing any negotiations for peace. The letter of Plancus advocating peace does not appear to have been read until after the delivery of Phil. xiii.: cp. § 16, where Plancus is represented as having large forces to fight with: Schmidt, Cass. p. 31, note 1. The speech was so earnestly directed against any peace proposals that it only incidentally mentions the capture of C. Antonius (§§ 30, 32). In the letters written by Cicero on March 20, viz. 826 to Plancus, 827 to Lepidus, no mention of the capture of C. Antonius is made, partly because Cicero had enough to say in censuring them for their peace proposals, and partly because, as Caesarians, they could not be very much pleased at any signal success gained by Brutus: cp. introductory note to 826.

simum post discessum Pansae consulis incidissent, honos quoque iustus et debitus dis immortalibus decretus esset. 3. Ecce tibi Idib. April. advolat mane Celer Pilius, qui vir, di boni, quam gravis, quam constans, quam bonarum in re publica partium! hic epistolas adfert duas, unam tuo nomine, alteram Antonii; dat Servilio tribuno plebis, ille Cornuto: recitantur in senatu. ANTONIVS PROCOS.: magna admiratio, ut si esset recitatum DOLABELLA IMPERATOR, a quo quidem venerant tabellarii, sed nemo Pili similis, qui proferre litteras auderet aut magistratibus reddere. Tuae recitantur, breves illae quidem, sed in Antonium admodum lenes: vehementer admiratus senatus; mihi autem non erat explicatum, quid agerem: falsas dicerem? quid, si tu eas approbasses? confirmarem? non erit dignitatis tuae. 4. Itaque ille dies silentio; postridie autem, cum sermo increbuisse Piliusque oculos vehementius hominum offendisset, natum omnino est prin-

*incidissent*] cp. Fam. ii. 3, 1 (169); iii. 9, 4 (249).

3. *Ecce tibi*] Streng (p. 118) notes that in rapid narratives and accounts of proceedings in the senate Cicero is fond of short sentences and of an elliptical style, as here: cp. Att. iv. 3, 3-4 (92); 15, 4-6 (143); 17, 2-3 (149); Q. Fr. ii. 3, 2 (102).

*Celer Pilius*] This is the brilliant emendation of Ruete (80-81). We read of a partisan of Caesar's called *Celer*, Att. xi. 4, 1 (413), *Hic tua ut possum tutor apud nos* (sc. the Pompeians), *cetera* (i.e. your affairs with the Caesarians) *Celer*: xii. 8 (501), *scribe quaeso quid referat Celer egisse Caesarem cum candidatis*. He was also a friend or relation of Atticus: cp. Att. x. 1, 4 (378), *Celer tuus disertus magis est quam sapiens*. Again, there is a *Q. Pilius qui erat iam ad Caesarem profectus*, Att. iv. 18, 5 (154), who was a relation of Atticus (he was his father-in-law): cp. Fam. viii. 8, 2 (223), *Q. Pilius necessarius Attici nostri*, and Att. vi. 3, 10 (264). There can be no doubt, accordingly, that the father-in-law of Atticus was called *Q. Pilius Celer*, and that he was a partisan of Caesar's; and it is most probable that he is the very man alluded to here.

*quam bonarum . . . partium*] ironical.

*Cornuto*] the praetor, for there was no consul: cp. 838, 3.

PROCOS.] In February the province of Macedonia had been consigned by the senate to Q. Hortensius; and the senate were astonished that Brutus could ever have allowed C. Antonius, his prisoner of war, to arrogate to himself the title of proconsul, even if he did allow him to send an official letter to the government at home.

*sed nemo Pili similis*] Dolabella, too, had the audacity to send home an official letter, which, as usual, went to his friends in the first instance. They, however, had not the boldness of Pilius, and wisely refrained from presenting that letter formally to the magistrates, as they well knew the storm of indignation which it would cause.

*admodum lenes*] The letters did not speak of Antonius with much severity, notwithstanding that there were constant mutinies in the army in his favour: cp. Plut. Brut. 26; Dio xlvii. 22, 23; App. iii. 79.

*non erat explicatum*] 'it was not quite plain': cp. Att. ix. 7, 2 (362), *quibus nihil potest esse explicatius*.

4. *ille dies silentio*] sc. *praeteriit*, not a very harsh ellipse: cp. Heidemann, p. 4. We might say, 'Nothing that day' sc. was done.

*oculos offendisset*] cp. Verr. ii. 150; v. 143; Leg. Agr. ii. 56.

*natum . . . principium*] cp. Phil. ii. 50.

cipium a me : de proconsule Antonio multa ; Sestius causae non defuit : post meum, quanto suum filium, quanto meum in periculo futurum duceret, si contra proconsulem arma tulissent ; nosti hominem : causae *tamen* non defuit. Dixerunt etiam alii ; Labeo vero noster nec signum tuum in epistola nec diem appositum nec te scripsisse ad tuos, ut soleres : hoc cogere volebat, falsas litteras esse et, si quaeris, probabat. 5. Nunc tuum est consilium, Brute, de toto genere belli. Video te lenitate delectari et eum putare fructum esse maximum, praeclare quidem, sed aliis rebus, aliis temporibus locus esse solet debetque clementiae : nunc quid agitur, Brute ? Templis deorum immortalium imminet hominum egentium et perditorum spes nec quidquam aliud decernitur hoc bello, nisi utrum simus necne. Cui parcimus aut quid agimus ? His ergo consulimus, quibus victoribus vestigium nostrum nullum relinquetur ? Nam quid interest inter Dolabellam et quemvis Antoniorum trium ? Quorum si cui parcimus, duri fuimus in Dolabella. Haec ut ita sentiret senatus populusque Romanus, etsi res ipsa cogebat, tamen maxima ex parte nostro consilio atque auctoritate perfectum est. Tu si hanc rationem non probas, tuam sententiam defendam, non relinquam meam : neque dissolutum a

*contra proconsulem*] Sestius appears to have been a stupid man. His literary style was atrocious : cp. note to Att. viii. 17, 2 (315). Here he professes a fear that, inasmuch as Brutus had tolerated that C. Antonius should style himself *procos*, perhaps he is a proconsul ; and Sestius opines, that it may prove a very serious matter for his and Cicero's sons if they are found bearing arms against a proconsul ; they would, he urged, be traitors (cp. Phil. iii. 14). As the argument was characteristic of Sestius, Cicero adds *nostri hominem*.

*causae tamen non defuit*] We have added *tamen*, as there must be some adversative conjunction with this clause, unless, indeed, we strike out the clause altogether, and suppose that it crept in from the same words two lines before. But Cicero not uncommonly repeats himself in this fashion, generally with *inquam* : cp. Att. i. 16, 4 (22) ; x. 6, 2 (386).

*Labeo*] cp. 915, 1. He was one of the murderers of Caesar (Plut. Brut. 12), and lieutenant of Brutus in 712 (42). After the battle of Philippi his freedman slew

him at his own bidding, App. iv. 135.

*cogere*] 'to infer' : cp. Leg. ii. 33, *sunt autem ea quae posui ex quibus id quod voluimus efficitur et cogitur*.

5. *lenitate*] From this word, and from *probabat*, we see that Cicero believed that the letter was genuine.

*eum . . . maximum*] We should expect *eius*. The *lenitas* was not the fruit, but the seed, from which an abundant harvest would be reaped.

*Templis*] cp. Phil. viii. 8 ; xiv. 27.

*spes*] Meyer (p. 115) wishes for a stronger word here, such as *mendicitas* (Phil. v. 20), or *homines egentes et per-diti*.

*nisi . . . necne*] cp. for the anxiety at this time Phil. xiv. 10 (delivered March 21), *aut foedissimam omnes aut miserabilem fugam cogitabant*.

*in Dolabella*] 'in the case of D.' : cp. 807, 3, *eius voluntatem perspicimus in Casca* ; 902, 2 : 914, 10.

*Haec ut ita*] For this slight redundancy *haec—ita*, cp. 798, *quod quidem ita credo*, and Madv. on Fin. ii. 17.

*dissolutum . . . crudele*] 'lax,' . . . 'unduly harsh' : cp. 844, 3 ; Att. i. 19, 8



te quidquam homines expectant nec crudele; huius rei moderatio facilis est, ut in duces vehemens sis, in milites liberalis. 6. Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas: virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. XVIII. Kalend. Maias.

# DCCCXLIII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 3-6).

ROME; APRIL 17 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Quaerit Cicero de Dolabella, monetque Brutum ne nimium sit erga Antonium clemens.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

3. . . . Te benevolentiam exercitus equitumque expertum vehementer gaudeo. 4. De Dolabella, ut scribis, si quid habebis novi, facies me certiolem, in quo delector me ante providisse, ut

(25), *nihil iam denique a me asperum in quemquam fit nec tamen quicquam populare ac dissolutum*. The word *dissolutum* is applied to conduct which, from want of firm principle, is not sufficiently resolute in dealing with enemies of the state, or with demagogic faction.

*moderatio*] 'middle course.'

6. *imitationem tui*] For a similar compliment cp. Fam. i. 7, 11 (114), *tum imprimis imitatione tui fac erudias: nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina*.

xviii. Kal. Maias] April 14. The MSS give xiii. Schmidt (Cass., p. 39) thinks that the quiet tone of this letter points to a time before April 19, 20, when the Antonian party appear to have been planning the murder of Cicero, and attempting something like a *coup d'état* (cp. Phil. xiv. 15); though the riot would appear, from § 5 above, to have been already brewing. This is a strong argument against the received date. Schmidt proposes to alter xiii. to xvi.: cp. the variations of M<sup>1</sup> and M<sup>2</sup> in 867 fin.; also notes to 860, 3; 840, 1; and Fam. xiv. 4, 3 (62). Gurlitt (Philol. Suppl. iv. 564), argues further, that Cicero probably wrote at once after the acceptance by the senate of Labeo's view that the letter of Brutus was

a forgery: that was on April 14. We have, accordingly, adopted this reading.

Gurlitt (Philol. Suppl. iv. 564 ff.) has discussed with much acuteness the difficulties in this letter: cp. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1890, p. 114). The beginning of it is not forthcoming. A sheet of the archetype, containing the conclusion of 874 and beginning of 843 has been lost. Both 874 and 843 appear as one letter in the MSS; yet they are quite distinct, and the one chronologically prior appears in the archetype as the second part of Brut. i. 2. It is chronologically prior, as it treats of C. Antonius exactly in the tone of 842, and does not presuppose the extended knowledge of Dolabella's proceedings which Cicero had when he wrote 874. It was probably written about April 17, shortly before the news of the battle of Forum Gallorum reached Rome. We must alter xii. Kal. to xv.: cp. note to 842 fin. This date will also account for the absence of all allusion to the terrorism which the Antonians spread through the city during April 18 to 20 (837, 2). If we retain xii. Kal. we must suppose that Cicero wrote and despatched this letter in the early morning of the 20th, before the news of



tuum iudicium liberum esset cum Dolabella belli gerendi: id valde pertinuit, ut ego tum intellegebam, ad rem publicam, ut nunc iudico, ad dignitatem tuam. 5. Quod scribis me maximo otio egisse, ut insectarer Antonios, idque laudas, credo ita videri tibi, sed illam distinctionem tuam nullo pacto probo: scribis enim acrius prohibenda bella civilia esse quam in superatos iracundiam exercendam. Vehementer a te, Brute, dissentio, nec clementiae tuae concedo, sed salutaris severitas vincit inanem speciem clementiae; quod si clementes esse volumus, numquam deerunt bella civilia. Sed de hoc tu videris: de me possum idem, quod Plautinus pater in Trinummio:

Mihi quidem aetas acta ferme est: tua istuc refert maxime.

6. Opprimemini, mihi crede, Brute, nisi provideritis; neque enim populum semper eundem habebitis neque senatum neque senati ducem. Haec ex oraculo Apollinis Pythii edita tibi puta: nihil potest esse verius. xv. Kal. Maias.

the victory arrived. If we hold with Ruete (p. 82), that the two letters are really one, as they appear in the mss, we have to alter *Maias* to *Iunias*—a violent proceeding—and to suppose in the latter part an awkward recurrence to the affairs of Dolabella and C. Antonius.

4. *ut tuum iudicium liberum esset*] cp. 842, 1. In *ante providisse* Cicero appears to be alluding to his words in Phil. xi. 26, 27.

5. *maximo otio*] Ruete (p. 108) reads *maximo negotio*, 'with infinite labour': cp. Caes. B. G. v. 11, 2, *ut reliquae naves refici posse magno negotio viderentur*; Bell. Alex. 8; Fam. ii. 10, 3 (225); Att. v. 12, 1 (202); xiv. 13 b, 2 (717). Manutius suggested *animo*, Lambinus *odio*. We thought at one time that possibly the reading may have been *e maximo otio exisse*, 'have left the most perfect leisure to come and attack Antony.' For *magnum* applied to *otium*, cp. Off. i. 77; the usual word is *summu*. But Gurlitt (p. 572) is right in thinking that the mss reading *otio* is sound; for Brutus, when he wrote the letter which Cicero is answering, did not know definitely what attitude Cicero was

taking up as regards C. Antonius. We may suppose that he said, 'you are proceeding very leisurely (*maximo otio agis*) to the attack on the Antonii, and in that I think you are wise.' Brutus was at this time in favour of mild treatment of C. Antonius.

*sed . . . clementiae*] cp. Amm. Marc. xxix. 5, 24, *agebat autem haec Tullianum illud advertens quod salutaris rigor vincit inanem speciem clementiae*.

*in Trinummio*] ii. 2, 42.  
6. *provideritis*] So Poggio's ms = M 49, 24: cp. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 181), who quotes Petrarch De remediis utr. fort. ii. 117, p. 234. *opprimemini, mihi crede, Brute, inquit [Cicero], nisi provideritis*: cp. Viertel, p. 29. *Providetis* MH (= Harl. 2491); *provideatis* (Wölffenbüttel ms); *provideris* (Dresd.). The reading of M is, however, defensible; 908, 1, *hoc si a te impetro nihil profecto dubitabis*: Fam. iii. 7, 5 (244), *tu si aliter existimas nihil errabis*; Petit. Cons. 38 (12): cp. 848, 2.

*Apollinis*] cp. Ter. Andr. iv. 2, 15, *non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsum est*; Tusc. i. 17; Lucr. i. 738.  
*xv. Kal. Maias*] see introd. note.

## DCCCXLIV. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 3, §§ 1-3).

ROME; APRIL 21; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero Octavianum laudat et laetitiam Romae e victoria consulum et D. Brutum commemorat. Liberalitatem eius in seditionis auctoribus reprehendi Romae scribit.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Nostrae res meliore loco videbantur; scripta enim ad te certo scio, quae gesta sunt. Quales tibi saepe scripsi consules *esse* tales exstiterunt. Caesaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis: utinam tam facile eum florentem et honoribus et gratia regere ac tenere possimus, quam facile adhuc tenuimus! est omnino illud difficilius, sed tamen non diffidimus; persuasum est enim adolescenti, et maxime per me, eius opera nos esse salvos, et certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, perissent omnia. 2. Triduo vero aut quadriduo ante hanc rem pulcherrimam timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum coniugibus et liberis effundebat; eadem recreata a. d. XII. Kal. Maias te huc venire quam se ad te

That Brut. i. 3, as given in the mss, consists of two letters, written at an interval of some days from one another, is certain. The first three paragraphs were written shortly after the news of the battle of Forum Gallorum arrived, probably on April 21. The consuls are evidently thought of as still alive (§ 1). In § 4 (Ep. 846) the battle of Mutina, the death of the consuls, and the flight of Antony are related, the news of which cannot have been known in Rome before the 26th.

1. *Nostrae res . . . videbantur*] These words are a perfect sigh of relief. 'We are better now.'

*consules esse*] We have ventured to add *esse*. 'The consuls have shown themselves of the character of which I always told you they were'; though, indeed, it is not absolutely necessary to add anything: cp. 852, 4, *Pansa viro celeriora omnia putabamus*, sc. *fore*. Cicero elsewhere speaks of the dilatoriness of the

consuls (836, 1, note; 897, 2); and he was alive to their shortcomings (cp. Att. xiv. 9, 2 (712); 12, 2 (715); 19, 2 (725); xv. 1, 3 (730), οὐδὲν ὑγιές). He says they have shown themselves the same as ever, viz. half-hearted, indolent men, who would fight indeed when they were compelled, but not otherwise; whereas Octavian had the real manliness of true-born, native valour.

*indoles virtutis*] 'natural manliness': cp. Off. iii. 16; Phil. v. 47.

*persuasum est enim*] The argument is, that it is not likely that the young Octavian will imperil, by any act of disloyalty, the high honours which his elders have showered upon him. It is as true that you love the man you have benefited as that you hate the man you have injured; and, besides there is nothing which links the inferior to the superior more than a feeling in the inferior that he has really done a service to his superior, and that the service has been gratefully recognized.'

ire malebat : quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum multarumque vigiliarum fructum cepi maximum—si modo est aliquis fructus ex solida veraque gloria—; nam tantae multitudinis, quantam capit urbs nostra, concursus est ad me factus, a qua usque in Capitolium deductus maximo clamore atque plausu in rostris collocatus sum : nihil est in me inane—neque enim debet—, sed tamen omnium ordinum consensus, gratiarum actio gratulatioque me commovet propterea, quod popularem me esse in populi salute praeclarum est. 3. Sed haec te malo ab aliis. Me velim de tuis rebus consiliisque facias diligentissime certiores illudque consideres, ne tua liberalitas dissolutior videatur : sic sentit senatus, sic populus Romanus, nullos unquam hostes digniores omni supplicio fuisse quam eos cives, qui hoc bello contra patriam arma ceperunt, quos quidem ego omnibus sententiis ulciscor et persequor omnibus bonis approbantibus. Tu quid de hac re sentias, tui iudicii est : ego sic sentio, trium fratrum unam et eandem esse causam.

2. *in rostris*] It has been objected to this sentence, that it implies that the *rostra* was in the Capitol, and it is held that Cicero could not have made such a mistake. But neither could the forger, who is supposed to have lived not more than a generation or so after Cicero. Certainly *suggestus*, or *tribunal*, would more naturally be used for any other pulpit than the one in the Forum. Possibly we should supply <et postea reductus> or something of the kind after *deductus*.

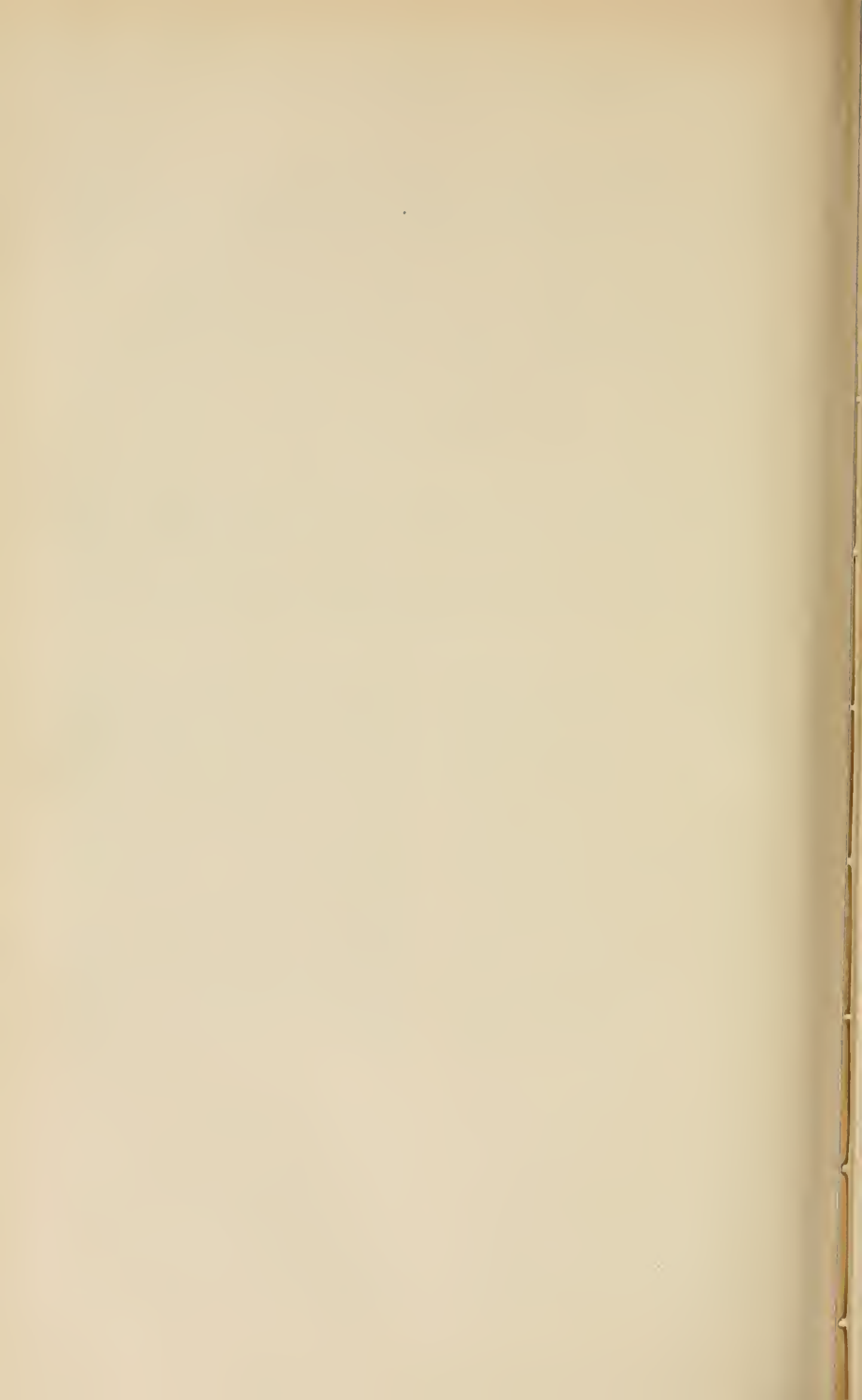
*nihil est in me inane*] So Cicero writes to Brutus ; but to Atticus he unlocks his heart, ii. 17, 2 (44), *quod est subinane in nobis et non ἀφιλόδοξον*.

*quod . . . praeclarum*] 'for it is an event of exceeding great glory that I, Cicero, should be the idol of the people

when effecting their safety.' Cicero never had much sympathy with the democracy, and accordingly was not a favourite with the people. In his opinion, the people were constantly clamouring for what was not for their real good, or for the good of the whole community. But now they see that he is furthering their interests, and defending the state, and Cicero feels that their applause in such a case was a thing to be proud of.

3. *ab aliis*] sc. *certiorem fieri dissolutior*] 'to show undue laxity': cp. 842, 5. Cicero is, doubtless, alluding to the course which Brutus should take as regards C. Antonius.

*trium fratrum*] Marcus, Lucius, and Gaius Antonius. Lucius was in the army of Marcus.



## PART XI.

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GRAVIUS AEGROTANT II, QUI, CUM LEVATI MORBO VIDERENTUR  
IN EUM DE INTEGRO INCIDERUNT.





## PART XI.

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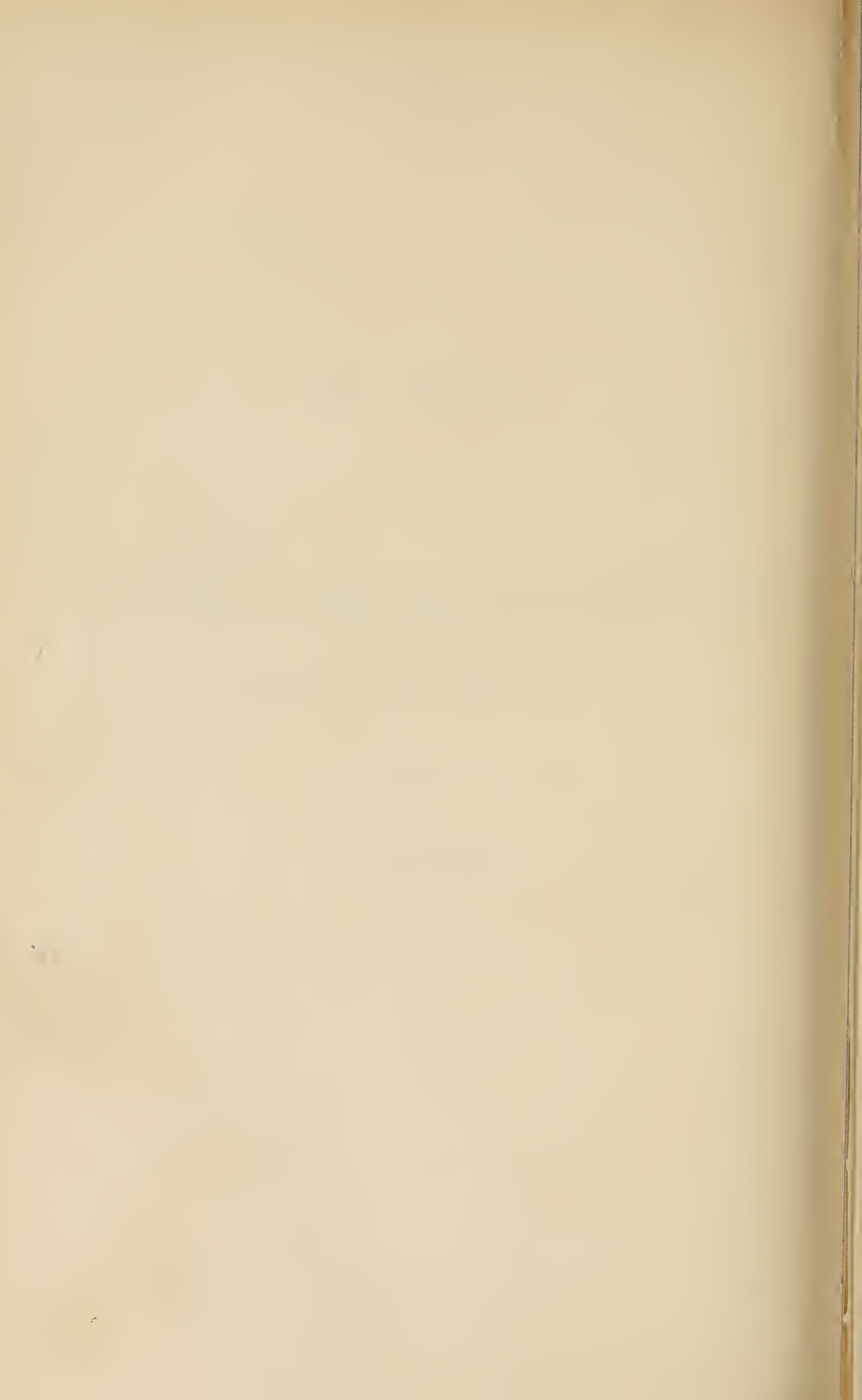
LETTERS FROM THE BATTLE OF MUTINA TO THE END OF THE  
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. DCCCXLV.-DCCCCXVI.

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APRIL TO JULY.

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## DCCCXLV. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 9).

GALLIA NARBONENSIS, NEAR VIENNE; APRIL 27 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711;  
B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus suum rei publicae studium prae se fert, dignitatem suam commendat, et quid egerit et quid acturus sit exponit, exercitum laudat.

## PLANCUS CICERONI S.

1. Nihil me tibi temere aut te ceteris de me frustra recepisse laetor. Certe hoc maius habes testimonium amoris mei, quo maturius tibi quam ceteris consilia mea volui esse nota. In dies vero meritorum meorum fieri accessiones pervidere te spero: cogniturum magis recipio. 2. Quod ad me attinet, mi Cicero—ita ab imminentibus malis res publica me adiuvante liberetur!—sic honores praemiaque vestra suspicio, conferenda certe cum immortalitate, ut sine his nihil de meo studio perseverantiaque sim remissurus. Nisi in multitudine optimorum civium impetus animi mei fuerit singularis et opera praecipua, nihil ad meam dignitatem accidere volo suffragatione vestra. 3. Concupisco autem nihil mihi—contra quod ipse pugno—, et temporis et rei te moderatorem facile patior esse. Nihil aut sero aut exigue a patria civi tributum potest videri. Exercitum a. d. vi. Kal.

1. *Nihil . . . nota*] 'I am glad that I made no rash promises to you, or that you made no fruitless promises to the rest about me. Of a truth you have a greater evidence of my affection for you in this that I wished you to have information of my plans before the rest.' For *hoc . . . quo* instead of the more usual *eo . . . quo*, cp. Rose. Com. 31.

2. *sic . . . ut*] A variation of *ita . . . ut*. 'While I regard . . . yet.' Rhodius (p. 17) calls this the adversative *ut*.

*suspicio*] 'look up to with admiration.' Cp. Off. ii. 36; Horace, Epp. i. 6, 18.

*studio perseverantiaque*] 'unswerving devotion.'

*Nisi . . . vestra*] 'If it be not that among the great number of patriotic citizens my devotion is pre-eminent and my exertions signal, I do not wish to obtain any addition to my distinctions by your support.'

3. *Concupisco . . . videri*] 'But covetousness of honour for myself does not actuate me—nay I even fight against it—and I willingly leave you to be the judge of the time and amount of it. No honour bestowed on a citizen by his country can seem either late or paltry.'

Maia Rhodanum traieci magnis itineribus. Vienna equites mille via brevior praemisi. Ipse, si ab Lepido non impediatur, celeritate satis faciam: si autem is itineri meo se opposuerit, ad tempus consilium capiam. Copias adduco et numero et genere et fidelitate firmissimas. Te, ut diligas me, si mutuo te facturum scis, rogo. Vale.

# DCCCXLVI. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 3, § 4)

ROME; APRIL 27 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Consules amissos esse et omnes Antonianos hostes iudicatos esse scribit.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

4. Consules duos, bonos quidem, sed dumtaxat bonos [consules], amisimus: Hirtius quidem in ipsa victoria occidit, cum paucis diebus ante magno proelio vicisset; nam Pansa fugerat vulneribus acceptis, quae ferre non potuit. Reliquias hostium Brutus persequitur et Caesar; hostes autem omnes iudicati, qui M. Antonii

*opposuerit*] So H Pal; M has the old form, *opposierit*, which Mendelssohn and Rhodius (p. 2) read—perhaps rightly.

*et numero . . . firmissimas*] ‘Most strong in numbers, character, and loyalty’: *genere* means that they were experienced legionary soldiers, not mere recruits.

*Te . . . scis*] ‘I beg you to give me your affection as you know that you will be reciprocating it.’

See introductory note to 844 for the reason why this section is regarded as a separate letter. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1884, p. 624: 1890, p. 112) thinks that we should consider only the portion from *Consules* to *Caesar* as a distinct letter from 844; but we can see no special reason for this view (cp. note to § 4 fin.); and it is more difficult to suppose that such a brief and fragmentary letter was inserted in the middle of another than either that two letters were joined to one another (cp. 825, 851), or that Cicero wrote 844 on April 22, but did not despatch it, and added the letter before us as a postscript on April 27 after the news of the Battle of Mutina had arrived.

4. *dumtaxat bonos*] ‘only patriotic.’

Their principles and loyalty were unimpeachable (897, 1), but they lacked spirit, energy, and military skill (836, 1). Of course their loss was regarded both by Cicero (851, 6) and D. Brutus (847, 1) as a serious blow to the State, for at this crisis it was of the highest importance to have really loyal men at the head of the armies.

*magno proelio*] the Battle of Forum Gallorum.

*nam*] The thought is: (I only mention Hirtius as having fallen in the battle) for Pansa fled.

*fugerat*] rather too strong a word, cp. Phil. xiv. 26 ff. Cicero implies that Pansa had not borne his wounds with sufficient fortitude, and that he was thus to blame, as far as physical courage was concerned, in that he retired to Bononia after having been wounded. He ought, in Cicero’s opinion, to have remained near Mutina at the head of his army. For Pansa’s wounds cp. 890, 4 Phil. xiv. 26, 36.

*et Caesar*] This was a false rumour, but it arose naturally, as it was the general expectation that Octavian would of course



sectam secuti sunt, idque senatus consultum plerique interpretantur etiam ad tuos sive captivos sive dediticios pertinere: equidem nihil disserui durius, cum nominatim de C. Antonio decernerem, quod ita statueram, a te cognoscere causam eius senatum oportere. v. Kal. Maias.

## DCCCXLVII. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 9).

REGIUM LEPIDI; APRIL 29; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus Ciceronem hortatur ut operam det, ne consulibus amissis hostes rei publicae invalescant.

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Pansa amisso quantum detrimenti res publica acceperit non te praeterit. Nunc auctoritate et prudentia tua prospicias oportet,

pursue Antony. A considerable time elapsed before definite news of affairs at Mutina arrived at Rome. On May 5 Cicero writes to Plancus that the flight of Antony is known only by report, 853, 1 *fugisse enim ex proelio Mutinensi dicuntur notissimi latronum duces.*

*hostes autem omnes indicati.]* But you must know all have been judged enemies. We should much prefer *enim*, as the clause expresses the reason for the use of *hostium* in the previous sentence. This outlawry of Antony and his followers who were Roman citizens was probably passed on the 26th; for on the 27th the question was discussed as to what action was to be taken against them (852, 1). These dates are not invalidated by the fact that Cicero calls the forces of Antony *hostes* in Phil. xiv. 36-38 (delivered April 21st), for he is there using the word informally in the sense of 'opponents,' and not in that of regularly declared enemies of the State: if the sentence of outlawry had been passed he would have emphasised the word by the addition of a clause referring to that sentence.

*sectam secuti sunt.]* 'who followed the lead of': cp. Naevius (fr. 5 Bährens), *Eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales* (of Aeneas and Anchises flying from Troy to Italy): cp. Sest. 97, Cael. 40.

v. Kal. Maias.] The mss give x., but we must alter to v. (cp. note to 842 fin.),

as the news of the Battle of Mutina cannot have reached Rome earlier than April 26th. Errors in numerals are common, and it is simpler to assume this error than to suppose with Schmidt that a few lines (see introd. note) were embedded into the middle of a letter.

After his release from Mutina, on April 23rd, D. Brutus had a fruitless interview with Octavian. On the morning of the 23rd he received a summons to visit the dying Pansa at Bononia: on the way he heard of Pansa's death, and returned to his army. On the 24th (two full days after the departure of Antony, *biduo* 869, 2) he started westward; but probably, with his enfeebled army, he spent two days on the march, so that he reached Regium Lepidi on the evening of the 25th. Schelle (p. 17) thinks that this letter was written on the 26th, and that we should alter III to VI (cp. note to 842 fin.): but it is more probable that he remained three days at Regium Lepidi, letting his army recruit after their privations during the siege of Mutina, and collecting cavalry, provisions, baggage animals, &c. (869, 1); and that he started regularly in pursuit of Antony on the 29th, after having despatched this letter to Cicero: cp. Schmidt, Jahrb. 1892, p. 328.

1. *amisso.]* Early on the 23rd, Pansa died in Bononia.

ne inimici nostri consulibus sublati sperent se convalescere posse. Ego, ne consistere possit in Italia Antonius, dabo operam. Sequar eum confestim. Utrumque me praestaturum spero, ne aut Ventidius elabatur aut Antonius in Italia moretur. In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum, Lepidum, mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit Antonio sibi coniuncto. Nam de Pollione Asinio puto te perspicere quid factururus sit. Multae et bonae et firmae sunt legiones Lepidi et Asinii. 2. Neque haec ideo tibi scribo, quod te non eadem animadvertere sciam, sed quod mihi persuasissimum est Lepidum recte facturum numquam, si forte vobis id de hoc dubium est. Plancum quoque confirmetis oro, quem spero pulso Antonio rei publicae non defuturum. Si se Alpes Antonius traiecerit, constitui praesidium in Alpibus collocare et te de omni re facere certiore. III. Kal. Maias, ex castris, Regio.

*ne . . . Antonius*] 'that Antonius be not able to keep a footing in Italy.'

*praestaturum . . . ne*] 'succeed in hindering': cp. 901, 4.

*Ventidius*] He was leading three legions from Picenum to Antony. He afterwards joined him at Vada Sabatia (854. 3).

*ventosissimum*] 'that weathercock' (Jeans). For *ventosus* cp. Phil. xi. 17; Hor. Ep. i. 8, 12; 19, 37.

*Nam*] The argument is—I do not ask you to write to Pollio; for you, as his friend, of course know his sentiments and his plans. D. Brutus seems to feel little doubt that Pollio will act honourably.

*Pollione Asinio*] See note to Fam. viii. 11, 2 (267), for the cognomen placed before the *nomen*.

*Multae*] Lepidus had 7 legions (App. iii. 84); Pollio had 3 (cp. 896, 4).

2. *sciam*] The subj. is used, because this is not the real reason: cp. Fam. ix.

1, 2 (456), *etsi non ideo eorum usum dimiseram quod eis succenserem sed quod eorum me subpudebat*. The stock ex. is Tusc. ii. 56: cp. Roby, 1745.

*persuasissimum*] cp. Colum. xii. 1, 5, *ea porro persuasissimum habere debet*: Suet. Nero 29, *comperi persuasissimum habuisse eum*.

*si forte . . . est*] 'if perchance you may have a doubt about that trait in him.' Ernesti, with some mss, omits *id*: but the personal construction is allowable: cp. Fam. iv. 15, 1 (484), *cognovi autem id quod mihi dubium non fuit*.

*Si se . . . traiecerit*] For the double acc. cp. 900, 4, *si quo etiam casu Isaram se traiecerint*.

*Regio*] Regium Lepidi (825, 1), or Regium Lepidum (Tac. Hist. ii. 50), a town on the Aemilian road, between Mutina and Parma, probably built by M. Aemilius Lepidus, cons. 567 (187), who made the road; now Reggio.

## DCCCXLVIII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 11).

COUNTRY OF ALLOBROGES; APRIL (END); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;

AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus gratias agit propter eius benevolentiam Ciceroni et de suo in rem publicam studio adseverat.

## PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Immortales ago tibi gratias agamque, dum vivam: nam relaturum me adfirmare non possum. Tantis enim tuis officiis non videor mihi respondere posse, nisi forte, ut tu gravissime disertissimeque scripsisti, ita sensurus es, ut me referre gratiam putes, cum memoria tenebo. Si de filii tui dignitate esset actum, amabilius certe nihil facere potuisses. Primae tuae sententiae infinitis cum muneribus, posteriores ad tempus arbitriumque amicorum meorum compositae, oratio adsidua et perpetua de me, iurgia cum obtrectatoribus propter me notissima mihi sunt: non mediocris adhibenda mihi est cura, ut rei publicae me civem dignum tuis laudibus praestem, in amicitia tua memorem atque gratum. Quod reliquum

The date of this letter can be approximately fixed by the fact that on the one hand the country of the Allobroges is about 350 miles from Mutina, so that it would have taken a messenger 7 days to reach Plancus with news of the battle (§ 2); and on the other that Plancus had not crossed the Isara, which he did on May 12, cp. § 60, 3.

1. The first § is an answer to § 38.

*Immortales . . . gratias*] 'I tender undying thanks' (verbal): *relaturum* 'that I shall repay' (in deed). For *immortales* cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9 (148), *immortaliter gaudeo*.

*respondere*] 'to requite,' cp. Fam. xv. 21, 3 (450), *cui quidem ego amori utinam ceteris rebus possem! amore certe respondebo*.

*scripsisti*] If a letter is referred to here it has been lost. Andresen, however, after Nake, supposes that Plancus is alluding to the celebrated (cp. Gell. i. 4, 6) passage in the Pro Plancio 68, *gratiam autem, et qui refert, habet, et qui*

*habet, in eo ipso, quod habet, refert.*

*ita sensurus es ut . . . putes*] 'you shall be minded to consider.'

*eum . . . tenebo*] cp. Fin. iii. 9, *praeclare facis cum et eorum memoriam tenes*. For the fut. indicative in dependent sentences of the oratio obliqua, cp. Off. iii. 121, *persuade te multo fore carivorem si talibus monumentis laetabere*, where Heine compares Phil. viii. 27 (*obtinebunt*): xi. 30 (*obtinebit*).

*Primae tuae . . . muneribus*] 'your first motions were coupled with unbounded grants to me.' Plancus is referring to the motions of Cicero on April 8, 9 (§ 38, 3, 4).

*oratio . . . mihi sunt*] 'concerning your constant and lengthy speeches in my interests, and your altercations with my traducers on my behalf I am fully informed': *oratio perpetua* is a regular set speech in opposition to *iurgia*, an altercation: it is opposed to *altercatio* in Att. i. 16, 8 (22). The traducer specially referred to is P. Servilius (§ 38, 3).

est, tuum munus tuere et me, si, quem esse voluisti, eum exitu rebusque cognoscis, defende ac suscipe. 2. Cum Rhodanum copias traiecissem fratremque cum tribus milibus equitum praemissem, ipse iter ad Mutinam dirigerem, in itinere de proelio facto Brutoque et Mutina obsidione liberatis audiui. Animadverti nullum alium receptum Antonium reliquiasque, quae cum eo essent, habere nisi in his partibus, duasque ei spes esse propositas, unam Lepidi ipsius, alteram exercitus. Quod quaedam pars exercitus non minus furiosa est, quam qui cum Antonio fuerunt, equitatum revocavi; ipse in Allobrogibus constitui, ut proinde ad omnia paratus essem ac res me moneret. Si nudus hoc se Antonius confert, facile mihi videor per me sustinere posse remque publicam ex vestra sententia administrare, quamvis ab exercitu Lepidi recipiatur: si vero copiarum aliquid secum adducet et si decima legio veterana, quae nostra opera revocata cum reliquis est, ad eundem furorem redierit, tamen, ne quid detrimenti fiat, dabitur opera a

*si . . . cognoscis*] 'if by the issue and event you know me to be the Plancus you wished me to be.' The indicative *voluisti* is used, and not *volueris*, as the statement is more strictly referred to the actual man Plancus than if he had said 'if you know me to be the sort of man you wished me to be.' H reads *cognosces*, perhaps rightly.

*suscipe*] ep. Vatinius ap. Fam. v. 9, 1 (639), *suscipe mense totum*; Fam. xvi. 12, 6 (312), *susciperet et tueretur* (Andr.).

2. *traiecissem*] This took place on April 26 (845, 3).

*fratrem*] ep. note to 826, 1.

*ad Mutinam*] He had been urged to this by Cicero: ep. 834, 2, *opitulare collegae*.

*in his partibus*] So the mss. Wesenberg (E. A. 34) alters to *in has partes*. He holds that, as it is necessary to say *recipere se in locum*, one must say *in locum receptus*; for he considers that *receptus* means 'a retreating,' not 'a refuge'; but ep. Verg. Aen. xi. 527, *tutique receptus*, where Nettleship (though reading *recessus*) says *receptus* means 'a place of retreat.'

*Lepidi ipsius*] 'on Lepidus himself' objective genit.

*fuerunt*] The perfect tense is used because Plancus supposed that the army of Antony was totally destroyed.

*nudus*] sc. *copiis* 'without any forces.'

For *nudus* used absolutely (and not in the literal sense of 'naked') ep. Verr. v. 110. Note the present tense *confert*, which expresses the more likely of the two alternatives, while the future *adducet* expresses the less likely one. Andresen compares Liv. xxiii. 13, 5, *ego si quis de pace consulat . . . habeo quid sententiae dicam: si de his quae Mago postulat refertis nec victoribus miti adtinere puto*. For present in protasis, and future in apodosis, Lehmann (p. 89) compares Fam. xv. 9, 2 (216) *Unum vero si addis . . . putabo*: ep. 843, 6.

*hoc*] This is the old form of *huc*, and should be read as it is found in MH repeatedly, 861, 5, 6; 895, 6; 854, 3. In the passage before us H has *huc*, but M has *hoc*: ep. Neue ii<sup>3</sup>. 613, 614.

*sustinere*] 'resist,' 'hold out': ep. 835, 2.

*decima legio*] This famous legion, which had been so loyal (B. G. i. 40) and so disloyal to Caesar (Suet. Jul. 70), was now under the command of Lepidus (App. iii. 83), but favourably inclined to their former leader, Antony, τὸ τε καλοῦμενον δέκατον τέλος ἐξεραγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκευάζεν.

*revocata*] 'brought back to their allegiance': *revocare* is commonly used of bringing anything back to its normal condition.



me, idque me praestaturum spero, dum istinc copiae traiciantur coniunctaeque nobiscum facilius perditos opprimant. 3. Hoc tibi spondeo, mi Cicero, neque animum nec diligentiam mihi defuturam. Cupio mehercules nullam residuam sollicitudinem esse, sed si fuerit, nec animo nec benevolentiae nec patientiae cuiusquam pro vobis cedam. Do quidem ego operam, ut etiam Lepidum ad huius rei societatem incitem, omniaque ei obsequia polliceor, si modo rem publicam respicere volet. Utor in hac re adiutoribus interpretibusque fratre meo et Laterense et Furnio nostro. Non me impediunt privatae offensiones, quo minus pro rei publicae salute etiam cum inimicissimo consentiam. Quod si nihil profecero, nihilo minus maximo sum animo et maiore fortasse cum mea gloria vobis satis faciam. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

## DCCCXLIX. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 13 a).

CAMP AT PARMA; APRIL 30; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D BRUTUS COS. DESIG. M. CICERONI.

Parmenses miserimos . . .

*istinc*] i.e. from Rome.

3. *mehercules*] Plancus, like Caelius, always uses this form; while Cicero prefers the shorter form, *mehereule* (Orat. 157).

*nec animo . . . cedam*] 'and I shall not yield to anyone either in courage or good will or endurance on your behalf.' The usual construction would be *euigam* with the abl. *benevolentia*, *potientia*: cp. N. D. ii. 153, *nulla alia re nisi immortalitate . . . cedens caelestibus*.

*omniaque ei obsequia polliceor*] 'and I promise to defer to him in everything.'

*Laterense*] He was the accuser of Cn. Plancius when the latter was defended by Cicero, see Holden's Introd. to the Pro Plancio xviii.-xx. He appears to have been a man always ready to act up to his principles: cp. Att. ii. 18, 2 (45), *Laterensis existimatur laute fecisse quod tribunatum pl. petere destitit ne iuraret*: 861, 3, *Laterensis, vir sanctissimus*.

*inimicissimo*] i.e. Lepidus: cp. 860, 1:

870, 2: 895, 1.

*nihilo minus . . . faciam*] 'nevertheless I am fully resolute, and shall do all you wish with perhaps greater glory to myself,' i.e. by gaining a victory over both Antony and Lepidus.

*mutuo diligas*] 'love me as I love you.'

*Parmenses miserrimos*] These two words, found in the Index to M., are all that is preserved of this letter. We can gather from them that Brutus wrote it from the camp at Parma, one day's journey from Regium Lepidi, on the 30th (see introductory note to 847). It probably contained an account of the harsh way in which Antony had treated the inhabitants of Parma a week or so previously: cp. Phil. xiv. 9, *Refugit animus eaque dicere reformidat, quae L. Antonius in Parmensium liberis et coniugibus effecerit . . . Qua enim in urbe tam immanis Hannibal cepit quam in Parma surrepta Antonius*. Also 890, 4, *Parmam direptam*.



## DCCCL. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 11).

DYRRHACHIUM; MAY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;  
AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus Ciceroni commendat Veterem Antistium a quo magnam pecuniam acceperat.

## BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Veteris Antistii talis animus est in rem publicam, ut non dubitem, quin et in Caesare et in Antonio se praestaturus fuerit acerrimum propugnatorem communis libertatis, si occasione potuisset occurrere; nam, qui in Achaia congressus cum P. Dolabella milites atque equites habente quodvis adire periculum ex insidiis

This letter appears to have been written after April 1, the date of 837; for in that letter, § 5, Brutus seems to make mention for the first time of the money which he received from Antistius. Again, it must have been written before May 15, the date of 866: for by that time Brutus had heard of the deaths of the consuls, whereas in the present letter (§ 2) he assumes that they are still alive.

1. *Veteris Antistii*] cp. 837, 5. Concerning this money which was made over by Antistius to Brutus, there is a chronological difficulty (cp. Introductory note to 864). Plutarch (Brut. 25) places the transaction in the autumn of 710 (44), while obviously from these letters we should gather that it occurred about February or March, 711 (43). The latter date is probably the right one. In the first official letter from Brutus, which was received in Rome about February, there is no mention of Antistius, though there is mention of a transfer of money from Appuleius (Phil. x. 24): Antony, also, in the letter he wrote to Hirtius and Octavian, about the middle of March, complains only of the transfer of money by Appuleius (Phil. xiii. 32). It is probable, then, that Antistius had not handed over his money at the time when Brutus sent his first official letter; and that Plutarch, in mentioning the transfer of money by Appuleius (cp. c. 24, where his name is not given, but it is quite certain that ἀνδρα χαρίεντα καὶ γνώριμον

refers to him) mentioned the similar transfer by Antistius without taking into consideration that some months elapsed between the two transactions. Plutarch never meant his Lives to be perfectly accurate in all chronological details: cp. the introduction to his Life of Alexander.

*Caesare*] This must be the dictator: for at this time there was no hint or idea that Octavian was or would be disloyal. Brutus means that, if Antistius had been in Rome, he would have shown himself an active opponent of the monarchy. For *in* = 'in the case of' cp. 842, 5.

*praestaturus*] For this form cp. 908, 1. For the construction *praestare se propugnatorem* cp. 848, 1 (Plancus); Cic. Flacc. 101.

*congressus cum*] We have added *cum* with Wes. It would be impossible to explain the abl. as an abl. absolute: and the alteration to the dative. *Dolabellae . . . habenti* would be as violent a change as the insertion of *cum*, besides being rather a poetical than a prose construction. Madvig objects to *congressus* on the ground that it would imply that Antistius sought the meeting with Dolabella: and accordingly suggests *comprehensus*, further supposing that *ab* fell out before P. But *congrēdi* does not necessarily imply voluntary meeting, it need not mean anything more than 'falling in with': cp. Mil. 53, *locus ad insidias ille ubi congressi sunt utri fuerit aptior*.

paratissimi ad omnia latronis maluerit quam videri aut coactus esse pecuniam dare aut libenter dedisse homini nequissimo atque improbissimo, is nobis ultro et pollicitus est et dedit HS. [XX] ex sua pecunia et, quod multo carius est, se ipsum obtulit et coniunxit. 2. Huic persuadere cupimus, ut imperator in castris remaneret remque publicam defenderet: *sed* statuit sibi eundum domum, quoniam exercitum dimisisset; statim vero rediturum ad nos confirmavit legatione suscepta, nisi praetorum comitia habituri essent consules—nam illi ita sentienti de re publica magno opere auctor fui, ne differret tempus petitionis suae—: cuius factum omnibus gratum esse debet, qui modo iudicant hunc exercitum esse debere rei publicae, tibi tanto gratius, quanto maiore et animo gloriaque libertatem nostram defendis et dignitate, si contigerit nostris consiliis exitus, quem optamus, perfuncturus es. Ego etiam, mi Cicero, proprie familiariterque te rogo, ut Veterem ames velisque esse quam amplissimum, qui etsi nulla re deterri a proposito potest, tamen excitari tuis laudibus indulgentiaque poterit, quo magis amplexetur ac tueatur iudicium suum: id mihi gratissimum erit.

HS. [XX] The mss give *sestertia* xx: but that would mean only 20,000 sesterces: whereas the sum must have been much larger. It was probably 2,000,000 (*vicies*), a sum which will almost agree with that mentioned by Plut. Brut. 25, πεντήκοντα μυριάδες (sc. δραχμῶν), *sestertia* being a mistake for HS. Schmidt (Jahrb., 1889, p. 182) supposes XX is a mistake for MM, and that *sestertia* is right.

*ex sua pecunia*] i.e. public money in the hand of Antistius. Brutus and Cassius used to declare that they were the state, and accordingly had right to all state moneys: cp. § 2, and Vell. ii. 62, 3.

2. *sed statuit sibi eundum domum*] There must be some connecting word, so we have inserted *sed* (*set*) which might readily have fallen out before *statuit*. We have added *domum* which can easily have been lost after *eundum*: cp. Adn. Crit. For this use of *domum* = 'to Rome' cp. note to Att. vi. 5, 1 (265) and Lehmann quoted there. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 183) proposes to erase *statuit id*

*sibi*, and to read *negavit id fieri posse*: but this is a re-writing, not an emendation, of the passage.

*legatione*] probably a *legatio libera* as Manutius says.

*esse debere*] We add *debere* with the Dresdensis. That the word was in the archetype is probable, as *debet* was in M<sup>1</sup>: but, as it afforded no sense, it was erased by Coluccio: cp. Schmidt l. c.

*perfuncturus*] 'enjoy': cp. Fam. iv. 5, 5 (555), *omnibus bonis prope perfunctum esse*. Ter. Hec. iv. 2, 18, *Dum actatis tempus tulit perfunctus satis sum* (sc. *studiis istis*).

*proprie familiariterque*] 'as a special favour and as a friend.'

*deterri*] So most mss; but the Wolfenbüttel ms has *detineri* which is possible: cp. Sall. Cat. 4, 2, *a quo inepto me ambitio mala detinuerat*.

*tamen . . . poterit*] 'yet you will be able to rouse him by your praises and kindly treatment to cherish and maintain his resolution more earnestly.'

## DCCCLI. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 25, §§ 6-7).

ROME; MAY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero consulibus amissis dolet, sed se, etsi defetigatus sit, omnia officia esse praestaturum promittit.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO S.

6. P. Luccium mihi meum commendas: quem, quibuscumque rebus potero, diligenter tuëbor. Hirtium quidem et Pansam, collegas nostros, homines in consulatu rei publicae salutare, alieno sane tempore amisimus, re publica Antoniano quidem latrocinio liberata, sed nondum omnino explicata: quam nos, si licebit, more nostro tuebimur, quamquam admodum sumus iam defetigati; sed > nulla lassitudo impedire officium et fidem debet. < 7. Verum haec haec. Ab aliis te de me quam a me ipso malo cognoscere; de te audiebamur ea, quae maxime vellemus. De Cn. Minucio, quem tu quibusdam litteris ad caelum laudibus extulisti, rumores duriores erant: id quale sit omninoque, quid istis agatur, facias me velim certiore.

These sections, 6-7, were written obviously at a time long after Fam. xii. 25, §§ 1-5 (825), where see note. This letter has all the appearance of having been written soon after the news of the deaths of the two consuls reached Rome (i. e. April 26, at earliest), probably in the beginning of May. Schmidt (ap. Mendelssohn, p. 458) places it as late as May 25; but we do not feel quite sure on what grounds. Perhaps because Cicero confesses to a feeling of weariness (§ 6), as he does in 879, 2, which was written about May 27.

6. P. Luccium] He is only mentioned here and in 899, 5, *De P. Luccio* . . . *est enim nobis necessarius*.

*collegas*] sc. in the augurate.

*salutares*] For this word applied to persons, cp. Mil. 20 (*civis*).

*re publica* . . . *explicata*] 'as the state, though freed from the robber raids of Antony, is not entirely extricated from its

difficulties.'

*more . . . nostro*] 'on the same lines as before.'

*quamquam . . . defetigati*] 'although I am by this time sore wearied: but no fatigue should stand in the way of duty to which one is pledged': cp. Hamlet, v. 2, 221, 'Thou wouldst not think how ill all's here about my heart: but it is no matter.' This is one of the very few (cp. 879, 2, *sed mehercules in re p. conservanda iam defetigatus non multo plus patriae faveo quam tuae gloriae*) passages in the letters of this trying period, in which Cicero, even for a moment, confesses to the severe strain which was laid upon him. But he recovers himself at once, and in a noble sentence expresses himself ready, as ever, to spend and be spent at the call of duty.

7. Cn. Minucio] We do not hear of him elsewhere. He probably held some official position in Africa.

## DCCCLII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 5).

ROME; MAY 5; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero scribit a senatu permissum esse arbitrio Bruti Dolabellam persequi suumque consilium interponit. Filium suum se velle in collegium pontificum minorum absentem cooptari idque per leges Donitiam et Iuliam fieri posse demonstrat: qua de re quid Bruto videatur sciscitatur.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. A. d. v. K. Maias, cum de iis, qui hostes iudicati sunt, bello persequendis sententiae dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio et ut Cassius persequeretur Dolabellam; cui cum essem assensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrarere utile exque re publica esse, persequere bello Dolabellam, si minus id commodo rei publicae facere posses sive non existimares ex re publica esse, ut in iisdem locis exercitum contineres: nihil honorificentius potuit facere senatus, quam ut tuum esset iudicium, quid maxime conducere rei publicae tibi videretur. Equidem sic sentio, si manum habet, si castra, si ubi consistat uspiam Dolabella, ad fidem et ad dignitatem tuam pertinere eum persequi. 2. De Cassii nostri copiis

1. *hostes iudicati*] cp. note to 846, 4.

*Ventidio*] The faithful lieutenant of Antony who made such a brilliant march across the mountains, joining him at Vada: cp. Introduction.

*sive*] This is certainly a peculiar usage after *si* preceding; but it is sufficiently accounted for by Knete (p. 109), who points out that Cicero is quoting a decree of the Senate in which such an archaism would be allowable, cp. Phil. v. 53 *alter ambore*: Fam. viii. 8, 5 (223) *ad populum plebemve*; Liv. xxii. 10, 6 *si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber*. It is common in the comic dramatists, and is found even in Caes. B. G. iv. 17, 10 *si arborum trunci sive naves*. Meyer (p. 50) argues rightly that this decree cannot have been passed till after the deaths of the consuls, because the conduct of the war against Dolabella had been assigned to them at the end of February (823, 7; 883, 4; Dio. Cass. xlvii. 29, 5): the news of the deaths of the consuls had spread by April 26th.

Thus too Vell. ii. 73 and Dio Cass. xlvii. 40, 3 are correct in saying that the decrees formally giving powers to Brutus and Cassius were passed *after* the Battle of Mutina.

*ut tuum esset iudicium*] cp. 843, 4.

*ubi consistat*] 'a footing anywhere.'

2. *De Cassii*] There is no doubt that Cicero had heard something about the actions of Cassius from the letter of Lentulus read April 9th (839, 3); but that was a long time before, and Cicero who was naturally craving for news means that he has not heard anything recently, certainly nothing since he wrote to Brutus. A letter would take over fifty days to reach Rome from Syria, even if there was no delay; and we may well suppose that there were considerable delays in such a long journey. Accordingly we need not be surprised that Cassius's letter of March 7th (822) had not yet arrived.



nihil sciebamus—neque enim ab ipso ullae litterae neque nuntiabatur quidquam, quod pro certo haberemus—; quanto opere autem intersit opprimi Dolabellam, profecto intellegis, cum ut sceleris poenas persolvat, tum ne sit, quo se latronum duces ex Mutinensi fuga conferant. Atque hoc mihi iam ante placuisse potes ex superioribus meis litteris recordari: quamquam tum et fugae portus erat in tuis castris et subsidium salutis in tuo exercitu; quo magis nunc liberati, ut spero, periculis in Dolabella opprimenda occupati esse debemus. Sed hoc cogitabis diligentius, statues sapienter: facies nos, quid constitueris et quid agas, si tibi videbitur, certiores. 3. Ciceronem nostrum in vestrum collegium cooptari volo. Existimo omnino absentium rationem sacerdotum comitiis posse haberi; nam etiam factum est antea: Gaius enim Marius, cum in Cappadocia esset, lege Domitia factus est augur, nec, quo minus id postea liceret, ulla lex sanxit; est etiam in lege Iulia, quae lex est de sacerdotiis proxima, his verbis, QVI PETET CVIVSVE RATIO HABEBITVR, aperte indicatum posse rationem haberi non petentis. Hac de re scripsi ad eum, ut tuo iudicio uteretur, sicut in rebus omnibus, tibi autem statuendum est de Domitio, de

*hoc . . . placuisse*] For acc. and inf. after *recordari*, cp. Fam. vi. 21, 2 (573); Cat. iv. 7; Caes. B. C. iii. 47, 5. In *meis litteris* Cicero is probably referring to 843, 4.

3. *vestrum collegium*] i.e., the Pontificate. The canvass of young Cicero is not mentioned anywhere else except in the correspondence with Brutus (867, 1; 913, 1). He was not successful; the first priesthood he obtained was the augurate in 724 (30) cp. App. iv. 51.

*Gaius Marius*] cp. Plut. Mar. 31, Mommsen R. H. iii. 284, note (Eng. Tr.).

*lege Domitia*] This was a plebiscitum passed in 651 (103) which transferred the election of members of the four chief colleges of priests from the colleges themselves to the people. When a vacancy occurred the college nominated a certain number of candidates, each candidate being proposed by two members who swore that he was a fit and suitable person to be appointed. The names of these candidates were submitted to the *comitia sacerdotum*, i.e., to 17 tribes chosen by lot (*minor pars populi*). These tribes elected the priest who was afterwards co-opted by the college. As to the presidency of these comitia, cp. Willems

Droit public, p. 168, n. 7.

*lege Iulia*] Mommsen (St. R. ii. 29, note 1) considers that one of the provisions of this law annulled the condition that each candidate should be nominated by two members of the college.

RATIO HABEBITVR] 'or whose candidature is entertained.' For this phrase cp. vol. iii., p. lxi ff. This passage proves that elections to priesthoods in the absence of the candidates were possible: cp. Mommsen, St. R. i<sup>2</sup>. 485, note 4; Lange, R. A. ii<sup>3</sup>. 538.

*indicatum*] *indicat* (vulg.): *indicat. l.* (= *vel.*) Wolfenbüttel ms. Hence Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 182) excellently suggests *indicatum*. He is also right in retaining with M<sup>1</sup> *haberi non petentis*. Coluccio was led to his alteration *haberi* <*etiam*> *non praesentis* by the words *existimo omnino absentium rationem sacerdotum comitiis posse haberi*.

*de Domitio, de Catone nostro*] The former was the son of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who fell at Pharsalia, and Porcia, sister of Cato of Utica; and the latter was son of the same Cato. They were both connected with Brutus, who had married Cato's daughter Porcia.



Catone nostro ; sed, quamvis licet absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt praesentibus faciliora, quod si statueris in Asiam tibi eundum, nulla erit ad comitia nostros arcessendi facultas.

4. Omnino Pansa vivo celeriora omnia putabamus ; statim enim collegam sibi subrogavisset, deinde ante praetoria sacerdotum comitia fuissent : nunc per auspicia longam moram video ; dum enim unus erit patricius magistratus, auspicia ad patres redire non possunt : magna sane perturbatio. Tu, tota de re quid sentias, velim me facias certiore. 111. Nonas Maias.

## DCCCLIII. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 14).

ROME ; MAY 5 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Laudat M. Cicero L. Plancum in Bruto iuvando promptissimum, hortaturque, ut belli reliquias exstinguat.

## CICERO PLANCO S.

1. O gratam famam biduo ante victoriam de subsidio tuo, de studio, de celeritate, de copiis ! Atqui etiam hostibus fuis spes

*quod si . . . facultas*] This certainly does sound as if Cicero wanted Brutus to regulate the order of his campaign so as to suit young Cicero's candidature ; but it is opposed to the decree in § 1, and the advice in § 2. Doubtless all Cicero means is that, if Brutus thinks the young men ought to accompany him into Asia, they must give up all hopes of being present at the election, and that it cannot be helped.

4. *nunc per auspicia*] Cicero is pointing out the delay that must be caused in the appointment of an interrex. In De Leg. iii. 9 he quotes a law *ast quando consulari potestate magistratus magisterre populi* (i.e. dictator) *nec erunt reliqui magistratus ne suntu, auspicia patrum suntu, ollique ec se produnt qui comitiatu consules rite creare possit*. That is, that on the one hand no one but a consul or a dictator can hold the consular comitia, cp. Att. ix. 3, 3 (364), and on the other that the *auspicia* must become vested in the whole body of patricians before an interrex can be appointed for electing consuls. But again, as long as the *auspicia*, whether *maiora* or *minora* (Gell. xiii. 15, 4), were held by any patrician magistrate, they did

not lapse to the patricians ; and thus, in order to obtain this essential condition of the appointment of an interrex, it was necessary to get all the patrician magistrates to resign (cp. Dionys. Hal. viii. 90, ἀποδείκνυται μεσοβασιλεὺς, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι κατελύθησαν ἀρχαί). On the present occasion, owing to the absence of several of the patrician magistrates (Dio. Cass. xlv. 45, 3), the obtaining such consent would entail great delay. The difficulty was solved by appointing two *privati* with consular power to hold the consular elections. See an excellent article on *Interrex* in Dict. Antiq. <sup>3</sup>. 1021, by Mr. A. H. Greenidge of Hertford College, Oxford.

1. *O gratam . . . copiis*] 'What a delightful report, heard two days before news of the victory at Mutina had arrived, of the support you can bring, your energy, rapidity, and forces.' Cicero probably received a letter from Plancus on April 24, but did not answer it until definite news had arrived of the posture of affairs in North Italy.

*Atqui*] So Manutius and Wesenberg for *Atque*.

omnis est in te. Fugisse enim ex proelio Mutinensi dicuntur notissimi latronum duces. Est autem non minus gratum extrema delere quam prima depellere. 2. Equidem expectabam iam tuas litteras idque cum multis, sperabamque etiam Lepidum rei publicae temporibus admonitum tecum et cum re publica esse facturum. In illam igitur curam incumbere, mi Plance, ut ne quae scintilla taeterrimi belli relinquantur. Quod si erit factum, et rem publicam divino beneficio adfeceris et ipse aeternam gloriam consequere. D. III. Non. Mai.

## DCCCLIV. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 10).

DETRONA; MAY 5; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus queritur de quorundam malevolentia et rei publicae periculum ostendit.

## D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Non mihi rem publicam plus debere arbitror quam me tibi: gratiorem me esse in te posse, quam isti perversi sint in me exploratum habes; si tamen hoc temporis videatur dici causa, malle me

*dicuntur*] This must not be taken as an argument that certain news of the Battle of Mutina had not yet reached Rome, and that accordingly the battle could not have been fought as early as April 21. If the battle did not take place before the 27th, it could not have been known as early as May 5, that Antony was again an enemy to be reckoned with, and that little assistance was to be hoped for from D. Brutus and Octavian: see Schelle, p. 13.

*latronum*] This term is used because the Antonians had been outlawed on April 27: cp. 562, 2.

*Est autem . . . depellere*] 'But the final destruction of the enemy is no less pleasing than their first repulse.'

2. *tecum . . . facturum*] So Orelli. The best MSS omit: *cum* and give *rei p*: see Adm. Crit. For *facere cum aliquo*, 'to take part with a person,' cp. Sull. 36. Bücheler, Baiter, and Gildbauer read *tecum e re publica* 'will act with you for the safety of the state': the phrase *e re p*. is especially frequent in the Philippics.

Mendelssohn follows Graevius in wishing to omit *et rei p*. altogether.

*et rem p. . . adfeceris . . . consequere*] Note the different tenses: 'you will have done the state a more than human service, and you will yourself ever enjoy undying glory.'

*iii. Non. Mai.*] The date is correct. The letter of April 29 from D. Brutus (847), first intimated authoritatively to Cicero that the victory at Mutina was not a complete one. That letter probably reached Rome about May 4th: and this was written in consequence of it.

1. *vini*] So M Pal: H has *vini*, the easier reading adopted by Wessenberg. The subjunctive, if retained, is to be regarded as virtual oblique, 'than you see those people you speak of are to me.' D. Brutus appears to affect strange uses of the subjunctive: cp. 565, 1 [*percerentur*].

*si tamen . . . causa*] So Viet. read this difficult passage. For the various readings, see Adm. Crit. 'At all events, if I appear to say this [i.e. express very

tuum iudicium, quam ex altera parte omnium istorum. Tu enim a certo sensu et vero iudicas de nobis: quod isti ne faciant summa malevolentia et livore impediuntur. Interpellent me quo minus honoratus sim, dum ne interpellent quo minus res publica a me commode administrari possit; quae quanto sit in periculo quam potero brevissime exponam. 2. Primum omnium quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum adferat obitus consulum quantamque cupiditatem hominibus honoris inicit vacuitas non te fugit. Satis me multa scripsisse, quae litteris commendari possint, arbitror: scio enim cui scribam. 3. Revertor nunc ad Antonium, qui ex fuga eum parvulam manum peditum haberet iuermium, ergastula solvendo omneque genus hominum abripiendo satis

deep gratitude), owing to the exigency of the moment, you know full well that I prefer your *judgment* to that of all those you wot of on the other side.' D. Brutus seems to have been a man who was not given to expressing his emotions very emphatically. Thus he thinks that a very fervent expression of gratitude might be considered by Cicero to be assumed for the moment; but goes on to say, that even if Cicero *does* think so, he prefers Cicero's well-considered and sincere judgment to that of his other critics, whose opinions were warped by jealousy and malevolence. With *mallo* understand *exploratum habes* from the preceding sentence.

a certo sensu] 'with definiteness and sincerity.' This usage of *a* is so peculiar that Orelli suggests *aperto* for *a certo*. We often find *iudicare* with *ex*, or with the simple ablative, but never with *a*. Gebhard (p. 10) quotes Balbus in Att. ix. 7n, 3 354, *sed illud certe scio me ab singulari amore ac benevolentia . . . tibi scribere*, and supposes that this is an extension of the use of *a* found with *facere*, *stare*, *esse*, signifying 'to be on the side of.'

livore] 'jealousy.' Before the Augustan age this word is elsewhere always used in its literal sense of the bluish colour of a bruise, except perhaps Tusc. iv. 28, *malevoli et lividi*, where, however, Wesenberg and Baier-Kayser eject *et lividi*: cp. Schmalz, Antib. ii. 27.

Interpellent] 'impede.' For the construction similar to that after verbs of hindering cp. Matus ap. Fam. xi. 28, 7 (785), *quod Caesar nunquam interpellavit quin . . . iis uteretur*.

2. hominibus honoris inicit vacuitas] For the corrupt readings of the mss see Adn. Crit. Cicero uses *vacuitas* with the genit. in the sense of 'freedom from.' Tusc. v. 42, *securitatem nunc appello vacuitatem aegritudinis*. In Vitruv. ii. 7, 2, *ignis interreniorum vacuitates* ('the empty pores') occupies, it is used in the concrete. Here the sense is 'the fact that the consulship is vacant.'

Satis me multa . . . arbitror] 'I think that I have written as much as can be committed to a letter.' Probably *quae . . . possint* is restrictive, 'at least as much as can be committed to a letter.' Cicero would have said *quae modo* or *quae quidem*: cp. Roby, § 1692. The reference in *hominibus* is doubtless to Octavian. Gebhard (p. 13) says Cicero would have used *mandare*, not *commendare*.

3. ergastula solvendo] For *ergastula* used of the slaves confined in the barracks cp. Juv. xiv. 24, *quem mira afficiunt inscripta ergastula*, where Mayor quotes numerous parallels, comparing *domus* used for a 'household,' *curia*, *theatrum*, 'gallery,' 'pit,' 'boxes': cp. 869, 2; Liv. Ep. 56; Caes. B. C. iii. 22, 2. On this last passage Dinter argues that *ergastula* is here used for the prisons and not by metonymy for the slaves; because in the passages from this letter it is added that Antony hurried along with him *omne genus hominum*. But these probably refer to the free labourers and those rustic slaves who were *not* confined in the *ergastula*. Note the gerundial construction, where one would expect the abl. absolute.

magnum numerum videtur effecisse. Hoc accessit manus Ventidii, quae trans Appenninum itinere facto difficillimo ad Vada pervenit atque ibi se cum Antonio coniunxit. Est numerus veteranorum et armatorum satis frequens cum Ventidio. 4. Consilia Antonii haec sint necesse est: aut ad Lepidum ut se conferat, si recipitur, aut Appennino Alpibusque se teneat et decursionibus per equites, quos habet multos, vastet ea loca, in quae incurrit, aut rursus se in Etruriam referat, quod ea pars Italia sine exercitu est. Quod si me Caesar audisset atque Appenninum transisset, in tantas angustias Antonium compulsem, ut inopia potius quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Caesari imperari potest nec Caesar exercitui suo: quod utrumque pessimum est. Cum haec talia sint, quo minus, quod ad me pertinebit, homines interpellent, ut supra scripsi, non impedio: haec quem ad modum explicari possint aut, a te cum explicabuntur, ne impediantur timeo. 5. Alere iam milites non possum. Cum ad rem publicam liberandam accessi, HS mihi fuit pecuniae [CCCC] amplius. Tantum abest ut meae rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut omnes iam meos amicos aere alieno obstrinxerim. Septem numerum

[*Vada*] i.e. Vada Sabatia, about 30 miles west of Genoa, on the coast.

[*Est numerus . . . Ventidio*] 'There is a pretty large number of veterans and armed soldiers with Ventidius.' As there does not appear to be any other example of *frequens* used with *numerus* in the sense of number, we might possibly take the latter as meaning 'a company' in the military sense, though no certain example of this usage can be found before Tacitus; or possibly in the more general sense of 'force': cp. perhaps, § 5.

4. [*si recipitur*] 'if he is to be received by Lepidus.' For this vivid present of an action just about to be commenced, cp. Roby, § 1461, and Madvig, Opusc. Acad. ii. 40 (= p. 437, new edit.), quoted by Mayor on Juvenal, iv. 130, *conciditur*?

[*rursus*] We do not hear that Antony marched through Etruria at the end of 710 (44); he would appear to have kept to the Flaminian Road (App. iii. 46). M reads *rusus*, perhaps rightly: cp. Neue ii<sup>3</sup>. 749: see Adn. Crit.

[*Appenninum transisset*] The capable D. Brutus, in his interview with Octavian on the 22nd, probably suggested that he himself should endeavour to reach Nice

before Antony did, and that Octavian should cross the Apennines and intercept Ventidius, who was expected to strike across the country from Faventia, and meet Antony in Liguria. (O. E. Schmidt in Jahrb. 1892, p. 328.)

[*Sed neque Caesari . . . pessimum est*] 'but orders cannot be given to Caesar, nor by Caesar to his own army—and both these things are very pernicious.'

[*haec . . . timeo*] 'The manner of clearing away these difficulties, and, when they are cleared away, of preventing obstacles arising—this is the object of my fears.' *Haec* refers to all the difficulties which Brutus had just set forth; but his real fears were doubtless for the censure to which he would justly be subjected owing to his delay in starting in pursuit of Antony.

5. [CCCC] forty million sesterces, *quadringenties*, sc. *centena millia*.

[*liberum*] 'free to be used,' 'unencumbered' (Watson).

[*amicos*] e.g. Pontius Aquila: cp. Dio Cass. xlv. 40, 2, καὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν ἀποθανόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εἰκόνη ἐτίμησαν τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἃ εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν τοῦ Δεκίμου στρατιωτῶν οἰκοθεν ἀναλάκει τοῖς κληρονόμοις αὐτοῦ ἀπέδωκαν.



nunc legiones alo : qua difficultate tu arbitrare. Non si Varronis thensauros haberem, subsistere sumptui possem. Cum primum de Antonio exploratum habuero, faciam te certiozem. Tu me amabis ita, si hoc idem me in te facere senseris. III. Non. Maias, ex castris, Dertona.

## DCCCLV. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 11).

CONFINES OF THE STATIELLENSES ; MAY 6 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ;  
AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus iter Antonii ad Lepidum, dubiamque Planci fidem et suum in rem publicam studium significat.

## D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Eodem exemplo a te mihi litterae redditae sunt, quo pueri mei attulerunt. Tantum me tibi debere existimo, quantum persolvere difficile est. Scripsi tibi quae hic gererentur. In itinere est Antonius : ad Lepidum proficiscitur : ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abiecit, ut ex libellis eius animadverti, qui in me inciderunt, in quibus quos ad Asinium, quos ad Lepidum, quos ad Planeum mitteret scribebat. Ego tamen non habui ambiguum et

*numerus*] Probably to be taken in the sense of 'a force': cp. § 3. Some editors follow Orelli, and alter to *numero*: cp. Caes. Bell. Gall. i. 49, 3, *Eo circiter hominum numero sedecim milia . . . misit*, where some mss read *numerus*. Boot (Obs. Crit. 22) suggests *nimirum . . . legiones*.

*Varronis thensauros*] As there is no record that the wealth of Varro was very great, not to say so great as to be proverbial, Orelli has supposed that there may be a reference to one of Varro's Menippean satires which has been lost. In it Varro may have depicted some character possessed of untold wealth.

*subsistere*] 'to hold out against': cp. Liv. xxvii. 7, 3, *vix Hannibali atque eius armis subsistentem*.

*ita, si*] 'only if.' Watson compares Att. vii. 7, 5 (298).

*amabis*] polite imperative.

*Dertona*] About 35 miles due north of Genoa ; now Tortona.

1. *Eodem exemplo . . . attulerunt*] 'duplicates of your letters which my servants brought to me are to hand.' In these troublous times, when there was such danger of letters being intercepted, it was not unusual to send duplicates: cp. 856, 1, *tabellariosque complures Romam misi*: 899 fin.

*quae hic gererentur*] We should expect *gererantur*. The subjunctive is perhaps to be explained as a generic subjunctive, or else as an inaccuracy on the part of Brutus: cp. Cassius 822, 1.

*libellis*] 'memorandum-books': cp. Phil. i. 16, *in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis*.

*in me inciderunt*] a somewhat careless expression of ordinary language for *mihi in manus inciderunt*.

*non habui ambiguum*] 'I did not hesitate,' literally, 'had not any wavering.' We do not know an exact parallel; *habere dubium* in Plant. Capt. iv. 2, 112, is something like it.



statim ad Plancium misi, et biduo ab Allobrogibus et totius Galliae legatos expecto, quos confirmatos domum remittam. 2. Tu, quae istae opus erunt administrari, prospicies, ut ex tua voluntate rei quae publicae commodo fiant. Malevolentiae hominum in me, si poteris, occurras: si non potueris, hoc consolabere, quod me de statu meo nullis contumeliis deterrere possunt. Pridio Nonas Maias, ex castris, ex finibus Statiellensium.

## DCCCLVI. C. CASSIUS TO CICERO (FAM. XII. 12).

CAMP IN SYRIA; MAY 7; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; ART. CIC. 63.

C. Cassius laudat M. Ciceronis benevolentiam eique suas suarumque res et rationes commendat, se in Ciliciam contra Dolabellam iam profecturum esse.

## C. CASSIUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI SUO.

1. S. V. R. E. E. Q. V. Legi tuas litteras, in quibus mirificum tuum erga me amorem recognovi. Videbaris enim non solum favere nobis—id quod et nostra et rei publicae causa semper fecisti—, sed etiam gravem curam suscepisse vehementerque esse de nobis sollicitus. Itaque, quod te primum existimare putabam, nos oppressa re publica quiescere non posse, deinde, cum suspicarer nos moliri,

2. *administrans*] The infinitive passive is very rarely, if ever, found after *quis* used personally. Probably in Ter. Andr. ii. 1, 57, *quis aut quis aut quis*, we should read *quis se administrat*.

*seipsum solatur*] 'you will console yourself with this reflection.' *seipsum* can be used passively or reflexively, cp. Gell. xv. 18, 1, and his quotation § 1 from L. Metellus *Ad eum quoniam existeret seipsum esse solatur*. *seipsum* is also used reflexively. Plutarch (viii. p. 383, Keil) says that Asinius Pollio also used *seipsum* passively, cp. Varro Sat. Menipp. p. 347 Rucheler *considerat*. See Neue m. pp. 50, 51.

*de salute sua*, . . . *discurrere*] For the construction, cp. Plaut. Truc. ii. 4, 169; Cic. de Div. ii. 51. Gellard (p. 32) notices that *discurrere de* differs from *discurrere ab*, in that the former implies that the person is frightened out of the possession of what he held, the latter that he is prevented by intimidation from

attempting to get possession of a thing. This distinction is hardly borne out by the passage cited from Plautus.

*in finibus Statiellensium*] We have added *in* according to a conjecture of Wesenberg (F. A. 38), who compares 876 fm. *in finibus* of Plaut. Aequan. The Statiellenses or Statielli (Plin. H. N. iii. 47) or Statellates (Liv. xlii. 8, 5) lived a little to the north-west of Genoa. Their chief town Aquae Statiellensium (Plin. § 49) had mineral springs, and still bears the name of Acqui.

1. *Notatus*] Probably 823, written about the Nones of March.

*impugnans*] cp. Pompey ap. Att. viii. 11 C. [334], where Boet quotes 2 Verr. i. 82.

*in actum*] 'was proceeding to action.' For *in actum* used absolutely, cp. Fam. vi. 10, 1 [492] *agam per me ipse et per te*.

quod te sollicitum esse et de salute nostra et de rerum eventu putabam, simul ac legiones accepi, quas A. Alienus eduxerat ex Aegypto, scripsi ad te tabellarioque complures Romam misi. Scripsi etiam ad senatum litteras, quas reddi vetui prius quam tibi recitatae essent, si forte mei obtemperare mihi voluerint. Quod si litterae perlatae non sunt, non dubito quin Dolabella, qui nefarie Trebonio occiso Asiam occupavit, tabellarios meos deprehenderit litterasque interceperit. 2. Exercitus omnes, qui in Syria fuerunt, teneo. Habui pollulum morae, dum promissa militibus persolvo. Nunc iam sum expeditus. A te peto, ut dignitatem meam commendatam tibi habeas, si me intellegis nullum neque periculum neque laborem patriae denegasse, si contra importunissimos latrones arma cepi te hortante et auctore, si non solum exercitus ad rem publicam libertatemque defendendam comparavi, sed etiam crudelissimis tyrannis eripui: quos si occupasset Dolabella, non solum adventu, sed etiam opinione et expectatione exercitus sui Antonium confirmasset. 3. Quas ob res milites tuere si eos mirifice de re publica meritos esse animadvertis, et effice, ne quem paeniteat rem publicam quam spem praedae et rapinarum sequi maluisse. Item Murei et Crispi imperatorum dignitatem, quantum est in te, tuere. Nam Bassus misere noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod nisi milites invito eo legatos ad me misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata. Haec a te peto non solum rei publicae, quae tibi semper fuit

*legiones*] These appear to have been legions left by Caesar to guard Cleopatra; or the remnants of the army of Crassus and Pompey (App. iii. 78, iv. 59).

*A. Alienus*] cp. 822, 1.

*complures*] cp. note to 855, 1. One copy at least reached Cicero, viz. 822.

*ad senatum*] This letter is not extant.

*mei*] The relatives of Cassius do not appear to have been on very friendly terms with Cicero. We have seen that his stepmother, Servilia, objected to Cicero's proceedings on his behalf (823, 1).

2. *pollulum*] This is a less elegant form for *paullulum*. Bücheler (Rh. Mus. xi. 511) quotes for this form Cato R. R. x. 2; xxi. 3; Varro L. L. v. 35, 167.

*dignitatem*] Cassius wished to be formally appointed Governor of Syria.

*tyrannis*] Antony and Dolabella.

*opinione*] 'by the mere surmise': confirmasset 'strengthened.'

3. *Murei et Crispi*] cp. note to 822, 1; also Phil. xi. 50.

*Nam*] 'I say nothing about Bassus, for he in pitiful fashion refused to hand over his legion to me': App. iii. 78 seems to say that he had two legions. For Bassus, cp. note to Fam. xii. 18, 1 (670).

*misere*] This adverb is often used in the comedians of the pain of too strong emotion (*misere amare, misere deperire*), but it is strange to find it applied to such a negative idea as unwillingness. Perhaps *misere* of H. Pal. is right.

*Apameam*] sixty miles S.E. of Antioch, near the Orontes. There was another Apamea in Phrygia: cp. Att. v. 16, 2 (208).

carissima, sed etiam amicitiae nostrae nomine, quam confido apud te plurimum posse. 4. Crede mihi hunc exercitum, quem habeo, senatus atque optimi cuiusque esse maximeque tuum: de cuius voluntate adsidue audiendo mirifice te diligit earumque habet. Qui si intellexerit commoda sua curae tibi esse, debere etiam se tibi omnia putabit.

5. Litteris scriptis audiavi Dolabellam in Ciliciam venisse cum suis copiis. Proficiscar in Ciliciam. Quid egerim celeriter ut scias dabo operam. Ac velim, ut meremur de re publica, sic felices simus. Fac valeas meque ames. Non. Maiis, ex castris.

### DCCCLVII. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 1-3).

DYRRHACHIUM; MAY 7 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus reprehensionem nimiae in C. Antonium clementiae diluit et monet ne nimios honores tribuat.

#### BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Quanta sim laetitia affectus cognitis rebus Bruti nostri et consulum, facilius est tibi existimare quam mihi scribere: cum alia laudo et gaudeo accidisse, tum quod Bruti eruptio non solum

*nomine*] 'on the score of,' a book-keeping term: cp. Att. vi. 2, 3 (256).

4. *senatus . . . habet*] 'is devoted to the senate and the patriotic party, and especially to yourself; and as they constantly are hearing of your devotion and interest in the cause, they have a marvellous regard and affection for you': *de cuius* is to be resolved into *et de tua: audiendo*, sc. in my speeches. For the spelling *adsidue*, Mommsen (St. R. iii. 237, 3) quotes C. I. L. vi. 9499 fin., an inscription of the republican age.

5. *Litteris scriptis*] a postscript, cp. note to 874, 1.

*cum suis copiis*] i.e. two legions, App. iii. 78.

*in Ciliciam*] Tarsus supported Dolabella (Dio. xlvii. 30, 1).

*ex castris*] Watson considers that the camp of Cassius was in the valley of the Orontes.

This letter is an answer to 844.

1. *Quanta sim laetitia*] It has seemed to some strange that Brutus should express his joy so unreservedly at the result of the Battle of Mutina, in which the consuls were killed, and even make special mention of their fortune (*rebus . . . consulum*) as a subject for rejoicing. The solution is that when he wrote this letter about May 7th, he had heard merely of the victory, and not of the death of the consuls. Immediately after despatching it he began his eastward march, and wrote 866 from the camp on May 15th, after he had heard of the deaths of Hirtius and Pansa: cp. Gurlitt (Philol. Suppl. iv. 583), who refers to 874, 2 (an answer to 857), *tuum consilium vehementer laudo quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria*.

*Bruti eruptio*] That this refers to

ipsi salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adiumento. 2. Quod scribis mihi trium Antoniorum unam atque eandem causam esse, quid ego sentiam, mei iudicii esse, statuo nihil nisi hoc, senatus aut populi Romani iudicium esse de iis civibus, qui pugnantes non interierint. "At hoc ipsum," inquires "inique facis, qui hostilis animi in rem publicam homines cives appelles." Immo iustissime; quod enim nondum senatus censuit nec populus Romanus iussit, id arroganter non praeiudico neque revoco ad arbitrium meum: illud quidem non muto, quod ei, quem me occidere res non coëgit, neque crudeliter quidquam eripui neque dissolute quidquam remisi habuique in mea potestate, quoad bellum fuit. Multo equidem honestius iudico magisque quod concedere possit res publica miserorum fortunam non insectari quam infinite tribuere potentibus, quae cupiditatem et arrogantiam incendere possint. 3. Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime atque fortissime mihi-que merito et meo nomine et rei publicae carissime, nimis credere videris spei tuae statimque, ut quisque aliquid recte fecerit, omnia

an actual sally made from Mutina by D. Brutus during the battle can hardly be doubted; though Meyer (p. 46) insists that, owing to the manner in which it is treated in 874, 2, it must refer to the march forth from the town to pursue the enemy after the victory had been won and Antony put to flight. But Cicero, undoubtedly, refers to a sally made during the battle in 886, 1, *tantam spem attulerat exploratae victoriae tuae praeclara Mutina eruptio, fuga Antonii conciso exercitu*; and Cicero often speaks of D. Brutus as having exhibited the greatest valour, 912, 1: 871, 1. The objection to this view is that Vell. ii. 62, 4, App. iii. 71, and Dio Cass. xlv. 39 say nothing about this sally, and the latter explicitly says c. 40, *τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τοῖς συμπολιορκηθεῖσιν οἱ* (i.e. *Δεκίμῳ*) *καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ τᾶλλα ὕσα τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος πρότερον προεπήγχετο, καὶ περ μὴ δὲν ἐς τὴν νίκην συμβαλομένοισι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτὴν ἰδοῦσι, δοθῆναι ἔγνωσαν*. Cobet supposes that it was Aquila who made the sally (Aquila was serving under D. Brutus, and was killed in the battle); but that, as D. Brutus was the chief commander, and as the sally was made under his auspices, the credit of it was given to him. This is ingenious: but it is far simpler, with Hermann and Ruete, to

assign the statement that Decimus had looked on idly at the battle, to the obvious Caesarian partisanship which is exhibited throughout the whole of Dio Cass. xlv. 40.

2. *Quod . . . interierint*] Plainly in these words Brutus is answering 844, 3, and had not before him 846, 4, in which there is a definite mention of the vote of the senate declaring Antony and his followers enemies of the state. See Schelle, p. 15.

*revoco ad arbitrium meum*] 'claim it for my own decision.'

*neque crudeliter . . . remisi*] 'I have not cruelly wrested anything from him or weakly yielded anything': cp. 842, 5.

*habuique in mea potestate*] 'and I have kept in my power as long as the war lasted.' This was Cicero's advice (840, 3). From the words used, in *potestate*, not in *custodia*, we may probably infer that C. Antonius was only kept under surveillance, not in prison.

*concedere possit res publica*] So M: but in the margin *conducere possit rei p.* The latter is more likely to have arisen from a corruption of the former than vice versa.

*miserorum fortunam non insectari*] 'to refrain from assailing the fortunes of the fallen.'



dare ac permittere, quasi non liceat traduci ad mala consilia corruptum largitionibus animum. Quae tua est humanitas, aequo animo te moneri patieris, praesertim de communi salute: facies tamen, quod tibi visum fuerit; etiam ego, cum me docueris \* \*

## DCCCLVIII. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 13).

ROME; MAY 10, OR A LITTLE LATER; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET.

CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Plancum de senatus consulto ex sententia sua facto certiore facit et hortatur, ut bellum Antonianum conficiat.

### CICERO PLANCO.

1. Ut primum mihi potestas data est augendae dignitatis tuae, nihil praetermisi in te ornando quod positum esset aut in praemio virtutis aut in honore verborum. Id ex ipso senatus consulto poteris cognoscere: ita enim est perscriptum, ut a me de scripto dicta sententia est, quam senatus frequens secutus est summo studio magnoque consensu. 2. Ego quamquam ex tuis litteris, quas mihi misisti, perspexeram te magis iudicio bonorum quam insignibus gloriae delectari, tamen considerandum nobis existimavi, etiam si

3. *quasi non liceat*] Strictly *licere* is applied to a thing *quod legibus, quod more maiorum institutoque conceditur* (Phil. xiii. 14): but it is used also in a less strict way of what is outside the sphere of political or moral considerations: cp. Tusc. v. 55, *etsi peccare nemini licet: sed sermonis errore labimur, id enim licere dicimus quod cuique conceditur*, the mere exercise of will unrestrained by external force. Accordingly there is no necessity to read with Madvig, *quasi non liqueat*, 'as if it were not certain.'

*largitionibus*] 'extravagant grants.' This word can be used of 'largesses' or 'bribes,' which consist of other things than money, e.g., *civitatibus*, Balb. 31.

*docueris* \* \*] Here Schmidt and Gurlitt suppose that a page of the archetype has been lost containing the end of this letter and the beginning of 866.

This letter is an answer to 845, which was written from Vienne about April 26th, or a little later. As Vienne is 700 miles from Rome that letter cannot have reached Cicero before May 10.

1. *augendae dignitatis*] 'advancing your distinction.'

*nihil . . . verborum*] 'there was no honour I omitted to bestow on you either in the form of rewards of merit or of laudatory expressions.'

*ita enim . . . sententia est*] 'for it was drawn up in the exact terms of the written motion which I brought forward in my speech.' For examples of senators writing out the motions they intended to propose, Watson compares Phil. i. 3, iii. 20, x. 5.

2. *insignibus gloriae*] 'external marks of distinction.'



tu nihil postulares, quantum tibi a re publica deberetur. Tu contexes extrema cum primis. Qui enim M. Antonium oppresserit, is bellum confecerit. Itaque Homerus non Aiace[m] nec Achillem, sed Ulixem appellavit *ποτολίπορθιον*.

## DCCCLIX. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 1-4).

POLLENTIA; ABOUT MAY 12; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus excusat tarditatem in persequendo M. Antonio et quo res statu sit exponit.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Iam non ago tibi gratias: cui enim re vix referre possum, huic verbis non patitur res satis fieri. Attendere te volo, quae in manibus sunt. Qua enim prudentia es, nihil te fugiet, si meas litteras diligenter legeris. Sequi confestim Antonium his de

*Tu contexes extrema cum primis]* 'You must fit the end to the beginning,' a metaphor from weaving. The fut. is used as a mild imperative.

*ποτολίπορθιον]* For this form cp. Hom. Od. ix. 504, 530. On the Homeric use of the epithet, cp. Strabo i. 17, *οἶτος* (sc. δ' *Ὀδυσσεύς*) *ὁ ποτολίπορθος ἀεὶ λεγόμενος*. This opinion came from Aristarchus, and his Homer was the one which all the later writers of the Roman period followed. But in Homer, as we have it, though *ποτολίπορθος* is always applied to Ulysses in the Odyssey, it is applied to Achilles in Il. viii. 372, xv. 77, xxi. 550, xxiv. 108. These verses Aristarchus appears to have atheized: cp. Schol. on Δν. 77, *φησὶν δ' Ἀρίσταρχος οὐτι οὐδαμῇ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ποτολίπορθον εἶρηκεν ἀλλὰ ποδάρεκην καὶ ποδάρεκα*: and Eustath. 1005, 61, on xxi. 550, *ἡ διπλή, ὅτι πλεονάζει ἐπ' Ὀδυσσεύς. τὸ ποτολίπορθον διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν, νῦν δ' ἀπαξ ἐπ' Ἀχιλλέως*. See also Wolf Proleg., p. 258 (ed. Calvary).

about June 11, after the union of Brutus and Plancus had been effected. A sheet of the archetype seems to have been lost.

The date of this letter can be fixed from the following considerations:—On the 6th D. Brutus was at Aquae Statiellae (855), and Antony at Vada, where he had united his forces with those of Ventidius on the 3rd. The distance between these places is about 45 Roman miles. Brutus advanced a day's journey to within 30 miles of Vada (probably on the 7th), and there heard about Antony's oration, and the intended attack on Pollentia (§ 3). If we refer to the map we shall find that it is about 67 miles by the road from the point where Brutus halted on the 7th to Pollentia: we say 'by the road,' for it is much less in a straight line across country; the cohorts may possibly have gone across country, but the main army of D. Brutus probably marched south along the Aemilian road (later Julia Augusta) till it could strike into the main road from Pollentia to Vada: see Kiepert's map at the end of C. I. I., vol. v. This march must have occupied 4 days, which would bring Brutus to Pollentia by the 11th. This letter was written a day or so later.

1. *cui enim re]* 'For the nature of the case does not admit that he, whom I can scarcely repay in deeds, could be satisfied with words.'

In the mss 859 and 900 appear as one letter (Fam. xi. 13); yet Fam. xi. 13 plainly consists of portions of two letters, the former written by D. Brutus to Cicero about May 12th, the latter probably by both Brutus and Plancus to the Senate

causis, Cicero, non potui: eram sine equitibus, sine iumentis: Hirtium perisse nesciebam, Aquilam perisse nesciebam: Caesari non credebam prius quam convenissem et colloentus essem. Hic dies hoc modo abiit. 2. Postero die mane a Pansa sum arcessitus Bononiam. Cum in itinere essem, nuntiatum mihi est cum mortuum esse. Recurri ad meas copulas: sic enim vere eas appellare possum: sunt extenuatissimae et inopia omnium rerum pessime acceptae. Biduo me Antonius antecessit: itinera fecit multo maiora fugiens quam ego sequens. Ille enim iit passim, ego ordinatim. Quaecumque iit, ergastula solvit, homines abripuit: constitit nusquam prius, quam ad Vada venit; quem locum volo tibi esse notum: iacet inter Appenninum et Alpes, impeditissimus ad iter faciendum. 3. Cum abessem ab eo milia passuum triginta et se iam Ventidius coniunxisset, contio eius ad me est adlata, in qua petere coepit a militibus, ut se trans Alpes sequerentur: sibi cum M. Lepido convenire. Sueclamatum est, et frequenter a

*Aquilam . . . nesciebam*] These words do not occur in M, but they are found in II Pal, and many second-class mss. Orelli says the copyist added them: 'nescio quo furore instinctus' (Hist. Crit., p. xxvii). But we know (though it is highly unlikely that the copyist knew, unless his frenzy was inspired) that Pontius Aquila, a legate of D. Brutus, did fall at the Battle of Mutina (Dio Cass. xlv. 40, 2), and the words might easily have fallen out *ex homocoteleuto*. On Pontius Aquila, who was one of the conspirators against Caesar, cp. 854, 5; 890, 4; App. ii. 113 ff.; Dio Cass. xlv. 38, 1; Phil. xi. 14, xiii. 27.

*convenissem*] Appian (iii. 73) says that Octavian refused to meet D. Brutus on the ground that he was one of Caesar's murderers. Brutus then from the other side of the river forbade Octavian to enter his province of Cisalpine Gaul.

*Hic dies*] The first day after the Battle of Mutina, viz. April 22.

2. *copulas*] 'my handful of men' (Watson). Brutus here appears to depreciate the forces at his disposal, whereas elsewhere (877, 4; 878, 1) he expresses a much more favourable opinion of them. But here he is making excuses for his delay in pursuing Antony: there he is endeavouring to keep up the spirits of the senatorial party at home: cp. note to 878, 1.

*extenuatissimae*] 'terribly reduced'; the more classical word would be *attenuatae*, cp. Gebhard, p. 44.

*pessime acceptae*] 'in the most miserable plight,' lit. 'most severely handled,' cp. 883, 4: *in oppugnando male acceptus*. Gebhard (p. 31) thinks it is a military expression, cp. Nep. Eum. 8. 1. It often occurs in Cic. e.g. 2 Verr. i. 140, ii. 56, iii. 59; Fam. vii. 26, 1 (94).

*itinera fecit*] Since II Pal and Dresd. 3 have *fecit*, though it is omitted by M, we have inserted it, as the passage thereby becomes quite plain. *Fugere iter* or *viam* would be a curious expression even for Brutus, and we are unable to find an example of such a cognate acc. *Fecit* is inserted by Mendelssohn.

*passim . . . ordinatim*] 'in a straggling band' . . . 'in regular order.' The latter word is not Ciceronian. Cicero would have used some phrase like *ordine servato*, or *ex ordine*.

*ergastula solvit*] cp. note to 854, 3.

*impeditissimus . . . faciendum*] 'a very difficult place for marching to.' Vada Sabatia is on the coast about 25 miles west of Genoa.

3. *sibi . . . convenire*] 'that he had an agreement with M. Lepidus.' Watson refers to 847, 1, to show that Brutus suspected this a good while before.

*Sueclamatum est*] 'A cry was raised,

militibus Ventidianis—nam suos valde quam paucos habet—sibi aut in Italia pereundum esse aut vincendum, et orare coeperunt, ut Pollentiam iter facerent. Cum sustinere eos non posset, in posterum diem iter suum contulit. 4. Hac re mihi nuntiata, statim quinque cohortes Pollentiam praemisi meumque iter eo contuli. Hora ante praesidium meum Pollentiam venit quam Trebellius cum equitibus. Sane quam sum gavisus: in hoc enim victoriam puto consistere \* \*

## DCCCLX. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 15).

NEAR CULARO; MAY 13; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus nuntiat M. Ciceroni et quae egerit et quae acturus sit ad opprimendum Antonium.

## PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. His litteris scriptis quae postea accidissent scire te ad rem publicam putavi pertinere. Sedulitas mea, ut spero, et mihi et rei publicae tulit fructum. Namque adsiduis internuntiis cum Lepido egi, ut omissa omni contentione reconciliataque voluntate nostra communi consilio rei publicae succurreret: se, liberos urbemque pluris quam unum perditum abiectumque latronem putaret, obsequioque meo, si ita faceret, ad omnes res abuteretur.

and to a great extent proceeding from the soldiers of Ventidius': cp. Att. i. 19, 5 (25), *huic frequenter interceditur*.

*valde quam*] The usage of *quam* after adverbs belongs to colloquial style: cp. *sane quam* (§ 4), and Palmer on Plaut. Amphitr. i. 3, 43.

*Pollentia*] about 45 miles north-west of Vada, now Pollenza.

*contulit*] 'put off': cp. Att. vi. 1, 24 (252), *quae omnia in mensem Martium sunt collata*.

4. *Trebellius*] He had been tribune of the plebs in 706, 707 (48, 47), when Caelius and Dolabella raised disturbances in the interests of debtors and the extreme democrats: cp. vol. iii., p. lvii. He was a devoted adherent of Antony: cp. Phil. vi. 11.

*Sane quam*] cp. Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5 (105); Legg. ii. 23; Att. i. 11, 3 (7) and note.

*consistere \* \**] Here the letter to Cicero breaks off: cp. 900.

CULARO] The modern Grenoble.

1. *His litteris scriptis*] These words show that the letter is a postscript to another letter, viz. 848, though written a good many days later.

*Namque*] explains *sedulitas*—'I have been very busy, for I have had constant negotiations with Lepidus.'

*se . . . abuteretur*] 'that he should consider himself, his children, and Rome of more value than one crushed and ruined rebel; and that if he did so, he might unreservedly use my services for everything.'

2. *Profeci* : itaque per Laterensem internuntium fidem mihi dedit se Antonium, si prohibere provincia sua non potuisset, bello persecuturum : me, ut venirem copiasque coniungerem, rogavit, eoque magis, quod et Antonius ab equitatu firmus esse dicebatur et Lepidus ne mediocrem quidem equitatum habebat. Nam etiam ex paucitate eius non multis ante diebus decem, qui optimi fuerant, ad me transierant. Quibus rebus ego cognitis cunctatus non sum : in cursu bonorum consiliorum Lepidum adiuvandum putavi. 3. Adventus meus quid profecturus esset vidi, vel quod equitatu meo persequi atque opprimere equitatum eius possem vel quod exercitus Lepidi eam partem, quae corrupta est ab re publica alienata, et corrigere et coercere praesentia mei exercitus possem. Itaque in Isara, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, ponte uno die facto, exercitum a. d. iv. Idus Maias traduxi. Cum vero mihi nuntiatum esse L. Antonium praemissum cum equitibus et cohortibus ad Forum Iulii venisse, fratrem cum equitum quattuor milibus, ut occurreret ei, misi a. d. iiii. Idus Maias : ipse

2. *Profeci*] It is unusual to find *proficere* used alone without the addition of *aliquid, tantum, adeo, nihil*, or the like : and though it may be tolerated in Plancus, it could not be let pass in Cicero : accordingly we have added *aliquid* with Wesenberg in Fam. xv. 14, 1 (241).

*itaque*] 'and so.' Lepidus was influenced by his arguments, and so pledged him his word.

*ab equitatu*] see note to Att. i. 1, 2 (10).

*dicebatur . . . habebat*] We should have expected the subjunctive: cp. Rhodius, p. 20.

*decem*] The smallness of this number makes one suspicious of its genuineness. Schelle, p. 38, reads *dc.* for *x.* ; while Rhodius, p. 39, note \*, proposes <*decuriae*> *decem*, but we must then alter to *quae optimae fuerant*.

*transierant*] The mss give *transierunt* : but Wesenberg (E.A. 34) points out that the perf. is impossible, as *habebat* and *fuerant* had been used before.

*in cursu bonorum . . . putavi*] 'Advancing as Lepidus was in loyal conduct, I thought that support should be given him.'

3. *persequi*] Some accusative is generally inserted to be governed by *persequi* : for though that verb is often used abso-

lutely (863, 2), yet it is thought that *eius* must have something to refer to. The usual word supplied is *Antonium*. Lehmann (p. 53) proposes to add *perditum hominem* before *persequi* : for this expression applied to Antony, ep. 790, 1 ; 827, 1. But Mendelssohn rightly points out that *is* can stand alone when it refers to the principal person in the narrative : cp. Fam. viii. 8, 4 (223), where *eum* refers to Caesar. Antony was now, as Caesar was then, the person on whom the thoughts of all were concentrated.

*possem*] Virtual oblique, 'because I could, as I thought.'

*quae . . . alienata*] 'which was tainted and disloyal to the state,' especially the tenth legion : cp. 848, 2.

*L. Antonium*] The brother of Marcus. He afterwards raised the war of Perusia.

*Forum Iulii*] The modern Fréjus, near the mouth of the Argens (Argenteus).

*a. d. iiii. Idus Maias*] The mss read *a. d. v.*, which Ruete (p. 51) defends. He argues that on a. d. v. Id. (May 11) the bridge was completed, and that on the evening of that day Plancus sent forward the cavalry while he leisurely led across his infantry on the following day. Yet it is difficult to believe that Plancus would not have added something to notify the despatch with which he sent forward the



maximis itineribus cum quattuor legionibus expeditis et reliquo equitatu subsequar. 4. Si nos medioeris modo fortuna rei publicae adiuverit, et audaciae perditorum et nostrae sollicitudinis hic finem reperiemus. Quod si latro praecognito nostro adventu rursus in Italiam se recipere coeperit, Bruti erit officium occurrere ei : cui scio nec consilium nec animum defuturum. Ego tamen, si id acciderit, fratrem cum equitatu mittam qui sequatur, Italiam a vastatione defendat. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas.

## DCCCLXI. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 21, §§ 1-6).

CAMP ON THE ISARA ; MAY 15 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus perfidiam Lepidi eiusque coniunctionem cum M. Antonio nuntiat, subsidia copiarum postulat.

## PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Puderet me inconstantiae mearum litterarum, si non haec ex aliena levitate penderent. Omnia feci qua re Lepido coniuncto ad rem publicam defendendam minore sollicitudine vestra perditis resisterem. Omnia ei et petenti recepi et ultro pollicitus sum, scripsique tibi biduo ante confidere me bono Lepido esse usurum

cavalry, such as *statim*, or *extemplo*, or *vesperi* : and impossible to believe that he would not have written *miseram*. The latter point is urged by Wesenberg (E. A. 35), whose alteration of the number we have, with hesitation, adopted. If *iii.* lost one of its strokes, *ii.* would readily have been corrupted into *v.* : cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 3 (62) ; Q. Fr. ii. 4, 1 (105) ; 842, 5. *Nake*, quoted by *Watson*, wishes to alter *iv.* above to *vii.* or *viii.*, as the bridge must have been made before the cavalry could have been sent forward ; and as *Plancus* does not say that his brother left him on the same day as that on which he crossed the *Isara*, or on the next, it is possible that two days may have elapsed between the two events.

4. *praecognito*] a non-Ciceronian word. *Italiam . . . defendat*] There is no need with *Wesenberg* to insert *ut* before *Italiam*. 'Asyndeton bimembre' is

common even in *Cicero* : cp. *Lehmann*, p. 26.

*mutuo diligas*] cp. 848 fin.

1. *inconstantiae mearum litterarum*] 'of the constant changes which my letters exhibit.' *Cicero* complains of this, 884, 1, *modo enim quae vellemus de Lepido, modo contra nuntiabantur* : cp. 826, 1.

*haec*] 'these things' which I am doing.

*levitate*] 'shiftiness.'

*Omnia feci qua re*] cp. *Caes. B. G. v.* 31, 5, *Omnia excogitantur quare sine periculo maneat* : Fam. iii. 10, 1 (261), *multa . . . quamobrem*, Q. Fr. ii. 2, 3 (100), *multa . . . quare*, quoted by *Andr. scripsique tibi biduo*] i.e. 860, written on May 13.

*bono . . . usurum*] cp. *Att. i.* 14, 6 (20), *Bonis utimur tribunis pl.* : x. 8, 10 (392).



communiqué consilio bellum administraturum. Credidi chirographis eius, adfirmationi praesentis Laterensis, qui tum apud me erat reconciliaremque me Lepido fidemque haberem orabat. Non licuit diutius bene de eo sperare. Illud certe cavi et cavebo, ne mea credulitate rei publicae summa fallatur. 2. Cum Isaram flumen, uno die ponte effecto, exercitum traduxissem, pro magnitudine rei celeritatem adhibens, quod petierat per litteras ipse, ut maturarem venire, praesto mihi fuit stator eius cum litteris, quibus ne venirem denuntiabat: se posse per se conficere negotium: interea ad Isaram exspectarem. Indicabo temerarium meum consilium tibi: nihilo minus ire decreram, existimans eum socium gloriae vitare. Putabam posse me nec de laude ieiuni hominis delibare quidquam et subesse tamen propinquis locis, ut, si durius aliquid esset, succurrere celeriter possem. 3. Ego non malus homo hoc suspicabar. At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mihi litteras nimisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querensque se destitutum; in quibus aperte denuntiat, videam, ne fallar: suam fidem solutam esse: rei publicae ne desim. Exemplar eius chirographi Titio misi. Ipsa chirographa omnia,

*chirographis*] 'autograph letters.'

*Laterensis*] cp. 860, 2.

*rei p. summa*] This phrase is as allowable (cp. 909, 2) as *summa res p.*, Att. i. 16, 9 (22); 916, 4; but the position of the words is different in the two phrases.

2. *stator*] 'his orderly': cp. note to Fam. ii. 19, 2 (262).

*exspectarem*] used absolutely: cp. Fam. xv. 17, 1 (541).

*Putabam . . . suspicabar*] 'I thought that I should be able, without diminishing aught of the praise of that poor paltry creature, yet to remain somewhere near, in order that, if any serious difficulty should arise, I might be able rapidly to bring assistance.' This was what I thought probable, being one not inclined to suspicion.' For *ieiuni hominis*, Andr. compares Fam. ii. 17, 7 (272), *illud vero pusilli animi et ipsa malevolentia ieiuni atque inanis*; also iii. 10, 7 (261), xv. 4, 14 (238). For *durius*, cp. Caes. B. G. i. 48, 6, where it is used in the same sense of something untoward which tends to hinder an undertaking.

3. *nimisque desperans*] So we read with H Pal. 'Laterensis sent me letters expressing undue despondency about

himself, his army, and the loyalty of Lepidus, and complaining that he was deserted: in which letters he openly bids me see that I be not deceived, declares that he has done his duty, and exhorts me not to fail the cause of the republic.' In *quibus* refers to *litteras*. Cicero would hardly have placed the relative so far from its antecedent. There is little need to read *nimis quam* with Mendelssohn, though it is used in Plautus (Capt. i. 1, 34; Truc. ii. 5, 21): there is no reason whatsoever for reading (as some editors do) in *iisque* and omitting in *quibus*. Gltlbauer (p. 95), who delights in 'anagrammatismus,' and knows nothing of H, supposes *miisque* to be a corruption for *in queis*, and thinks that in *quibus* should be ejected as a gloss on *queis*.

*suam fidem solutam esse*] 'that he had kept his word,' i.e. done his duty to the state: cp. Flor. i. 1, 12, *illi ut fidem solverent clipeis obruere*. Lewis and Short say it means that 'his faith in Lepidus was shattered.'

*Titio*] We hear of a P. Titius. tr. pl. in 838, §§ 3, 4, who vetoed a motion of Cicero's in favour of Plancus. If this is the same Titius, we must suppose that

et ea, quibus credidi, et ea, quibus fidem non habendam putavi, Laevo Cispio dabo perferenda, qui omnibus his interfuit rebus.

4. Accessit eo, ut milites eius, cum Lepidus contionaretur, improbi per se, corrupti etiam per eos, qui praesunt, Canidios Rufrenosque et ceteros, quos, cum opus erit, scietis, conclamarint viri boni pacem se velle neque esse cum ullis pugnatuos, duobus iam consulibus singularibus amissis, tot civibus pro patria occisis, hostibus denique omnibus iudicatis bonisque publicatis: neque hoo aut vindicarat Lepidus aut sanarat. 5. Hoc me venire et duobus exercitibus coniunctis obiicere exercitum fidelissimum, auxilia maxima, principes Galliae, provinciam cunctam, summae dementiae et temeritatis esse vidi, mihiq, si ita oppressus essem remque publicam mecum prodidissem, mortuo non modo honorem, sed misericordiam quoque defuturam. Itaque rediturus sum ne tanta munera perditis hominibus dari posse sinam. 6. Exercitum

Plancus sent him a copy of the letter in order that even his enemies might be able to see the dishonesty of Lepidus, and the critical position in which he himself was placed.

*ea, quibus . . . putavi*] Evidently there had been some letters forged, purporting to come from Laterensis, and of a hopeful nature.

*Laevo Cispio*] cp. 870, 1.

4. *eius*] For the pronoun referring to the subsequent *Lepidus*, cp. Att. v. 10, 1 (198), *et quanquam sine iis per me ipse, tamen acrius vestigiis tuis monitus de te cogitabam*.

*Canidios Rufrenosque*] Probably legates or centurions in the army of Lepidus.

*quos . . . scietis*] 'whose true character you will learn.' If *cognoscetis* had been used, the sense would have been 'with whom you will become acquainted,' not implying any deep knowledge of their character.

*conclamarint viri boni*] 'cried aloud, did these patriots' (ironical), or 'like true patriots': cp. *bonus imperator*, Q. Fr. iii. 2, 2 (150).

*singularibus . . . omnibus*] H omits these two words. If we retain the former, we may compare Fam. ix. 14, 1 (722), *praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebeas*. For *viris* omitted with *singularibus*, Mendelssohn compares Pompey ap. Att. vii. 8, 5 (299), *cum hac*

*quaestor eius infirmus et inops audeat dicere*. After *omnibus* Orelli wishes to add *bonis*, 'all good patriots'; but it is awkward to have the same word used immediately afterwards in the neuter. Against reading *omnibus* it may be urged that it was only Antony and his followers who had been declared enemies; but now that Antony and Lepidus had practically joined forces, the ringleaders of the disturbance may have easily applied the judgment of the senate to themselves, for they must have known that they would soon be formally declared enemies by the government at Rome.

5. *Hoc*] = *huc*, cp. § 6 (twice), and note to 883, 4; also Neue, ii<sup>3</sup>. 613.

*remque . . . prodidissem*] 'drawn the state into the same ruin as myself.'

*defuturam*] So H Pal and Wesenberg. M has *defuturum*. This reading Graevius defends as a peculiarity of the style of Plancus, who was fond of archaisms: cp. 916, 1, *amor enim tuus ac iudicium de me utrum . . . sit adlaturus* (so M H). But as we have good ms authority here for the simple reading *defuturam*, we may perhaps adopt it. Rhodius (p. 9) seems to think Plancus did not write *defuturam*, lest he should seem to lay undue stress on *misericordiam*.

6. *Exercitum*] H Pal add *ut*, M omits it. Andresen adds it, saying that it might have been omitted if *dabo operam* had preceded, and not followed, the subjunctive:

locis habeam opportunis, provinciam tuear, etiam si ille exercitus descierit, omniaque integra servem, dabo operam, quoad exercitus hoc summittatis parique felicitate rem publicam hic vindicetis; nec depugnare, si occasio tulerit, nec obsideri si necesse fuerit, nec mori, si casus inciderit, pro vobis paratior fuit quisquam. Qua re hortor te, mi Cicero, exercitum hoc traiciendum quam primum cures et matures prius quam hostes magis corroborentur et nostri perturbentur. In quo si celeritas erit adhibita, res publica in possessione victoriae deletis sceleratis permanebit. Fac valeas meque diligas.

## DCCCLXII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 21, § 7).

CAMP ON THE ISARA; MAY 15 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET.  
CIC. 63.

Fratrem qui in febrim incidisset excusat Plancus, dignitatem suam Ciceroni commendat.

### PLANCUS CICERONI.

7. Fratrem meum tibi, fortissimum civem et ad omnia paratissimum, excuse[m] litteris? qui ex labore in febriculam incidit

cp. Pompey ap. Att. viii. 6, 2 (337), *Tu, si tibi videbitur, dabis operam quam primum ad nos venias*. Plancus seems to affect this form of *parataxis*, which is characteristic of ordinary language, whether the governing word precedes or follows: cp. § 1, *reconciliaremque . . . orabat*; 862, *meam dignitatem commendatam habeas rogo*; ib. *rogo in Hirtii locum me subdas. ille exercitus*] i.e. the army of Lepidus. *omniaque integra servem*] 'and take no decided step': cp. 916, 3. *parique . . . vindicetis*] 'and defend the state with as good fortune as you did at Mutina.' *sceleratis*] 'traitors.'

This § was either a new letter, or else was added a few days after 861 was written, before May 20, the date of 889: cp. § 2 of that letter. On the receipt at Rome (about April 27) of the news of the

deaths of the consuls, Cicero wrote to Plancus urging him to send back to Rome his brother, Munatius Plancus, praetor urbanus, who was serving as legate in his army. This letter can hardly have reached the Isère in much less than 16 days, so that May 14 would be the earliest date possible for this letter. It is noticeable that Plancus must have at once recalled his brother, whom he had sent forward to attack L. Antonius (860, 3).

7. *excusem*] 'Am I to apologise for.' For the deliberative subjunctive, Andr. compares Fam. ix. 26, 1 (479); xiv. 4, 3 (62). Possibly, as Mendelssohn says, *excuso* is right (see Adn. Crit.), and Plancus used the present indicative for the deliberative subjunctive, adopting a colloquial construction, Roby 1610, 1611. Rhodius (p. 39, note \*\*) ingeniously proposes to read *excuso si mitti vis*.

adsiduam et satis molestam. Cum primum poterit istoc recurrere non dubitabit, ne quo loco rei publicae desit. Meam dignitatem commendatam habeas, rogo. Concupiscere me nihil oportet: habeo te et amantissimum mei et, quod optavi, summae auctoritatis. Tu videris, quantum et quando tuum munus apud me velis esse; tantum te rogo, in Hirtii locum me subdas et ad tuum amorem et ad meam observantiam.

## DCCCLXIII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 12).

ROME; BETWEEN MAY 14 AND 19; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero queritur de renovato per M. Antonium bello, quod ait homines existimasse a D. Bruto impediri potuisse.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

1. Tres uno die a te accepi epistolas: unam brevem, quam Flacco Volumnio dederas, duas pleniores, quarum alteram tabelarius T. Vibii attulit, alteram ad me misit Lupus. Ex tuis

*adsiduam*] 'he has got a touch of unintermittent fever,' opposed to *febris tertiana, quartana*, and the like. For the diminutive *febricula*, cp. Att. vi. 9, 1 (282). Diminutives are often used of slight ailments, *nauseola*, Att. xiv. 8, 2 (710); *commotiuncula*, xii. 11 (502).

*istoc*] 'to Rome.' For the form, cp. Caelius Fam. viii. 4, 1 (206); 8, 10 (223): and Neue ii<sup>3</sup>, 615: also *hoc = huc*, 861, 5.

*non dubitabit*] Planeus appears to have had some difficulty in persuading his brother to return to Rome, 872, 2, *coegi isto proficisci*.

*quo loco*] He was praetor urbanus (889, 2).

*Concupiscere*] Andr. says that this sentence is in answer to Cicero's exhortations, 838, 5, *haec omnia, quae habent speciem gloriae, collecta inanisissimis splendoris insignibus, contemne: brevia, fucata, caduca existima*.

*Tu videris . . . observantiam*] 'You can yourself see to the amount of your gift to me and the time of its bestowal. I only ask this of you, that you adopt

me into the place of Hirtius—you to show love to me, and I to show respect to you': cp. 845, 3, *concupisco autem nihil mihi—et temporis et rei te moderatorem facile patior esse*. For this use of the future perfect of *videre*, referring to a postponed action, cp. Q. Fr. ii. 13, 2 (141), and Roby 1485. For Cicero's friendship with Hirtius, cp. De Fato 2; Phil. i. 37.

The letter (855), despatched by Brutus on May 6 from Aquae Statiellae, probably did not reach Rome much before May 14. On the 19th Cicero wrote 871. Between these two dates we may place this letter.

1. *Tres*] viz. 834, 845, 848.

*Flacco Volumnio*] He was a legate of D. Brutus (871, 1). In that letter Cicero gives an account of the reception by the Senate of the despatches brought by Volumnius. We may, perhaps, assume that Cicero wrote this letter before that meeting, immediately after receiving the letters of Brutus.



litteris et ex Graeceii oratione non modo non restinctum bellum, sed etiam inflammatum videtur. Non dubito autem pro tua singulari prudentia quin perspicias, si aliquid firmitatis nactus sit Antonius, omnia tua illa praeclara in rem publicam merita ad nihilum esse ventura; ita enim Romam erat nuntiatum, ita persuasum omnibus, cum paucis inermis, perterritis metu, fracto animo fugisse Antonium. 2. Qui si ita se habet, ut, quem ad modum audiebam de Graecio, configi cum eo sine periculo non possit, non ille mihi fugisse a Mutina videtur, sed locum belli gerendi mutasse. Itaque homines alii facti sunt: non nulli etiam queruntur, quod persecuti non sitis: opprimi potuisse, si celeritas adhibita esset, existimant. Omnino est hoc populi maximeque nostri, in eo potissimum abuti libertate, per quem eam consecutus sit. Sed tamen providendum est, ne quae iusta querella esse possit. Res se sic habet: is bellum confecerit, qui Antonium oppresserit. Hoc quam vim habeat te existimare malo quam me apertius scribere.

*restinctum*] 'stamped out': *inflammatum*, 'in full blaze.'

*ad nihilum esse ventura*] cp. Tusc. ii. 5, *lucus brevi tempore ad nihilum ventura*. The usual word is *recidere* not *venire*, cp. Att. iv. 18, 4 (154); Orat. 233; Phil. vii. 27, quoted by Andr., who also notices that *nihilum* is the acc. of *nihil* after *ad* and *in*.

*enim*] The honours paid you for your distinguished services were bestowed in the belief that you had utterly routed Antony; for the news which reached Rome was that Antony had fled with a few unarmed men.

*inermis*] For the form *inermus*, -a, -um, see Lepidus 869, 1 (*inermorum*), and Neue ii.<sup>3</sup> 150-152: cp. *exanimus* and *exanimis*, *imberbus* and *imberbis*.

2. *de Graecio*] For *audire* de ('from'): cp. Att. i. 11, 2 (7), *audies de Philadelpho*. For Graecius, cp. Att. xv. 8, 2 (741).

*homines alii facti sunt*] 'a revulsion

of feeling has taken place': cp. Plaut. Trin. i. 2, 123, *verbis paucis quam cito Alium fecisti me, alius ad te veneram*.

*persecuti non sitis*] The verb here is used absolutely, cp. 860, 2, as *sequor* in Caes. B. G. i. 40, 15 and often in Plautus. But, as Andr. points out, it is strange that both object acc. to *persecuti sitis* and subject acc. to *potuisse* have been omitted.

*libertate*] 'freedom (of speech)': *eam* 'freedom' (in general): cp. Fam. ix. 16 3 (472), *esse meum libere loqui cuius opera esset in civitate libertas*.

*confecerit . . . oppresserit*] For the fut. perf. used to express an action completed simultaneously with another action in fut. time, Roby, § 1482, compares, in addition to this passage, Phil. xii. 13, *at ille non vicerit, si quacunque condicione in hanc urbem cum suis venerit*. For the tenor of the passage, cp. 858, 2; 879, 2; 884, 3.



## DCCCLXIV. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 16).

CAMP IN MACEDONIA ; MIDDLE OF MAY (ABOUT) ; A. U. C. 711 ;

B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus graviter reprehendit Ciceronis ad Octavium epistolam qua eum rogarat ut liberatores patriae salvos vellet.

## BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Particulam litterarum tuarum, quas misisti Octavio, legi missam ab Attico mihi. Studium tuum curaue de salute mea nulla me nova voluptate affecit ; non solum enim usitatum, sed

Ruete (p. 97), on the grounds (1) that Plut. Brut. 22 would seem to refer this censure to the time of the first appearance of Octavian, and (2) that Brutus does not mention any of his military exploits, dates this letter the end of December, 710 (44). It is more probable, however, that this letter was written about the same time as 865, after the Battle of Mutina (cp. 865, 2), owing to the identity of subject, and because if Cicero had received this letter, he could not have written to Brutus ever again in such a friendly tone as 844 exhibits. It is best to suppose that Plutarch was once more inaccurate in chronology (cp. note to 850, 1), being led into this error because such warnings and censures, as Brutus here utters, would seem more effective and more worthy of the supposed devotion to principle on the part of their author if they were represented as being made immediately on Octavian's appearance in politics. If we take Plutarch's chronology strictly we must date the letter referred to in Brut. 22 at a time before Brutus arrived at Velia (c. 23) in the middle of August. But at that time Cicero had not publicly come forward in support of Octavian. Ruete (p. 63) rightly says that c. 22 is foisted in between chaps. 21 and 23, and owes its origin to a different source from that which supplied the events narrated in those chapters, probably to the same source as supplied Ant. 16, Cic. 45. As to the other objection, it ought not to surprise us that Brutus did not make any mention of his military actions : for he was entirely absorbed in his censure of Cicero's indulgence towards Octavian, and concentra-

tion of purpose was a marked feature of the character of Brutus (*quidquid vult, valde vult*). For the tone of this letter, and still more for that of 865, cp. what Cicero himself says of some of the Epistles of Brutus : Att. vi. 1, 7 (252), *Brutus ad me . . . etiam cum rogat aliquid contumaciter adroganter ἀκοινοσύνης solet scribere*. Also vi. 3, 7 (264) ; xiii. 6, 3 (554), *obiurgatoria Bruti epistola*.

This letter and the following one to Atticus are of the nature of manifestoes, or formal protests against Cicero's policy. Thus we may account for the studied and elaborate style of the documents, which are ponderous and laboured, even for Brutus. Their genuineness has, of course, been impugned, mainly on the ground of the miserable paucity of ideas advanced by the writer. Absolutely convincing proof on either side cannot be adduced. It is possible that the letters may be the composition of a rhetorician ; but it is by no means impossible that they may have been the work of the narrow-minded, stiff, and ungracious Brutus.

With regard to the poverty of thought displayed in this letter and the following, we think that a mark of genuineness. When a feeble man gives way to irritability he is generally verbose : and at this time Brutus in his relations with Cicero was dominated by one single ground of complaint, and he urges that complaint in every possible and conceivable way. Various other objections we have attempted to answer in the notes.

Gurlitt, who believes that Brut. i. 15, 16, 17 (914, 864, 865) are the work of a later rhetorician, holds the following view of

etiam cotidianum est aliquid audire de te, quod pro nostra dignitate fideliter atque honorifice dixeris aut feceris. At dolore, quantum maximum capere animo possum, eadem illa pars epis-

their origin. It is fairly well established that Plutarch, in his Life of Brutus, 19-37, where the personality of Brutus comes so very strongly into the fore-ground, has drawn from a Greek source based on the Histories of Asinius Pollio (cp. Georges Thourout in Leipziger Studien, i. 203 ff., 345). Gurlitt (Philologus, Suppl. v. 615) holds this view as to the source of Plutarch and Appian, and thinks that that source was Strabo. He is of opinion further that the author of 864, 865 took his material direct from Pollio. But Pollio was a bitter enemy of Cicero (cp. Senec. Contr. 6, 14; 6, 24), so that we may suppose that Pollio forged letters purporting to belong to the correspondence of Cicero: for it is unlikely that Tiro or Atticus would have given Pollio letters of Cicero damaging to his character: besides Atticus never allowed any letter of anti-monarchical tendency to be published (cp. Philologus, Suppl. iv. p. 620).

We recognize the learning and ingenuity displayed in this reasoning: but we refuse to think that the writer of Fam. x. 31-33 (824, 890, 896) would have performed such a contemptible action, unless positive evidence is adduced that he did so. If that was Pollio's method in his History of the Civil Wars, his work was indeed *periculosae plenum opus aleae*—at least for his readers. And, as regards the other point, it is quite possible that Brutus may have sent copies of these manifestoes to other senators who were not so jealous of Cicero's reputation as Tiro and Atticus appear to have been.

This and the following letter seem to have, in a marked degree, appealed to the imagination he has made from them which are given in Viertel, pp. 7, 12, 28.

1. *litterarum* . . . *Octavio*] A question has been raised as to the probability that Cicero ever wrote such a letter as is here stated to have been sent to Octavian. It is said that after the Battle of Mutina the aim of the optimates had been to push Octavian aside; and in accordance with that policy he was not elected among the *decemviri* (cp. 877, 1; 893, 2). It would appear further that Cicero's relations with him became peculiarly strained;

especially when the epigrammatic expression which Cicero seems to have permitted himself to use in reference to the proper treatment of the young man—*laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum*, cp. 877, 1—had become unfortunately a by-word. But we must bear in mind the position of Cicero at this time. His endeavour was to keep all the commanders who had legions at their disposal in loyalty to the republic; and among those commanders were on the one hand the heir of Caesar, and on the other hand the murderers of Caesar. A certain amount of duplicity was accordingly inevitable. He had to ask the former to forego his natural desire for vengeance, and the latter to forego their jealousy of the great honours bestowed on the young Octavian: and generally in writing to each of the commanders he had to exaggerate the influence which his correspondent for the time being would exercise on the general result which was in process of being worked out. This consideration will help to explain expressions in several of the letters which appear to be at variance with one another. The wonder really is that they are so few, and that Cicero managed to steer his course through such a multitude of dangers so exceedingly well, and to keep such a mass of conflicting interests harmonious even as long as he did. And through it all he appears as the one man who was not actuated by selfish motives but by a genuine love of his country.

*Octavio*] Brutus does not call him *Octavianus*, as that would concede his adoption by Caesar's will: cp. Plut. Brut. 29, *προσθήκην ἑαυτὸν Ὀκταβίῳ δέδωκε* (*Αντώνιος*). In this and the following letter Brutus, as a matter of principle, calls him *Octavius*, and that repeatedly: cp. §§ 2, 7, 8, 11; 865, §§ 5, 6. He calls him *Caesar* in 866, 4, 5—an exception which proves the rule: for in § 4 he styles him *Caesar tuus*, and *tuus* makes all the difference; while in § 5 he calls him *Caesar*, because he had given him that name (with *tuus* added) a few lines before, and the reader would naturally supply it in the latter case.

*quantum maximum*] Meyer (p. 144) notices that wherever Cicero uses this phrase, *tantum* always precedes.

tolae scripta ad Octavium de nobis affecit; sic enim illi gratias agis de re publica, tam suppliciter ac demisse—quid scribam? pudet condicionis ac fortunae, sed tamen scribendum est—commendas nostram salutem illi—quae morte qua non perniciosior?—, ut prorsus prae te feras non sublatam dominationem, sed dominum commutatum esse. Verba tua recognosce et aude negare servientis adversus regem istas esse preces. Unum ais esse, quod ab eo postuletur et exspectetur, ut eos cives, de quibus viri boni populusque Romanus bene existimet, salvos velit: quid? si nolit, non erimus? atqui non esse quam esse per illum praestat. 2. Ego medius fidius non existimo tam omnes deos aversos esse a salute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus sit pro salute cuiusquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus orbis terrarum—iuvat enim magnifice loqui et certe decet adversus ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum aut a quoque petendum sit—. Hoc tu, Cicero, posse fateris Octavium et illi amicus es? aut, si me carum habes, vis Romae *me* videri, cum, ut ibi esse possem, commendandus puero illi fuerim? cui quid agis gratias, si, ut nos salvos esse velit et patiatur, rogandum putas? an hoc pro beneficio habendum est, quod se quam Antonium esse maluerit, a quo ista petenda essent? Viudici quidem alienae dominationis, non vicario, equis supplicat,

*pudet*] sc. *me*: cp. 865, 2, 6.

*quae morte qua non perniciosior*] The more natural order would be *quae qua morte*.

*sed dominum commutatum esse*] cp. Plut. Brut. 22; Cic. 45.

*exspectetur*] The Dresden ms has *expetetur*, probably a mere slip, which does not justify the alteration to *expetatur*.

*nolit*] Wesenberg reads *nolet*. Schmidt finds *noluit* in the Dresden ms. The latter may be right: cp. for similar consecution of tenses, Fam. vii. 14, 1 (172): Phil. ix. 2.

2. *aversos a*] 'hostile to.'

*non dicam*] This phrase is perhaps a shade stronger than *ne dicam*: cp. for *non dicam*, Mil. 34, *quid erat cur Milo non dicam admitteret sed optaret*.

*iuvat*] Cicero always uses this word with an accusative as well as the infinitive. Livy (Pref. § 3) and the Augustan poets (Verg. G. i. 413) use the simple infinitive as here (cp. Dräger, ii.

351).

*quid pro quoque timendum*] The construction of *pro* after a verb of fearing instead of the dative is chiefly found in the post-Ciceronian age (Liv. ii. 24, 4; Plin. Epp. iii. 17, 3, and Mayor's note). Cicero uses the dative, or *de* with ablative. Golbéry proposes to read *quid pro quoque* (= et pro quo) *timendum aut a quo petendum sit*.

*me videri*] We have inserted *me* with Cobet, which might easily have fallen out after *Romae* (= Rome); but we need not alter *videri* to *videre*: cp. Varro R. R. i. 2, 4, *ubi sol sex mensibus continuis non videtur* ('is seen').

*Viudici . . . supplicat*] 'Is there any person who addresses prayers for the safety of benefactors of their country to a man who has put down the tyranny of another? Are they not rather addressed to one who steps into that tyranny?' For *vindici* cp. §§ 4, 6; 865, 2. Perhaps Brutus is quoting words of Cicero's own (*vindici*: *vicarius*).

ut optime meritis de re publica liceat esse salvis? 3. Ista vero imbecillitas et desperatio, cuius culpa non magis in te residet quam in omnibus aliis, et Caesarem in cupiditatem regni impulit et Antonio post interitum illius persuasit, ut interfecti locum occupare conaretur, et nunc puerum istum *ita* extulit, ut tu iudicares precibus esse impetrandam salutem talibus viris misericordiaeque unius vix etiam nunc viri tutos fore nos, haud ulla alia re. Quod si Romanos nos esse meminissemus, non audacius dominari cuperent postremi homines, quam id nos prohiberemus, neque magis irritatus esset Antonius regno Caesaris quam ob eiusdem mortem deterritus. 4. Tu quidem, consularis et tantorum scelerum vindex—quibus oppressis vereor ne in breve tempus dilata sit abs te perniciēs—, qui potes intueri, quae gesseris, simul et ista vel probare vel *ita* demisse ac facile pati, ut probantis speciem habeas? quod autem tibi cum Antonio privatim odium? nempe, quia postulabat haec, salutem ab se peti, precariam nos incolumitatem habere, a quibus ipse libertatem acceperat, esse arbitrium suum de re publica, quaerenda esse arma putasti, quibus dominari prohiberetur: scilicet, ut illo prohibito rogaremus alterum, qui se in eius locum reponi pateretur, an ut esset sui iuris ac mancipii res publica? nisi forte non de servitute, sed de condicione serviendi recusatum est a nobis: atqui non solum bono domino potuimus Antonio tolerare nostram fortunam, sed etiam beneficiis atque

3. *talibus viris*] 'for such as we are': cp. *tali tempore*, 'at such a critical time as the present,' used by Balbus ap. Att. viii. 15A, 1 (346).

*non audacius . . . prohiberemus*] 'there would not be more boldness shown by the worst of men in lusting after tyranny than by us in preventing it.' For *postremi homines* in this sense cp. Rosc. Am. 137, where Mr. Stock quotes C. Gracchus ap. Gell. xv. 12, *omnium natorum postremissimum nequissimumque existimato*, and Apuleius De Deo Socratis 3, *ut possit videri nullum animal in terris homine postremius*.

4. *privatim*] cp. Fam. xii. 14, 3 (883), *nec meae ullae privatim iniuriarum*; Caes. B. G. v. 3, 5, *de suis privatim rebus*; and note to 914, 10.

*nempe . . . prohiberetur*] 'Why, you thought arms should be taken up for defence against tyranny because he made demands

such as these, namely, that he should be asked to grant us our lives; that we should hold our civil position on sufferance from him—we, from whom he had gained his freedom; that he should have the chief voice in politics': *salutem*, 'our lives'; *incolumitatem*, 'our civil position.'

*scilicet . . . alterum*] cp. Plutarch, Comp. Dem. et Cic. 4 (ἐγχαφε δ' ὁ Βροῦτος ἐγκαλῶν) ὡς μείζονα καὶ βαρυτέραν πεπαιδοτριβηκότι τυραννίδα τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταλυθείσης. Translate: 'and, of course, all this in order that when he was driven away we might implore another to allow himself to be placed in the position of the former tyrant: or was it, that the republic should be its own master and at its own disposal?' For *sui mancipii*, cp. Senec. De Benef. v. 19, 1, *mei mancipii res est*. It is equivalent to *non in alieno mancipio*.

*de servitute*] cp. Plut. Brut. 22.



honoribus ut participes frui, quantis vellemus; quid enim negaret iis, quorum patientiam videret maximum dominationis suae praesidium esse? Sed nihil tanti fuit, quo venderemus fidem nostram et libertatem. 5. Hic ipse puer, quem Caesaris nomen incitare videtur in Caesaris interfectores, quanti aestimet, si sit commercio locus, posse nobis auctoribus tantum, quantum profecto poterit, quoniam vivere *per se* et pecunias habere et dici consulares volumus! Ceterum nequidquam perierit ille, cuius interitu quid gavisi sumus, si mortuo *eo* nihilo minus servituri eramus? Nulla cura ab aliis adhibetur, sed mihi prius omnia di deaeque eripuerint quam illud iudicium, quo non modo heredi eius, quem occidi, *id* non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut patiente me plus legibus ac senatu possit: an hoc tibi persuasum est, fore ceteros ab *eo* liberos, quo invito nobis in ista civitate locus non sit? Qui porro *id*, quod petis, fieri potest ut impetres? Rogas enim, velit nos salvos esse: videmur ergo tibi

*patientiam*] 'subservience': very frequent in this sense in Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 26; Hist. ii. 29; Agr. 16. It is a use of the word which would not naturally become prominent until times of despotism.

*nihil tanti fuit quo*] 'nothing was of such importance that we should sell our loyalty and freedom for it.' *Fidem*, i.e. loyalty to the free state.

5. *aestimet . . . posse*] This construction belongs mostly to post-Ciceronian times: cp. Val. Max. ii. 6, 8; Plin. Epp. iii. 2, 5, and Mayor's note; but Cicero uses it once in translating a line of Epicharmus, Tusc. i. 15, *sed me esse mortuum nihil aestimo*: cp. Schmalz, Antibarbar. i. 111.

*commercio*] 'bargaining.'

*vivere per se*] We have added *per se*, as the mere wish of the tyrannicides for life would not increase the power of Octavian; but that power would be increased if they were satisfied to *owe* their lives to him.

*Ceterum*] The difficulty in the next few clauses lies chiefly in the sentence *Nulla cura adhibetur* (most mss omit *ab aliis*, see Adn. Crit.). Meyer supposes that the clause has got out of place, and that we should read, *Ceterum nequidquam perierit ille <si> nulla cura adhibetur: cuius interitu, &c.* Cobet wishes to omit *nulla cura adhibetur* altogether. Madvig (A. C. iii. 200) suggests *Ceterum <ne> nequidquam*

*perierit . . . eramus, nulla cura adhibetur* which is very attractive. It may be noticed that Cicero uses *ceterum* only once, Q. Fr. ii. 12 (14), 1 (139); and, except in translating (Tusc. iii. 59), or quoting (Cael. 37) uses *nequidquam* only once (Quint. 79). Tusc. iii. 18 is, of course, not an exception.

*mortuo eo*] *mortuo* is certainly abl. abs. We must add *eo*, or *illo*, with Cobet; for though the subject is often supplied with abl. abs. from preceding words (cp. Caes. B. G. iv. 12, 3, and Dräger, ii. 787), especially in Livy, yet the ambiguity here would be too great, for a reader would almost certainly take *mortuo* as the dative.

*id concesserim*] We have ventured to add *id*, which makes the construction more regular, and which might have fallen out after *occidi*. 'May heaven rob me of everything sooner than the fixed determination to refuse to allow—I will not say the heir of the man I slew, but even my father himself, were he to come to life—without resistance on my part, to hold a power above the law and the senate.'

*quo invito*] 'when, if he is unwilling, we have no footing in the state.'

*Rogas enim velit*] This construction of *rogare* with the simple subjunctive is a favourite one with Brutus: cp. 867, 2, 4



salutem accepturi, cum vitam acceperimus? quam, si prius dimittimus dignitatem et libertatem, qui possumus accipere? 6. An tu Romae habitare, id putas incolumem esse? res, non locus oportet praestet istuc mihi: neque incolumis Caesare vivo fui, nisi posteaquam illud conceivi facinus, neque usquam exsul esse possum, dum servire et pati contumelias peius odero malis omnibus aliis. Nonne hoc est in easdem tenebras recidisce, si ab eo, qui tyranni nomen ascivit sibi,—cum in Graecis civitatibus liberi tyrannorum oppressis illis eodem supplicio afficiantur,—petitur, ut vindices atque oppressores dominationis salvi sint? Hanc ego civitatem videre velim aut putem ullam, quae ne traditam quidem atque inculcatam libertatem recipere possit plusque timeat in puero nomen sublatis regis, quam confidat sibi, cum illum ipsum, qui maximas opes habuerit, paucorum virtute sublatum videat? Me vero posthac ne commendaveris Caesari tuo, ne te quidem ipsum, si me audies: valde care aestimas tot annos, quot ista aetas recipit, si propter eam causam puero isti supplicaturus es. 7. Deinde, quod pulcherrime fecisti ac facis in Antonio, vide ne convertatur a laude maximi animi ad opinionem formidinis; nam, si Octavius tibi placet, a quo de nostra salute petendum sit, non dominum fugisse, sed amiciorem dominum quaesisse videberis. Quem quod laudas

*dimittimus*] cp. *dimittere cogitationem* (837, 5).

6. *illud conceivi facinus*] 'resolved upon that deed,' i.e. the assassination of Caesar. It is unusual to find *consciscere* used except with a reflexive pronoun, and of something disastrous which one resolves to bring on oneself, e.g. *mortem, fugam, caecitatem*; nor is Liv. xxviii. 22, 5, *facinus in se et suos consciscunt*, an exception. Of course *consciscere* is also used of the general resolutions of a large body of people, De Leg. iii. 10; Liv. i. 32, 12.

*servire . . . odere*] For this construction, cp. Plaut. Amph. iii. 2, 19, *inimicos semper osa sum obuiuer*.

*recidisce*] This generally termed aoristic use of the perf. infinitive is not found elsewhere in the Ciceronian age, though it is common in Livy (Dräger, i. 255).

*si ab eo*] We have added *si* after Baiter and Meyer.

*afficiantur*] The present tense only implies that the prevalent sentiment in Greece at this time, continued from former times, was that the children of tyrants

should suffer with their parents; not, indeed, that such a contingency was likely to arise under Roman rule, but it was a course that would be followed and approved of if a tyrant should arise.

*oppressores*] A word not found elsewhere: probably it was suggested by *oppressis illis*. Rare words in *-tor* and *-sor* are common in the Letters: cp. *disuasor* (914, 5); *peregrinator*, Fam. vi. 18, 5 (534); *approbator* (783, 2); cp. Stinner, pp. 6, 7.

*Hanc ego . . . ullam*] 'should I wish to see that state, or, indeed, could I think it a state at all?'

*traditam . . . inculcatam*] cp. De Orat. i. 127, *satis est id quod tradatur vel etiam inculceatur, si qui forte sit tardior, posse percipere animo*.

*care aestimas*] cp. 808, 2 (Plancus). *recipit*] 'admits of.'

7. *vide ne . . . formidinis*] 'take care lest it should suffer a change, and from being praised as the most noble courage, come to be regarded as an evidence of fear.'

ob ea, quae adhuc fecit, plane probo, sunt enim laudanda, si modo contra alienam potentiam, non pro sua suscepit eas actiones; cum vero iudicas tantum illi non modo licere, sed etiam a te ipso tribuendum esse, ut rogandus sit, ne nolit esse nos salvos, nimium magnam mercedem statuis—id enim ipsum illi largiris, quod per illum habere videbatur res publica—, neque hoc tibi in mentem venit, si Octavius illis dignus sit honoribus, quia cum Antonio bellum gerat, iis qui illud malum exciderint, cuius istae reliquiae sunt, nihil, quo expleri possit eorum meritum, tributurum umquam populum Romanum, si omnia simul congesserit. 8. Ac vide, quanto diligentius homines metuant, quam meminerint: quia Antonius vivit atque in armis est, de Caesare vero, quod fieri potuit ac debuit, transactum est neque iam revocari in integrum potest, Octavius is est, qui quid de nobis iudicaturus sit exspectet populus Romanus, nos ii sumus, de quorum salute unus homo rogandus videatur. Ego vero, ut istuc revertar, is sum, qui non modo non supplicem, sed etiam coërceam postulantes, ut sibi supplicetur, aut longe a servientibus abero mihi que esse iudicabo Romam, ubicumque liberum esse licebit, ac vestri miserebor, quibus nec aetas neque honores nec virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi

*illis*] So we read with Lehmann (p. 135) for *ullis*. Brutus would hardly imply that Octavian deserved no honours at all in return for his energetic action against Antony; in 866, 4, he says, *prudētia porro, quae tibi superest, nulla abs te dēsideratur nisi modus in tribuendis honoribus*.

*expleri . . . meritum*] ‘their deserts can be adequately recompensed.’ Meyer (p. 154) says that this use of *explere* cannot be paralleled; *explere* can be used of gratifying a desire (*odium*), or of fulfilling a duty (*munus*), but not of making a sufficient return for a service performed. But if the metaphor, derived from filling an empty space, can be applied to, say, *officium*, cp. Fam. xvi. 25 (793), it can also be applied to a service which demands a grateful return; and the metaphor is not more crude than *flectere* and *dirigere* applied to *iudicium* (§ 11).

8. *quanto diligentius . . . meminerint*] ‘how much more intent men’s minds are under the influence of present fear than in the thought of it when past’; *dili-*

*genter metuere* is certainly a strange expression, but the meaning is plain: while in fear men direct their whole mind to the cause of the fear, and to the means of extricating themselves from it; when the fear is removed they let their minds wander away to other things and forget their helpers.

*quia Antonius . . . potest*] ‘because Antony is alive and in the field, while as regards Caesar, what could and should have been done is past and over, and cannot now be undone.’ No exact parallel can be quoted for *in integrum revocari*; but Markland quotes *in irritum revocari* from Senec. Controv. 4, 26; and Meyer quotes Liv. xxxi. 32, *cum praecepitata raptim consilia neque revocari neque in integrum restitui possint*.

*virtus aliena*] ‘if neither your age nor your distinctions, nor the nobleness of others has been able to lessen in you the feeling that life is sweet.’ By *virtus aliena* Brutus means the noble example which the tyrannicides set in risking their lives for freedom.

minuere potuerit. 9. Mihi quidem ita beatus esse videbor, si modo constanter ac perpetuo placebit hoc consilium, ut relatum putem gratiam pietati meae; quid enim est melius quam memoria recte factorum et libertate contentum negligere humana? sed certe non succumbam succumbentibus nec vincar ab iis, qui se vinci volunt, experiarque et tentabo omnia neque desistam abstrahere a servitio civitatem nostram: si secuta fuerit quae debet fortuna, gaudebimus omnes; si minus, ego tamen gaudebo, quibus enim potius haec vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur quam iis, quae pertinuerint ad liberandos cives meos? 10. Te, Cicero, rogo atque hortor, ne defatigare neu diffidas, semper in praesentibus malis prohibendis futura quoque, nisi ante sit occursum, explores, ne se insinuent, fortem et liberum animum, quo et consul et nunc consularis rem publicam vindicasti, sine constantia et aequabilitate nullum esse putaris; fateor enim duriores esse conditionem spectatae virtutis quam incognitae: bene facta pro debitis exigimus, quae aliter eveniunt, ut decepti ab iis, infesto animo reprehendimus: itaque resistere Antonio Ciceronem, etsi maxima laude dignum est, tamen, quia ille consul hunc consulem merito praestare videtur, nemo admiratur. 11. Idem

9. *Mihi quidem . . . meae*] 'For my part I shall think myself happy, only if constantly and continuously I find my pleasure in this conviction, that my affection for my country has been requited,' sc. by enjoying the perpetual feeling that he has acted rightly: *ut* is epexegetic of *consilium*. But we might also take *ut* as consecutive, 'if I find my pleasure in this conviction and can then consider.' Or again, a third way is possible, to take *ita . . . ut* together in the restrictive sense, and making *si . . . consilium* parenthetic, 'For my part, I should consider myself happy then, and only then (provided I maintain this conviction with steadfastness and consistency), when I consider that my loyalty has been rewarded.'

*servitio*] 'slavery.' This is contrary to Cicero's usage, with whom *servitium* always means 'a body of slaves.' But the sense of 'slavery' is common in Sallust, and found in Terence, Andr. iv. 1, 50. Brutus also has *servitutem*, 865, 4, which is the word Cicero would have used.

*quibus enim . . . meos*] For the construction cp. Tac. Hist. iv. 67, *sed quibus artibus latebrisque vitam traduxerit . . . suo loco reddemus*.

10. *futura . . . insinuent*] 'look carefully ahead also for future contingencies lest they work their way in, if measures have not been taken against them beforehand.' Lehmann (p. 136) thinks that we should transpose *explores* to follow *quoque*.

*putaris*] This is a perf. with present meaning like *ἐγγνωκα*, 'have your mind assured.' Madvig (A. C. iii. 200) puts a full stop after *explores*, and takes *nullum putaris* as a prohibition: cp. Liv. ii. 12, 11, *nullam aciem, nullum proelium timeris*. But we should expect in that case to have *nullum* the first word of the clause.

*ab iis*] Cobet proposes to put these words after *pro debitis*; this improves the sense, but is not absolutely necessary. *Ab iis* may be taken as referring to *recte factis*. For a similar personification cp. Fam. vii. 26, 2 (94), *a beta et a malva deceptus sum*.

*praestare*] 'because it seems but right

Cicero, si flexerit adversus alios iudicium suum, quod tanta firmitate ac magnitudine *animi* direxit in exturbando Antonio, non modo reliqui temporis gloriam eripuerit sibi, sed etiam praeterita evanescere coget—nihil enim per se amplum est, nisi in quo iudicii ratio exstat—, quia neminem magis decet rem publicam amare libertatisque defensorem esse vel ingenio vel rebus gestis vel studio atque efflagitatione omnium. Quare non Octavius est rogandus, ut velit nos salvos esse: magis tute te exsuscita, ut eam civitatem, in qua maxima gessisti, liberam atque honestam fore putes, si modo sint populo duces ad resistendum improborum consiliis.

that the consul of yore should guarantee the consular of to-day.' Meyer (p. 157) wishes to take *praestare*, 'to excel,' which is quite possible. It is not a Ciceronian usage, but it is found in Nepos (Att. 18, 5); Hirtius (B. G. viii. 6, 2), and often in Livy: cp. Weissenborn on xlv. 38, 5.

11. *si flexerit . . . Antonio*] 'if, when opposed to others, he has let his judgment swerve, which with such firmness and greatness of soul he kept steadily fixed when he drove Antony forth.' The opposition of *flectere* and *dirigere* can be clearly seen in the application of the

words to *iter*. It is not easy to find an exact parallel to this use of *adversus*, though it is like Plaut. *Aul.* iv. 7, 9. *Egone ut te adversum mentiar, mater mea.*

*iudicii ratio exstat*] 'the calculations of calm judgment are prominent.' Wesenberg suggests *constat*, 'there is a proper account taken of judgment,' *ratio constat* being the technical expression for the accounts in a ledger balancing: cp. *καθα-  
ραὶ ψῆφοι* in Greek.

*efflagitationē*] For this rare word, cp. *Fam.* v. 19, 2 (390), 916, 6.

APPENDIX.—As we have had occasion so often to refer to Plutarch, *Brut.* 22, and as the chapter plainly refers to some formal document similar to this letter, we have thought it well to print that chapter *in extenso*:—

Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει τῶν πραγμάτων ὕντων ἑτέρα γίνεται μεταβολὴ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος ἐπελθόντος. Οὗτος ἦν μὲν ἐξ ἀδελφίδης Καίσαρος, γράμματι δὲ παῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμος ἀπολελειμμένος Ἐν δ' Ἀπολλωνίᾳ διέτριβεν ὅτε Καῖσαρ ἀνιρρέθῃ, σχολάζων περὶ λόγους κἀκείνων ἐπὶ Πάρθους ἐλαύνειν εὐθὺς ἐγνωκότε προσμένων. Ἄμα δὲ τῷ πυθέσθαι τὸ πάθος ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ δημαγωγίας ἀρχὴν τοῦνομα Καίσαρος θέμενος ἑαυτῷ καὶ διανέμων τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἀργύριον τοῖς πολίταις Ἀντώνιον τε κατεστασάκει καὶ χρήματα διαδίδουσι συνίστη καὶ συνῆγε πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος στρατευομένων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων τῷ πρὸς Ἀντόνιον μίσει τὰ Καίσαρος ἔποαττε, τοῦτ' μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος

ἐπέπληττεν ἰσχυρῶς, γράφων ὡς οὐ δεσπότην βαρύνοιτο Κικέρων, ἀλλὰ μισοῦντα δεσπότην φοβοῖτο καὶ πολιτεύοιτο δουλείας αἵρεσιν φιλανθρώπου γράφων καὶ λέγων ὡς χρηστὸς ἔστι Καῖσαρ. "Οἱ δὲ πρόγονοι" φησὶν "ἡμῶν οὐδὲ πρῶτος δεσπότης ὑπέμενον." Αὐτῷ δ' εἰς τοῦτο καιροῦ μήτε πολεμεῖν βεβαίως δεδόχθαι μήτε ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνον εἶναι βεβουλευμένον, τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν θαυμάζειν δὲ Κικέρωνος, εἰ πόλεμον μὲν ἐμφύλιον καὶ κινδυνώδη δέδοικεν, αἰσχρὰν δὲ καὶ ἄδοξον εἰρήνην οὐ φοβεῖται, τοῦ δ' Ἀντωνίου ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰτεῖ τὸ Καίσαρα καταστήσαι τύραννον. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρώταις ἐπιστολαῖς τοιοῦτος ὁ Βροῦτος.



## DCCCLXV. BRUTUS TO ATTICUS (BRUT. I. 17).

CAMP IN MACEDONIA ; ABOUT MIDDLE OF MAY ; A. U. C. 711 ;

B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus ad Atticum de Ciceronis nimio Octavii ornandi studio vehementer conqueritur, eundemque reprehendit, qui, cum Antonii dominationem oppresserit, novam stabiliat Octavii.

BRUTUS ATTICO SAL.

1. Scribis mihi mirari Ciceronem, quod nihil significem unquam de suis actis : quoniam me flagitas, coactu tuo scribam, quae sentio. Omnia fecisse Ciceronem optimo animo scio ; quid enim mihi exploratius esse potest quam illius animus in rem publicam ? sed quaedam mihi videtur, quid dicam ? ‘imperite,’ vir omnium prudentissimus, an ‘ambitiose’ fecisse, qui valentissimum Antonium suscipere pro re publica non dubitarit inimicum ? Nescio, quid scribam tibi, nisi unum : pueri et cupiditatem et licentiam potius esse irritatam quam repressam a Cicerone, tantumque eum tribuere huic indulgentiae, ut se maledictis non absteineat, iis quidem, quae in ipsum dupliciter recidunt, quod et plures occidit uno seque prius oportet fateatur sicarium, quam obiciat Cascae quod obicit, et imitatur in Casca Bestiam. An, quia non omnibus horis iacta-

We must suppose that Atticus sent this letter to Cicero, or at all events to Tiro ; otherwise it will be hard to account for its having found its way into the correspondence of Cicero.

1. *exploratius*] cp. Fam. vi. 1, 5 (538) : Att. xvi. 2, 4 (772).

*sed quaedam mihi videtur*] “but he seems to me to have done some things—what am I to say?—‘ignorantly,’ he the most experienced of men, or ‘from interested motives,’ though he has not hesitated on behalf of the state to make Antony, when at the very strongest, his personal enemy.” For *suscipere* Meyer compares *inimicitias suscipere*, Off. i. 28 : *odium suscipere*, Att. vi. 1, 25 (252). For *an after dicam*, cp. Leg. Manil. 57 ; Phil. ii. 27 ; Pis. 20. Madvig (A. C. iii. 200) wishes to supply after *inimicum* <pueri

*Octaviani dominationem subeat*>, an unnecessary addition.

*tantumque cum . . . Bestiam*] ‘and he (Cicero) shows such over-complaisance towards this boy (Octavian) that he (Cicero) does not refrain from abuse—abuse, indeed, which recoils on himself in twofold wise ; because, on the one hand (*et*) he put to death more than a single individual, and must needs confess himself to be a murderer before he can make the charge which he does make against Casca ; and on the other (*et*) he is, in the case of Casca, imitating the conduct of Bestia.’ We must suppose that Cicero had on some occasion, when wishing to ingratiate himself with Octavian, said that Casca was a murderer (*sicarius*) : cp. Phil. ii. 31. We may, perhaps, infer from 807, 3, that Octavian was especially hostile to Casca ; or



mus Idus Martias similiter atque ille Nonas Decembres suas in ore habet, eo meliore condicione Cicero pulcherrimum factum vituperabit, quam Bestia et Clodius reprehendere illius consulatum soliti sunt? 2. Sustinuisse mihi gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noster: quid hoc mihi prodest, si merces Antonii oppressi poscitur in Antonii locum successio et si vindex illius mali auctor exstitit alterius fundamentum et radices habituri altiores, si patiamur? ut iam ista, quae facit,—dominationem an dominum an Antonium?—timentis sint; ego autem gratiam non habeo, si quis, dum ne irato serviat, rem ipsam non deprecatur, immo triumphum et stipendium decernit et omnibus decretis hortatur, ne eius pudeat concupiscere fortunam, cuius nomen suscepit: consularis hoc aut Ciceronis est? 3. Quoniam mihi tacere non licuit, leges, quae tibi necesse est molesta esse; etenim ipse sentio, quanto cum dolore haec ad te scripserim, nec ignoro, quid sentias in re publica et quam desperatam quoque sanari putes posse, nec mehercule te, Attice, reprehendo, aetas enim, mores, liberi segnem efficiunt,

possibly, as Ruete (p. 99) suggests, Cicero lost his temper with Casca when the latter opposed his decree, which granted an ovation to Octavian (cp. 914, 9). Bestia was a tribune in 691 (59), and a bitter opponent of Cicero: cp. Sall. Cat. 43, *constituerant uti L. Bestia, tr. pl., contione habita, quere-retur de actionibus Ciceronis bellicae gravissimi invidiam optimo consuli imponeret*. It is rare, as Markland (pp. 114–116) points out, to find *plures* instead of the normal *plus*: cp. Roby, § 1273; but even Cicero uses the form, cp. Leg. ii. 39; Orat. 218; and it is quite common from the time of Livy.

2. *Sustinuisse*] For the omission of the pronoun, cp. 850, 2 (*rediturum*); 864, 5 (*posse*); Rosc. Am. 61 (where editors wrongly insert *te*): Liv. xxiii. 10, 13; and Madv. § 401.

*si merces*] cp. Plut. Brut. 22, τοῦ δ' Ἀντώνιον ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰτεῖ τὸ Καίσαρα καταστήσαι τύραννον.

*ut iam ista . . . sint*] We adhere to the mss; 'so that his attitude is that of a man afraid—is it of tyranny, or a tyrant, or Antony?' For this use of *an*, cp. Madv. on Fin. ii. 104, and our note to Att. i. 3, 2 (8). Brutus implies that Cicero's quarrel with Antony is due to personal motives and not to hatred of tyranny or hatred of Antony because he was a tyrant, but to

private hatred of Antony as Antony. Madvig and Wesenberg omit *an* before *Antonium*; but, in our opinion, that weakens both the sense and the sentence.

*immo triumphum . . . est*] The reading we have adopted is that of Wesenberg. For the mss readings see Adn. Crit. Attractive, too, is Madvig's correction (A. C. iii. 201), *immo triumphus et stipendium et omnibus decretis hortatio, ne eius pudeat concupiscere fortunam, cuius nomen suscepit, consularis aut Ciceronis est?* As regards the difficulty about *triumphus*, see note to 914, 9. Brutus does not appear to be exaggerating here (though Appian, iii. 80, 82 does not attribute to Cicero any part in the decree which granted a triumph to Octavian); for we certainly gather from 914, 9, that Cicero took the initiative in this motion.

3. *et quam desperatam . . . posse*] The emphatic word is *desperatam*, 'and how critical you consider its condition, though you think it can be cured.' The wise moderation and policy of compromise recommended by Atticus would not commend itself to the rigid republicanism and so-called stoicism of Brutus. Van der Vliet (Jahrb. 1885, p. 376) suggests *et quam desper<es liber> atam quoque sanari posse*, which is ingenious, but too bold.

quod quidem etiam ex Flavio nostro perspexi. 4. Sed redeo ad Ciceronem : quid inter Salvidienum et eum interest ? quid autem amplius ille decerneret ? 'Timet,' inquires, 'etiam nunc reliquias belli civilis.' Quisquam ergo ita timet profligatum, ut neque potentiam eius, qui exercitum victorem habet, neque temeritatem pueri putet extimescendam esse ? an hoc ipsum ea re facit, quod illi propter amplitudinem omnia iam ultroque deferenda putat ? O magnam stultitiam timoris, id ipsum, quod verearis, ita cavere, ut, cum vitare fortasse potueris, ultro arcessas et attrahas ! Nimium timemus mortem et exsilium et paupertatem : haec mihi videntur Ciceroni ultima esse in malis, et, dum habeat, a quibus impetret, quae velit, et a quibus colatur ac laudetur, servitutem, honorificam modo, non aspernatur—si quidquam in extrema ac miserrima

*ex Flavio*] This is the mss reading, which we retain with Ruete (p. 116) ; the editors usually alter to *in*. That *ex* makes the remark more rude than *in* does not render it the less likely to have come from Brutus (cp. 864, introd. note). For Flavius, see 867, 4 ; also Plut. Brut. 51. From a fragment of a letter written by Cicero to Brutus (ap. Quintil. ix. 3, 58) it would appear that Flavius had been in Rome in the spring of this year : *Sermo nullus scilicet nisi de te : quid enim potius ? Tum Flavius 'Cras' inquit 'tabellarii' ; et ego ibidem haec inter cenam exaravi.*

4. *Salvidienum*] This man was in early life a devoted partisan of Octavian. He and Agrippa were in Octavian's company when the news arrived of the murder of Caesar (Vell. ii. 59) : and in the succeeding years he acted in command of a fleet against Sextus Pompeius. However, in 714 (40), he appears to have conspired against Octavian, and was executed. Dio Cass. (xlviii. 33) mentions him as an example of the uncertainty of human fortunes. Prof. Palmer identifies the Nasidienus Rufus of Horace (Sat. ii. 8) with this Salvidienus Rufus.

*Quisquam ergo ita timet . . . ut*] 'Is there any man then who, among his fears about the well-nigh finished war, has thought that no fear was to be entertained of the power of one who possesses a victorious army, no fear of the rashness of a boy.'

*an hoc ipsum*] 'or has Cicero adopted this very course (i.e. of excessive indulgence towards Octavian) because he thinks

Octavian is so great that everything must at once and unasked be offered to him'—for, if they were not voluntarily offered, he would simply take them.

*stultitiam . . . ita cavere*] cp. N. D. iii. 84, *esse enim stultitiam a quibus bona praecaveretur ab vis porrigentibus et dantibus nolle sumere*, where Prof. Mayor quotes Plaut. Stich. i. 2, 82, *Stultitiast, pater, venatum ducere invitas eanes*, cp. Roby, § 1352. Becher (Philol. 1885, p. 482, note) thinks these not very good parallels, as *esse* is expressed or understood with the verbal substantives. He suggests Sest. 89, *opinioe id eum unquam esse facturum* ; Tusc. iii. 74, *cogitatio . . . nihil esse*. Schirmer adds (p. 18), Fam. vi. 4, 4 (540), *impudentia . . . eandem fortunam recusare*.

*mortem . . . paupertatem*] See § 5.

*haec . . . malis*] 'It seems to me that these things are in Cicero's eyes the most extreme of ills.' For *Ciceroni*, the dative of the person judging, cp. Roby, § 1148. The corrections of Madvig, viz. <levia> *videntur*, and of Becher <vilis> are possible, but not by any means necessary. Stangl (Philologus, 1887, p. 209) proposes *nimirum* for *mihi*, comparing *nempe* in 864, 4.

*servitutem*] cp. 864, 7, *amiciozem dominum* : Plut. Cic. 45, ἐφ' ᾧ σφόδρα Βρούτος ἀγανακτῶν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀττικὸν ἐπιστολαῖς καθήψατο τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὅτι διὰ φόβον Ἀντωνίου θεραπεύων Καίσαρα δῆλός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι πράττων ἀλλὰ δεσποτὴν φιλάνθρωπον αὐτῷ μνάμενος.

contumelia potest honorificum esse. 5. Licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem, referat omnia, laudet, gratias agat, tamen illud apparebit, verba rebus esse contraria: quid enim tam alienum ab humanis sensibus est quam eum patris habere loco, qui ne liberi quidem hominis numero sit? atqui eo tendit, id agit, ad eum exitum properat vir optimus, ut sit illi Octavius propitius. Ego vero iam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus Ciceronem scio instructissimum esse; quid enim illi prosunt, quae pro libertate patriae, quae de dignitate, quae de morte, exsilio, paupertate scripsit copiosissime? quanto autem magis illa callere videtur Philippus, qui privigno minus tribuerit, quam Cicero, qui alieno tribuat! Desinat igitur gloriando etiam insectari dolores nostros: quid enim nostra victum esse Antonium, si victus est, ut alii vacaret, quod ille obtinuit? 6. Tametsi tuae litterae dubia etiam nunc significant. Vivat hercule Cicero, qui potest, supplex et obnoxius, si neque aetatis neque honorum neque rerum gestarum pudet: ego certe, quin cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum regno et imperiis extraordinariis et dominatione et potentia, quae

*in extrema ac miserrima contumelia*] 'in the last, most abject depth of degradation.'

5. *Octavius*] cp. note to 864, 1.

*referat omnia*] This does not necessarily mean 'to put down to the credit of' (*referat accepta*), but rather 'to refer' or 'to notify' matters to Cicero in order to get his advice: cp. Att. vii. 16, 3 (313). *De Terentia et Tullia tibi adsentior ad quas scripseram, ad te ut referrent*; xvi. 3, 6 (773); Fam. iii. 8, 5 (222); xii. 2, 3 (790). In all these cases the person to whom reference is made is in the acc. with *ad*. Accordingly we think it not improbable that *ad Ciceronem* should be inserted before *referat*—it might have dropped out after the previous *Ciceronem*. The repetition of the name would add to the force of the sentence.

*quam eum . . . sic*] i.e. that Octavius should call Cicero his father, and yet be his master: *propitius*, 'gracious,' as if Octavius were a god.

*de dignitate*] Perhaps the lost treatise, *De Gloria*.

*de morte*] Probably the first book of the Tusculan Disputations. We are not sure what the treatises were in which Cicero dilated on *exsiliū* and *paupertas*; perhaps consolations addressed to repub-

licans who were exiled by Caesar.

*illa callere*] cp. Balb. 32, *neque Poenorum iura calles*.

*Philippus*] cp. Att. xiv. 12, 2 (715), *Octavius, quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non item, itaque ne nos quidem, quem nego posse bonum civem*; also xv. 12, 2 (745).

*insectari dolores nostros*] 'to assail us in our miseries': cp. Phil. ii. 98, *nullius insector calamitatem*. The magniloquent language in which Cicero decreed honours to Octavian must have been galling to the jealous Brutus, who had good reason to feel sad at the turn events were taking, and at the futility of his own endeavours.

*quid enim nostra?*] sc. interest: cp. Att. iv. 5, 3 (108), *quid enim tua? sed viderim*. Plant. Amph. iii. 4, 20, *Quid [id] mea?* Heidemann (p. 89) adds Senec. Epist. 91, 19, *Quid enim, inquit, mea* [So Vahlen; but Haase adds *refert*]; Senec. Contr. 415, 24 (Kiessling), *nihil, inquit, mea an cogaris*; but it is doubtful whether from these passages a defence can be made for Fam. ix. 6, 6 (470), *quae tua audiero, sc. interesse*.

6. *supplex et obnoxius*] 'cringing and subservient.'

*quin*] governed by *deterrear*.

supra leges se esse velit, nulla erit tam bona condicio serviendi, qua deterrear, quamvis sit vir bonus, ut scribis, [Antonius], quod ego numquam existimavi; sed dominum ne parentem quidem maiores nostri voluerunt esse. Te nisi tantum amarem, quantum Ciceroni persuasum est diligi se ab Octavio, haec ad te non scripsissem: dolet mihi, quod tu nunc stomacharis amantissimus cum tuorum omnium, tum Ciceronis; sed persuade tibi de voluntate propria mea nihil esse remissum, de iudicio largiter, neque enim impetrari potest, quin, quale quidque videatur ei, talem quisque de illo opinionem habeat. 7. Vellem mihi scripsisses, quae conditiones essent Atticae nostrae: potuissem aliquid tibi de meo sensu perscribere. Valetudinem Porciae meae tibi curae esse non miror.

*quamvis sit vir bonus, ut scribis*] 'be the monarch ever so good a man, as you say he is'; i.e. I am a foe to the monarchy, be the monarch ever so good. *dominus* is to be understood out of *dominatione*, and *Antonius* is to be ejected; or perhaps *dominus* should be read instead of *Antonius*, which may have been a gloss upon it. *Antonius* is certainly wrong, for the reference, if not quite general, is to *Octavius*; and this is what Tunstall reads: ep. Plutarch, Brut. 22, γράφων καὶ λέγων ὡς χρηστός ἐστι Καίσαρ.

*dolet mihi quod*] For this impersonal use ep. *cui dolet meminit* (= 'burnt child dreads the fire,' παθήματα μαθήματα), Muren. 42; and for *quod* or *quia* after *dolere*, ep. Brut. 5; Ter. Phorm. i. 3, 10.

*sed persuade tibi*] 'but be assured of this that there is no diminution in my good-will to him, though my judgment of him is largely modified; for it can never be brought to pass, but that each one should have an opinion about each thing as it appears to him.' This observation is not overpoweringly profound. *Quin* is used, as after *facere non possum*, and such phrases: ep. Att. xii. 27, 2 (563). Becher thinks the construction as reasonable as Fam. v. 12, 2 (109), *desse mihi nolui quin te admonerem*.

7. *Vellem*] Gurlitt (Jahrb. 1892, pp. 413-6) supposes that § 7 is the whole of a genuine letter from Brutus to Cicero. No forger, he thinks, would have referred to Porcia's illness; for the forger would have believed, with all his contemporaries, that Porcia did not die a natural death, but committed suicide by 'swallowing fire' or in some other way. About June 2 Cicero had written (according to Gurlitt)

a letter, now lost, speaking of Porcia's illness. This reached Brutus somewhere in the interior of Macedonia about June 21. On June 22 Brutus answered this letter in 865, 7, which reached Cicero about July 10. On July 11 Cicero wrote to Brutus 913, complaining (§ 1) of his very short letter—'only three lines.' This very short letter Gurlitt thinks was 865, 7. Further, he ingeniously argues that if we add this (as he holds) genuine section to Brutus i. 18 (915), we shall get exactly the amount necessary to fill two folia of the archetype; and thus we can account for the fact that the forgeries (as he considers them), Brut. i. 16, 17, §§ 1-6 (864, 865), were inserted into, not merely added on to, the volume of epistles. We have been unable to convince ourselves that 864, 865, are certainly forgeries, and accordingly are not called on to assent to this reasoning, though the ingenuity of it compels admiration.

*condiciones*] 'What proposals our dear Attica has had': *condicio est pactio certam legem continens* (Donatus). For *condicio* = *condicio uxoria*, ep. Plaut. Aul. ii. 2, 60. Attica was born about 702 (52), and was accordingly about 9 years old now. Such an early betrothal was quite in accordance with Roman customs: ep. an inscription in Orelli (2647) of a girl betrothed in her ninth year. Atticus's granddaughter was betrothed to Tiberius Drusus when she was *vix annuula* (Nep. Att. 19): ep. also Friedländer SG i<sup>6</sup>. 563 ff. Attica married at an early age M. Vipsanius Agrippa (Nep. Att. 12; Suet. Tib. 7).

*Valetudinem Porciae*] ep. introductory note to 902.



Denique, quod petis, faciam libenter, nam etiam sorores me rogant : et hominem noro et quid sibi voluerit.

## DCCCLXVI. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 3-6).

CAMP ABOUT 75 MILES E. OF DYRRHACHIUM ; MAY 15 ; A. U. C. 711 ;  
B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Ciceronem monet Brutus ne nimis honoribus Octaviano tribuendis malum exemplum inducatur, quo qui abutantur regnandi cupiditate ducti, iis regnandi detur occasio.

## BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

3. \* \* Nunc, Cicero, nunc agendum est, ne frustra oppressum esse Antonium gavisi simus neu semper primi cuiusque mali excidendi causa sit, ut aliud renascatur illo peius. 4. Nihil

*quod petis*] We do not know to what private affairs Brutus is here referring.

This letter appears in the mss as the latter half of 857 (cp. §3 of that letter), but cp. note to 857, 1. Now that both consuls were dead Brutus appears to be afraid that perhaps the consulship may be actually given to Octavian, who had been granted permission on January 1 (Phil. v. 47) to stand for it ten years before the ordinary time. Brutus had probably reached a point about 75 miles on his eastward march in the 8 days which elapsed since he wrote 857.

3. *Nunc*] So the mss, except one Oxford ms which reads *id*: then the sentence beginning with *ne* is epexegetical of this *id*. Becher and Cobet wish to read *cavendum* for *nunc agendum*. But *nunc* means 'now that the consuls are dead.'

*neu semper . . . causa sit*] There is something wrong with this sentence. We should expect some word like *festinatio* after *excidendi*. Middleton suggested *ratio*, Becher *cura*, Markland *omissio*. Cobet reads *excidium* for *excidendi*. A simpler addition would be *ea* after *causa*, which might readily have fallen out after that word, which, in its abbreviated form is *ea*. Translate 'lest the plea that each evil should be cut down the moment it ap-

pears bring it to pass that (lit. "be of such a nature that") another worse evil springs again into existence.' For *causa* = 'plea,' 'excuse,' cp. Phil. i. 28, *nec erat iustior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis*. Becher (Rh. M., p. 594) supposes that the sentence exhibits a contorted example of the attributive genitive of the gerund, and is virtually = *neu semper primum quodque malum excidere* (subject) *causa sit* (pred.) *ut* &c. cp. Brut. 258, *aetatis illius ista laus fuit tanquam innocentiae, sic Latine loquendi*: Senec. Consol. ad Polybium 9, 9 (29), *est, mihi crede, magna felicitas in ipsa felicitate moriendi*: Liv. xxx. 49, 13, *quod optimum esse dicunt non interponendi* (the Mainz ms and Weiss. read *interponi*) *vos bello, nihil immo tam alienum rebus vestris est*: Tac. Ann. xiii. 26, 4, *nec grave manumissis per idem obsequium retinendi libertatem per quod adsecuti sint* (where Madv. inserts *onus* and Ritter *munus*): xv. 5, 3, *Vologesi vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi* (where Madv. inserts *votum*, Ritter *studium*). So far these additions are not really necessary; but in Ann. xv. 21, 3, *et maneat provincialibus potentiam suam tali modo ostendanti* the text is indefensible. Halm adds *ius*, Ritter *potestas*, and Madv. (A. C. ii. 556) read *potestas sententiam* for *potentiam*. See Mr. Fureux's notes on these passages of Tacitus.



iam neque-opinantibus aut patientibus nobis adversi evenire potest, in quo non cum omnium culpa, tum, praecipue tua futura sit, cuius tantam auctoritatem senatus ac populus Romanus non solum esse patitur, sed etiam cupit, quanta maxima in libera civitate unius esse potest: quam tu non solum bene sentiendo, sed etiam prudenter tueri debes; prudentia porro, quae tibi superest, nulla abs te desideratur nisi modus intribuendis honoribus. Alia omnia sic adsunt, ut cum quolibet antiquorum comparari possint tuae virtutes: unum hoc a grato animo liberalique profectum, cautiorem ac moderatiorem liberalitatem, desiderant; nihil enim senatus cuiquam dare debet, quod male cogitantibus exemplo aut praesidio sit. Itaque timeo de consulatu, ne Caesar tuus altius se ascendisse putet decretis tuis, quam inde, si consul factus sit, sit descensus.

4. *neque-opinantibus*] This form instead of *necopinans* is found in Bell. Alex. and Bell. Afr. 'For no disaster can happen to us from carelessness or submission.'

*quanta maxima*] cp. 864, l. De Orat. i. 171. Translate 'on the largest scale on which any man can have power in a free state.'

*bene sentiendo, sed etiam prudenter*] 'Not only by well-intentioned motions but also by judicious ones': cp. 865, l, where Brutus says that Cicero was always *optimo animo*, but did many things *imperite*.

*desiderant*] So the mss; but Man. Btr. and Becher omit *tuae virtutes* as a gloss, and alter *desiderant* into *desiderat*: they consider the plural is due to the gloss. This is an unnecessary alteration. We may either take *virtutes* as subject to *desiderant* (cp. Arch. 28), or understand the indefinite plural 'men think.'

*nihil . . . sit*] 'For the senate ought not to give anything to anyone which may serve as a precedent or a protection for the designs of the disaffected,' i.e. which may stimulate men like Lepidus to aspire to similar honours, or may afford a power to be used by Octavian against the state.

*Itaque . . . descensus*] Both Becher (Rh. Mus. p. 596) and Ruete make virtually the same correction here. The former reads *quam inde consul factus sit descensus*; the latter *quam inde, si consul factus sit, descensus sit*. For *ut* omitted after *quam* Becher compares De Orat. ii. 161; Att. iv. 1, 7 (90), *adiungit . . . maius imperium in provinciis quam sit eorum qui eas obtineant*: add Madv. on

Fin. iv. 20, also ii. 42: see too Lehmann's note on Fam. ii. 16, 3. Ursinus, however, claims to have found this reading, in a slightly better form, in one of his manuscripts, viz. *quam inde, si consul factus sit, sit descensus* (see Variorum ed. of the Letters to Brutus, p. 118). The second *sit* having dropped out by lipography, *descensus* was altered to *descensurum*. We have adopted this reading. Manutius suggested *ascensurum*, meaning apparently that Octavian will consider that he has made a greater advance in his political career by Cicero's decrees granting him pro-praetorian powers than he can possibly make thereafter, even though he obtains the consulship; so that he will certainly strive for that office, perhaps for dictatorship and monarchy. Madvig (A. C. iii. 198) gives much the same interpretation, reading *escensurum*. For the periphrastic future as a feature of the style of Brutus, cp. note to Fam. xi. 2, 2 (740). For the fut. subj. after a verb of fearing, cp. Matus, ap. Fam. xi. 28, 8 (785).

Translate 'I am afraid, as regards the consulship, that your friend Caesar will think that he has risen so high by your decrees that he will not come down from that height if he is made consul.' This is the warning which Brutus was constantly giving Cicero. The time to elapse before Octavian could stand for the consulship had been considerably shortened, and Brutus feared that perhaps it might be shortened still more: in any case once Octavian obtained the consulship he would

5. Quod si Antonius ab alio relictum regni instrumentum occasionem regnandi habuit, quonam animo fore putas, si quis auctore non tyranno interfecto, sed ipso senatu putet se imperia quaelibet concupiscere posse? quare tum et facilitatem et providentiam laudabo tuam, cum exploratum habere coepero Caesarem honoribus, quos acceperit, extraordinariis fore contentum. 'Alienae igitur,' inquires, 'culpa me reum subiicies?' Prorsus alienae, si provideri potuit, ne existeret: quod utinam inspectare possis timorem de illo meum!

6. His litteris scriptis consulem te factum audivimus: tum vero incipiam proponere mihi rem publicam iustam et iam suis nitentem viribus, si istuc videro. Filius valet et in Macedoniam cum equitatu praemissus est. Idibus Maiis, ex castris.

probably use that position to make himself monarch, or at any rate perpetual consul. There is no necessary allusion to the Caesarian story (App. iii. 82; Dio Cass. xlv. 42; Plut. Cic. 45 ff.), that Octavian and Cicero had entered into a secret agreement to have themselves elected consuls.

5. *regni instrumentum*] 'apparatus for exercising monarchy': cp. 914, 4; Mil. 33.

*honoribus, quos acceperit*] cp. Phil. v. 46. Not only had he been given a military command as propraetor, but he was admitted to the senate among the praetorii and could sue for magistracies as if he had been quaestor the year before (i.e. as if he were now 32 years of age).

*Alienae . . . existeret*] 'Will you then, you ask, make me responsible for the crime of another? (i.e. if Octavian becomes disloyal that will be *his* fault not mine). Yes, even for another's crime (you will be responsible) if you could have prevented that crime.' It would certainly be a more forcible sentence if we could suppose that *tibi* dropped out after *si*. Kayser, Madv., and Becher omit *alienae* after *prorsus*; for (these scholars argue) Brutus could not say that the fault was 'another's,' and yet censure Cicero for it. This is pressing the words too closely. Octavian is the chief actor, and the fault may fairly be said to be his, though Cicero becomes an accessory by putting him in the position wherein alone he can act with damage to the state.

*quod utinam*] *quod* is used in a con-

nexive sense as in *quod si*: cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (62).

*inspectare*] This word, and not *inspicere*, is generally used in such expressions: cp. Fam. i. 9, 19 (153) *me inspectante*, 'before my eyes.'

*possis*] So the mss. Wes. (E. A. 145) alters to *posses* for this reason, 'nec enim Cicero poterat absentis Bruti timorem inspectare,' an objection which lays too much stress on the absolutely literal acceptance of the words. Becher (Rh. M. 596) rightly says the pres. subj. is more vivid, 'and I only wish you could see my present fear of him.'

6. *His litteris scriptis*] A common beginning of a postscript.

*consulem te factum*] This was the merest rumour; indeed the fact reported seemed so unlikely that Brutus says not 'this is a real boon to the state,' but 'I shall consider the State really fortunate if I see you consul.' The mention of such a report appears as incidental evidence of the genuineness of the letters. Such mention would hardly have been made by a forger, especially one who was so thoroughly versed in the history of the times as the writer of these letters.

*Filius*] Brutus had sent young Cicero into Ambracia with orders to bring some cavalry which were there through Thessaly and Macedonia, and to meet him at Heraclea in Lyncestis: cp. 867, 1. Brutus himself was apparently marching straight along the Egnatian Way towards the Chersonese.

*ex castris*] cp. introd. note.

## DCCCLXVII. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 6).

LOWER CANDAVIA ; MAY 19 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus Ciceronem rogat ut Glycona, medicum Pansae, e custodia eripiat ; Flavius, qui cum Dyrrhachinis litem habebat, commendat, et de Dolabella fugato caesoque certiore facit.

## BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. Noli exspectare, dum tibi gratias agam : iampridem hoc ex nostra necessitudine, quae ad summam benevolentiam pervenit, sublatum esse debet. Filius tuus a me abest, in Macedonia congregiemur ; iussus est enim Ambracia ducere equites per Thessaliam et scripsi ad eum, ut mihi Heracleam occurreret : cum eum videro, quoniam nobis permittis, communiter constituemus de reditu eius ad petitionem aut commendationem honoris. 2. Tibi Glycona, medicum Pansae, qui sororem Achilleos nostri in matrimonio habet, diligentissime commendo. Audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Pansae custodiri utque parricidam : nihil minus credendum est ; quis enim maiorem calamitatem morte Pansae accepit ? praeterea est modestus homo et frugi, quem ne utilitas quidem videatur impulsura fuisse ad facinus. Rogo te, et

This letter is an answer to Brutus i. 5 (852) of May 5th. If the date given (§ 4) by M<sup>2</sup>, viz. xvii. is right, which Schmidt (Cass. p. 46) doubts, we must suppose that the messenger who brought 852 travelled with exceptional rapidity. Eleven days would have been the normal time to reach Dyrrhachium, and Candavia was some 100 miles east of that town. Schmidt accordingly alters to xiiii. the reading of M<sup>1</sup>. As a proof that this form would be readily corrupted into xvii., cp. 842, 5.

1. *Noli exspectare*] This sentiment, that friends need not be constantly expressing gratitude to one another for kindnesses is not infrequently found : cp. 916, 1. For *exspectare dum* cp. 837, 4.

*Filius tuus*] For the command of the cavalry which young Cicero held at this time cp. 866, 6. Heraclea is almost certainly Heraclea in Lyncestis, not

Heraclea in Phthiotis, which would be quite out of the way of Brutus's march.

*ad petitionem . . . honoris*] 'to canvass for, or put himself forward for, the office.' The word *commendationem* means that, if young Cicero found that the comitia were over or that he had no chance that year, he might take some steps to put himself prominently before the people as a probable candidate at the next election.

2. *Glycona*] This charge against Glycon is also made in Tac. Ann. i. 10 ; Suet. Oct. 11. For the Greek form cp. *Pana*, N. D. iii. 56 ; *Zostera* . . . *Ceo*, Att. v. 12, 1 (202) ; *Nesida*, Att. xvi. 4, 1 (771).

*Achilleos*] If a Roman were speaking of the Greek hero he would use the Roman form *Achilles*. The name of an obscure slave would not be Latinized.

quidem valde rogo—nam Achilleus noster non minus, quam aequum est, laborat—, eripias eum ex custodia conservesque : hoc ego ad meum officium privatarum rerum aequae atque ullam aliam rem pertinere arbitror. 3. Cum has ad te scriberem litteras, a Satrio, legato C. Trebonii, reddita est epistola mihi, a Tillio et Deiotaro Dolabellam caesum fugatumque esse : Graecam epistolam tibi misi Cicereii cuiusdam ad Satrium missam. 4. Flavius noster de controversia, quam habet cum Dyrrhachinis hereditariam, sumpsit te iudicem : rogo te, Cicero, et Flavius rogat, rem conficias. Quin ei, qui Flavium fecit heredem, pecuniam debuerit civitas, non est dubium, neque Dyrrhachini infitiantur, sed sibi donatum aes alienum a Caesare dicunt : noli pati a necessariis tuis necessario meo iniuriam fieri. XIII. K. Iunias ex castris ad imam Candaviam.

## DCCCLXVIII. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 7).

MACEDONIA (P) ; AFTER MAY 20 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus Ciceronem rogat ut Bibulum in Pausae locum nominet, et de Domitio et Appuleio scribit.

## BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. L. Bibulus quam carus mihi esse debeat, nemo melius iudicare potest quam tu, cuius tantae pro re publica contentiones

*ad meum officium privatarum rerum*] 'to my duty in private matters.'

3. *has ad te scriberem litteras*] Meyer (p. 109) says that Cicero does not use the expression *has scribere litteras*, but *hac scribere*.

*Satrio*] Nothing is known of Satrius or Cicereius except what is related here.

*Tillio*] i.e. Tillius Cimber, one of the conspirators, who was now governor of Bithynia (Dio Cass. xlvii. 31, 1).

4. *Flavius*] He was *praefectus fabrum* of Brutus : cp. 865, 3. He fell at Philippi, to the deep grief of Brutus, Plut. Brut. 51.

*sed sibi . . . dicunt*] an accidental hexameter.

*necessariis*] Cicero was patronus of

Dyrrhachium : cp. Fam. xiv. 1, 7 (82) ; 3, 4 (84), and especially Planc. 97, *Dyrrhachium quod erat in mea fide*.

*xiii*] See introd. note.

*imam Candaviam*] a mountainous district on the borders of Epirus and Macedonia. Cicero hardly ever uses *imus* for *infimus*, yet cp. Rose. Com. 20. It often occurs in Cornificius, e.g. ad Herenn. iii. 25, 30 ; iv. 45 ; also in Caesar B. G. iii. 19, 1 ; iv. 17, 3.

The date of this letter cannot be fixed with any certainty. It was after May 20th, the date of 867, and before the end of June, because Cicero answers it on July 14 (913, 1).

1. L. Bibulus] Meyer (p. 59) argues



sollicitudinesque fuerunt: itaque vel ipsius virtus vel nostra necessitudo debet conciliare te illi; quo minus multa mihi scribenda esse arbitror, voluntas enim te movere debet nostra, si modo iusta est aut pro officio necessario suscipitur. *Is* in Pansae locum petere constituit; eam nominationem a te petimus: neque coniunctioni dare beneficium, quam nos tibi sumus, neque digniorem nominare potes quam Bibulum. 2. De Domitio et Appuleio quid attinet me scribere, cum ipsi per se tibi commendatissimi sint? Appuleium vero tu tua auctoritate sustinere debes; sed Appuleius in sua epistola celebrabitur, Bibulum noli dimittere e sinu tuo, tantum iam virum, ex quanto, crede mihi, potest evadere, qui vestris paucorum respondeat laudibus.

that this is the son of M. Bibulus by his marriage with Porcia, daughter of Cato of Utica, who afterwards became wife of M. Brutus. Porcia can hardly have been born before 678 (76); and if she had a son in 694 (60), he would be only 17 now. Examples can be adduced of young men, who at an equally early age were invested with priesthoods (e.g. Caesar was Flamen Dialis at 16, Octavian Pontifex Maximus at 19); and young Bibulus may have held a military command (cp. App. iv. 104) as well as young Cicero. We know young Bibulus was attached to M. Brutus, and subsequently wrote a short memoir of him (βιβλίδιον μικρὸν ἀπομνημονευμάτων Βρούτου, Plut. Brut. 13: cp. 23).

*necessario*] If this word is taken as an adjective it must be translated, 'incumbent on me' (owing to the connexion of Brutus with the family of Bibulus) rather than 'as a relative'; the latter would be *necessitudinis* (Muren. 73); but it is better with Becher to take it as an adverb. For *voluntas suscipitur* cp. Cat. iii. 22, *dis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi*.

*Is* in] We must add *Is*, as Wesenberg does. Poggio's ms (Med. 49, 24) has *is* for *in*, which Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 182) adopts.

*nominationem*] probably for the Augurate: cp. note to §52, 3.

2. *De Domitio*] cp. 913, 1.

*Appuleio*] He had been augur two years before, Att. xii. 13, 2 (545), and had lately rendered considerable assist-

ance to Brutus, both in collecting an army and in handing over to him a large quantity of state money: cp. note to §50, 1. He was probably seeking the pontificate at this time.

*celebrabitur*] Markland (p. 67) objects to this word, apparently on the ground that there is no other example of its being used of praise of any one addressed to an individual; it is always used of praise addressed to a large mass. We consider this accidental, as mention of praise of any one addressed to an individual is very seldom found at all. We might fairly say, 'I shall deliver a panegyric on Appuleius in the letter which I am giving him,' though the panegyric was meant to meet the eye of only a single person.

*tantum*] 'a man already of such promise as (you may take my word for it) to be able to develop into a member of that small class which wins praise of you and your friends.' The subjunctive *possit* would be simpler; but perhaps *potest* is modal, and *evadere potest* = *evasurus sit*.

*vestris paucorum . . . laudibus*] 'literally, 'comes up to the praises you bestow on few.' Or possibly it might be 'to the praises of you few who are good judges,' i.e. *vestrorum paucorum laudibus*. But in either case *paucorum* is so awkward and unnecessary that we are almost inclined to bracket it, supposing it to be a gloss on *vestris*, which signified that few had merit sufficient to win the praises of Cicero.



## DCCCLXIX. LEPIDUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 34, §§ 1, 2).

PONS ARGENTEUS; MAY 18 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;

AET. CIC. 63.

M. Lepidus narrat quid Antonio adveniente egerit.

M. LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. S. D. M. TULLIO CICERONI.

1. S. V. B. E. E. V. Cum audissem Antonium cum suis copiis, praemisso L. Antonio cum parte equitatus in provinciam meam venire, cum exercitu meo ab confluyente Rhodani castra movi ac contra eos venire institui. Itaque continuis itineribus ad Forum Voconii veni et ultra castra ad flumen Argenteum contra Antonianos feci. P. Ventidius suas legiones tres coniunxit cum eo et ultra me castra posuit: habebat antea legionem quintam et ex reliquis legionibus magnam multitudinem, sed inermorum. Equitatum habet magnum: nam omnis ex proelio integer discessit, ita ut sint amplius equitum milia quinque. Ad me complures milites et equites ab eo transierunt et in dies singulos eius copiae minuuntur. 2. Silanus et Culleo ab eo discesserunt. Nos etsi

The Pons Argenteus was a little north-east of Forum Voconii (now Le Canet), on the road between Aquae Sextiae (Aix) and Forum Julii (Fréjus). The Argenteus is now called the Argents. Ventidius, on May 15 (872, 1), was two days' journey from Antony. On the day on which this letter was written he had joined him; so that it cannot have been written before May 18.

1. *ab confluyente Rhodani*] 'from the confluence of the Rhone,' i.e. with the Druentia (Durance), near Avenio. Wesenberg points out that the smaller river is usually mentioned (cp. Caes. B. G. iv. 15, 2; Tac. Hist. ii. 40), and adds <Druentiae ac>: yet cp. Liv. i. 27, 4. Hübner reads *ab confluyente* <Arari et> Rhodano. See Adn. Crit.

*ultra*] 'beyond the town,' i.e. to the east of it.

*legiones tres*] The 7th, 8th, 9th: cp. 890, 4.

*ultra me*] 'to the east of me,' i.e. further on in the direction in which I was facing. For *ultra* with a pronoun cp. Caes. B. G. i. 48, 2, *ultra eum*.

*ex reliquis legionibus*] i.e. the 2nd and 35th, and three others (probably consisting of recruits with perhaps a few *evocati*): for in Phil. viii. 25, Antony is quoted as stating that he had six legions.

*inermorum*] For the form, cp. 863, 1. Watson notices that this paragraph leads us to think that Galba's account of Antony's loss was over-stated (cp. 841, 5).

*equitum milia quinque*] So we read according to the fine emendation of Madvig. H. Pal give *equitum M. itaque*. But a thousand cavalry would be a small quota with six legions, and no satisfactory sense can be obtained for *itaque*.

2. *Silanus*] cp. 841, 1.

*Culleo*] Q. Terentius Culleo was appointed by Lepidus to guard the passes of

graviter ab iis laesi eramus, quod contra nostram voluntatem ad Antonium ierant, tamen nostrae humanitatis et necessitudinis causa eorum salutis rationem habuimus, nec tamen eorum opera utimur neque in castris habemus neque ulli negotio praefecimus. Quod ad bellum hoc attinet, nec senatui nec rei publicae deerimus. Quae postea egerimus faciam te certiore.

## DCCCLXX. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 18).

CAMP IN GAUL; MAY 18; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

I. Plancus narrat quibus causis commotus ad Lepidum proficiscatur.

### PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Quid in animo habuerim, cum Laevus Nervaue discesse-  
runt a me, et ex litteris, quas eis dedi, et ex ipsis cognoscere  
potuisti, qui omnibus rebus consiliisque meis interfuerunt. Accidit  
mihi, quod homini pudenti et cupido satis faciendi rei publicae  
bonisque omnibus accidere solet, ut consilium sequeretur periculosum  
magis, dum me probarem, quam tutum, quod habere posset obtrec-  
tationem. 2. Itaque post discessum legatorum, cum binis con-  
tinuis litteris et Lepidus me ut venirem rogaret et Laterensis  
multo etiam magis prope implorans obtestaretur, non ullam rem  
aliam extimescens quam eandem, quae mihi quoque facit timorem,  
varietatem atque infidelitatem exercitus eius, non dubitandum  
putavi quin succurrerem meque communi periculo offerrem. Scie-  
bam enim,—et cautius illud erat consilium, exspectare me ad  
Isaram, dum Brutus traiceret exercitum, et cum collega consen-  
tiente, exercitu concordia ac bene de re p. sentiente, sicut milites

the Alps, but Antony persuaded him to grant a passage (App. iii. 83). For Culleo, cp. Att. iii. 15, 5 (73).

*eorum salutis rationem habuimus*] 'I have spared their lives.'

This letter was written on the march from the Isara to Forum Voconii, where Lepidus was posted: cp. 872, 1.

1. *Laevus Nervaue*] Both were legates of Plancus. The former is called Laevus

Cispinus, 861, 3.

*dum me probarem*] 'with the approval of my conscience.'

*quod . . . obtrectationem*] 'which was open to censure'; *posset* is generic subjunctive.

2. *legatorum*] sc. Laevus and Nerva.  
*continuis*] 'one after another.'  
*varietatem*] 'changeableness.'

*Sciebam*] governs *adsignatum iri*.  
*exercitu concordia . . . sentiente*] These

faciunt, hostibus obviam ire,—tamen, si quid Lepidus bene sentiens detrimenti cepisset, hoc omne adsignatum iri aut pertinaciae meae aut timori videbam, si aut hominem offensum mihi, coniunctum cum re publica non sublevassem aut ipse a certamine belli tam necessarij me removissem. 3. Itaque potius periclitari volui, si posset mea praesentia et Lepidum tueri et exercitum facere meliorem, quam nimis cautus videri. Sollicitiorem certe hominem, non suis contractis, neminem puto fuisse. Nam quae res nullam habebat dubitationem, si exercitus Lepidi absit, ea nunc magnam adfert sollicitudinem magnumque habet casum. Mihi enim si contigisset ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercules horam constitisset: tantum ego et mihi confido et sic percussas illius copias Ventidiique mulionis castra despicio. Sed non possum

words are found in H, and in some inferior mss. They fell out in H *ex homocoteleuto*. That we should have *consentiente, bene sentiente*, and *bene sentiens*, in such close proximity, is somewhat remarkable in such a good writer as Plancus; but those who are not complete masters of language are liable at times to harp on the same word, both in writing and speaking.

*sicut milites faciunt*] ‘as the soldiers of Brutus do,’ i.e. *bene de re p. sentiunt*. For this use of *facio*, cp. 872 fin. Boot on Att. xi. 2, 3 (407) compares Nepos Chabr. 3, 4; 4, 5: Ilor. Sat. i. 1, 64. For *δπαν* cp. Thueyd. ii. 49, 5.

*offensum*] ‘if I had not helped, when united with me in public business, a man who was on bad terms with me personally.’ For the hostility between Plancus and Lepidus cp. 895, 1.

3. *non suis contractis*] ‘by no fault of his own.’ For *contrahere*, used of committing a fault, cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 2 (30), *ea quae ipsorum culpa contracta sunt*: Att. xi. 24, 1 (441), *ea enim est a nobis contracta culpa*. Professor Sandford refers us to Ovid. Trist. iv. 8, 49, *et quanquam vitio pars est contracta malorum*: cp. Rhodius, p. 31, note 4.

*absit*] Mendelssohn admirably retains the mss readings *absit* and *habebat*, quoting for the unusual use of the present subjunctive, Lucr. ii. 1033, *omnia quae nunc si primum mortalibus extent, Ex improviso si sint obiecta repente, Quid magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici*. Perhaps also Orat. 141, *si profitear . . . qui tandem reprehenderet?* may be quoted as a parallel, though the reading there is uncertain:

cp. Sandys ad loc. For irregular conditional consecutions, cp. Schmalz, Syntax, § 297. Lambinus, Schütz, Wesenberg read *abesset*. Ernesti and Baier alter *habebat* to *habeat*.

*magnumque habet casum*] ‘involves great risk.’

*horam*] sometimes used for a very brief time: cp. Hor. Epp. i. 1, 82, *Idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes*; Prop. i. 6, 11, *His ego non horam possum durare querellis*.

*Ventidii mulionis*] For the history of this man, who rose from being a slave to being a consul, cp. Gell. xv. 4. In early life he contracted for supplying mules and carriages for the provincial governors: cp. Marq. i. 526. It would appear that he owed his success to the energetic execution of orders (*mandata sibi pleraque impigre et strenue fecisset*: Gell. i. c. § 3). Shakespeare introduces him in one scene (Ant. and Cleop. iii. 1), as wisely refraining, mere lieutenant that he was of Antony, from pushing his victories over the Parthians as far as he could:—

Who does in war more than his captain can  
Becomes his captain's captain: and ambition,  
The soldier's virtue, rather makes choice of  
loss,  
Than gain which darkens him.  
I could do more to do Antonius good,  
But 'twould offend him: and in his offence  
Should my performance perish.

Ventidius is the *Sabinus ille* who *ait fuisse mulio celerrimus* in the clever parody of Catullus (iv.) printed in the Catalecta at the end of the editions of Vergil: cp. note to Fam. xv. 20, 1 (702).

non exhorrescere, si quid intra eutem subest vulneris, quod prius nocere potest quam seiri curarique possit. Sed certe, nisi uno loco me tenerem, magnum periculum ipse Lepidus, magnum ea pars exercitus adiret, quae bene de re publica sentit. Magnam etiam perdit hostes accessionem sibi fecissent, si quas copias a Lepido abstraxissent. Quae si adventus meus represserit, agam gratias fortunae constantiaeque meae, quae me ad hanc experientiam excitavit. 4. Itaque a. d. xii. Kalend. Iun. ab Isara castra movi: pontem tamen, quem in Isara feceram, castellis duobus ad capita positis, reliqui praesidiaque ibi firma posui, ut venienti Bruto exercituique eius sine mora transitus esset paratus. Ipse, ut spero, diebus octo, quibus has litteras dabam, cum Lepidi copiis me coniungam.

# DCCCLXXI. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 18).

ROME; MAY 19; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero non nullam timoris significationem reprehendit in D. Bruto.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Etsi ex mandatis, quae Galbae Volumnioque ad senatum dedisti, quid timendum putares suspicabamur, tamen timidiora mandata videbantur, quam erat dignum tua populique Romani victoria. Senatus autem, mi Brute, fortis est et habet fortes duces; itaque moleste ferebat se a te, quem omnium, quicumque

*vulneris*] Puteanus reads *ulceris* 'malignant sore.'

*nisi uno loco me tenerem*] 'unless I remained in the same place (as Lepidus)': cp. 896, 4, *si uno loco habuisssem*, 'if I kept the forces all together in the same place'; also 895, 1, where we must not read *nisi*, but adhere to the MS *si uno loco essem*. In each case *locus* is defined by the subject of the apodosis: cp. Rhodius, p. 32.

*quae me ad hanc . . . excitavit*] 'which has roused me to make this experiment.' We have added *me* with H. Orelli and all subsequent editors add it before *exci-*

*tavit*. Giltbauer, not knowing of the reading of H, suggested *quod* (obtained from *quae ad*) *hanc experientiam excitavit*.

4. *diebus octo, quibus*] 'within eight days of the despatch of the letter.' For the idiom, cp. Caes. B. G. iii. 23, 2, *oppidum . . . paucis diebus quibus eventum erat expugnatum cognoverant*: cp. iv. 18, 1; v. 26, 1. Also in Cicero, 2 Verr. i. 20, *una hora qua coepi dicere*.

1. *Galbae*] cp. 841 init. Volumnius also was a legate of D. Brutus, 863, 1.

fuissent, fortissimum iudicaret, timidum atque ignavum iudicari. 2. Etenim, cum te incluso spem maximam omnes habuissent in tua virtute florente Antonio, quis erat qui quidquam timeret profligato illo, te liberato? Nec vero Lepidum timebamus. Quis enim esset, qui illum tam furiosum arbitraretur, ut, qui in maximo bello pacem velle se dixisset, is in optatissima pace bellum rei publicae indiceret? Nec dubito quin tu plus provideas. 3. Sed tamen tam recenti gratulatione, quam tuo nomine ad omnia deorum templa fecimus, renovatio timoris magnam molestiam adferebat. Qua re velim equidem, id quod spero, ut plane abiectus et fractus sit Antonius: sin aliquid virium forte collegerit, sentiet nec senatui consilium nec populo Romano virtutem deesse nec rei publicae te vivo imperatorem. XIV. Kal. Iun.

## DCCCLXXII. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 17).

ON THE MARCH TO FORUM VOCONII; MAY 20; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;  
AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus praesentem belli statum describit, cum excusatione fratris a se dimissi et commendatione suae dignitatis.

## PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Antonius Id. Maiis ad Forum Iulii cum primis copiis venit. Ventidius bidui spatio abest ab eo. Lepidus ad Forum Voconii

2. *Nec . . . tu plus provideas*] 'And I feel no doubt that you can see further into the matter than we can.' *Nec* is co-ordinate with *nec vero*.

3. *tam recenti gratulatione*] 'when the rejoicings were so recent,' ablative of attendant circumstances. The rejoicings were those which took place after the news of the Battle of Mutina arrived.

*abiectus et fractus*] 'laid low and crushed.'

*consilium*] 'judgment.'

On May 15th Plancus wrote 861, telling (§ 2) how Lepidus had refused to unite with him. Shortly afterwards, probably

on the 16th, Plancus appears to have sent two of his legates, Laevus and Nerva (870), to Rome in order that they might set forth plainly to the authorities the way in which Lepidus was acting. After their departure, on the 19th, Plancus wrote 870 to Cicero, in which he mentioned that Lepidus had again proposed that they should join forces. Plancus apparently asked Lepidus to send some hostage as a security for his honest dealing, and Lepidus sent Apella (§ 3). Accordingly we may place this letter about a day later than 870.

1. *Forum Voconii*] An inland town about 24 miles due west of *Forum Iulii*; cp. introd. note to 869.



castra habet, qui locus a Foro Iulii quattuor et viginti millia passus abest, ibique me exspectare constituit, quem ad modum ipse mihi scripsit. Quod si omnia mihi integra et ipse et fortuna servarit, recipio vobis celeriter me negotium ex sententia confecturum. 2. Fratrem meum adsiduis laboribus concursationibusque confectum graviter se habuisse antea tibi scripsi: sed tamen cum primum posse ingredi coepit, non magis sibi quam rei publicae se convaluisse existimans ad omnia pericula princeps esse non recusabat. Sed ego eum non solum hortatus sum, verum etiam cōēgi isto proficisci, quod et illa valetudine magis conficere se quam me iuvare posset in castris, et quod acerbissimo interitu consulum rem publicam nudatam tali eive praetore in urbanis officiis indigere existimabam. Quod si qui vestrum non probabit, mihi prudentiam in consilio defuisse sciat, non illi erga patriam fidelitatem. 3. Lepidus tamen, quod ego desiderabam, fecit ut Apellam ad me mitteret, quo obside fide illius et societatis in re publica administranda uterer. In ea re studium mihi suum L. Gellius † de tribus fratribus Segaviano probavit, quo ego interprete novissime

*viginti millia passus*] Hellmuth (pp. 13-15) has a good note on this construction. It belongs to the language of ordinary life, and is based on the principle of apposition. It is not at all unusual when the substantive precedes the numeral e.g. Caes. B. C. ii. 18, 4, *tritici modios CXX millia*: iii. 4, 3; Liv. xxxvii. 59, 4, and Weiss. ad loc.; xxxviii. 38, 13; xxxix. 5, 14; and, accordingly, it is probable that we should read in Att. ii. 16, 1 (43) *non amplius homines quinque millia* with M<sup>1</sup>, and not *hominum* with M<sup>2</sup>. But this construction is also found when the numeral comes first, e.g. Nepos Milt. 4, 2, *circiter millia passus decem*; Hannib. 6, 3, *quod abest ab Zama circiter millia passus trecenta* (in which passages Halm and Fleckeisen wrongly alter the mss reading to *passuum*): cp. many mss of Bell. Afr. 10, 2; 63, 1; Bell. Hisp. 8, 16. Even in Cicero Rabir. Post 21, the mss give *decem millia talenta*. So we need not hesitate to admit the construction in Plancus and Galba (841, 1). Mendelssohn compares C. I. L. ix. 6075, xiv. 2121. In 895, 2, Plancus uses the ordinary construction, *viginti millia passuum*.

*omnia mihi integra . . . servarit*] 'does not play me false in anything.' After the vacillating conduct of Lepidus related in

861, 2, and 870, 2, Plancus was naturally distrustful.

2. *conkursationibus*] 'hurrying to and fro.'

*ingredi*] 'go about.' It represents the first stage of motion after rest.

*ad omnia pericula princeps*] For this construction of *princeps*, cp. Reid on Arch. 1, Sull. 11, *princeps ad salutem*.

*isto*] 'to you,' i.e., to Rome.

*quod et . . . in castris*] 'because in his state of health, if he remained in the camp, he would succeed in killing himself and not helping me.'

3. *tamen*] This is difficult. It appears that Plancus suddenly plunges into a train of thought about Lepidus, such as—Lepidus has behaved with great vacillation; however (*tamen*) now he has done something, he has sent Apella. Or *tamen* might be for *sed tamen*; 'but notwithstanding this difficulty in which I am involved owing to my brother's state of health, Lepidus has sent Apella.' Manutius alters *tamen* to *tandem*.

*Apellam*] Apella was doubtless a Greek freedman. *fide* is genitive, cp. Neue i<sup>2</sup>. 379.

*societatis*] 'co-operation.'

*In ea re*] These words, omitted in M, are restored from H Pal.

ad Lepidum sum usus. Amicum eum rei publicae cognosse videor, libenterque ei sum testimonio et omnibus ero, qui bene merentur. Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas dignitatemque meam, si mereor, tuearis, sicut adhuc singulari cum benevolentia fecisti.

## DCCCLXXIII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 1).

ROME; MAY 20 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

De L. Clodii trib. pl. singulari et cognito in se Brutumque amore et fide accurate scribit Cicero.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. L. Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me diligit vel, ut *ἐμφατικώτερον* dicam, valde me amat: quod cum mihi ita persuasum sit, non dubito—bene enim me nosti—, quin illum quoque iudices a me amari; nihil enim mihi minus hominis videtur quam non respondere in amore iis, a quibus provocere. Is mihi visus est suspicari, nec sine magno quidem dolore, aliquid a suis vel per suos potius iniquos ad te esse delatum, quo tuus animus a se esset alienior. Non soleo, mi Brute, quod tibi notum esse arbitror,

*de tribus fratribus Segoviano*] This passage cannot be restored without better mss., or some more information than we at present possess. Two ingenious corrections have been suggested, one that of Orelli, *L. Gellius D. F.* (= Decimi filius) *tribu Fab.* (= Fabia) *Segovianus* (inhabitant of Segovia, a town in Hispania Tarraconensis), or *Segovia* (= 'from Segovia'): the other that of Kleyn, *L. Gellius de tribus fratribus S. A. C.* (i.e. Sexto, Aulo, Gaio) *Avianis*: cp. Fam. ix. 21, 3 (668), *Tres illi fratres fuerunt C. Cn. M. Carbones*. Gitlbauer (p. 91), proposes *de tribus fratribus se segregando*, which is attractive.

*testimonio*] Predicative dat. ep. Att. viii. 12 c, 1 (329), *cui rei testimonio sunt litterae*, and frequently in Cicero: see Roby, vol. ii, p. liv.

The date of this letter is fixed by that of 874.

1. *L. Clodius . . . amat*] This sen-

tence is quoted by Nonius (421, 31) to show the difference between *amare* and *diligere*. 'Cicero ad Brutum sic igitur facies et me aut amabis aut, quo contentus sum, diliges; et lib. viii.: *Lucilius Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me diligit vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat.*' This Clodius is the same man who was *praefectus fabrum* of Appius Claudius Pulcher, Fam. iii. 4, 1 (194); and probably the Clodius who appears in Att. xii. 30 (567); xv. 13, 3 (794). Cobet and Meyer suppose him to be the Gaius Clodius who is mentioned shortly after this time (Dio. Cass. xlvii. 24, 2) as being in the service of Brutus. But in that case we should have to suppose (1) an error in the premen; (2) that Brutus entrusted C. Antonius to the charge of a man who was under considerable obligations to the Antonii.

*iniquos*] Cicero occasionally uses this word for *inimicos*: ep. Fam. xi. 27, 7 (784).

temere affirmare de altero, est enim periculosum propter occultas hominum voluntates multiplicesque naturas : Clodii animum perspectum habeo, cognitum, indicatum ; multa eius iudicia, sed ad scribendum non necessaria, volo enim testimonium hoc tibi videri potius quam epistolam. Auctus Antonii beneficio est—eius ipsius beneficii magna pars a te est—: itaque eum salvis nobis vellet salvum. 2. In eum autem locum rem adductam intellegit—est enim, ut scis, minime stultus—, ut utrique salvi esse non possint : itaque nos mavult ; de te vero amicissime et loquitur et sentit. Quare, si quis secus ad te de eo scripsit aut [si] coram locutus est, peto a te etiam atque etiam, mihi ut potius credas, qui et facilius iudicare possum quam ille nescio quis et te plus diligo. Clodium tibi amicissimum existima civemque talem, qualis et prudentissimus et fortuna optima esse debet.

## DCCCLXXIV. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 1-3).

ROME ; MAY 20 (ABOUT) ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero respondet epistolae de cohortibus quinque a Dolabella in Chersonesum missis eiusque dementiam notat, et laudat consilium Bruti eum persequi cogitantis. In seditionis auctoribus dimittendis clementiam Bruti reprehendit.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Scripta et obsignata iam epistola litterae mihi redditae sunt a te plenae rerum novarum. Maximeque mirabile Dolabellam

*multiplices*] 'intricate,' 'tortuous,' the opposite of 'simple,' 'straightforward.' *perspectum, cognitum, indicatum*] 'I have tested, investigated, and passed judgment on the mind of Clodius'—the words *cognitum, indicatum* are legal : cp. Verr. ii. 118.

*eius*] Cobet adds <rei> : but *iudicium animi* is a correct expression : cp. Post Red. in Sen. 8 (according to many mss).

*sed ad scribendum non necessaria*] cp. De Div. i. 123, *tibi enim nota sunt, mihi ad commemorandum non necessaria*.

*testimonium*] At first sight it seems as if this word ought to change places with *epistolam*, the meaning being 'I want you

to consider this a friendly letter, in which full proof of everything is not required, as would be required in the case of legal testimony.' But the words as they stand admit of explanation. 'I want you to consider this rather as my deliberate opinion (cp. Fam. xvi. 8, 2 ; Ep. 314), as evidence which I vouch for and pledge myself for, rather than as a mere letter of recommendation which would not count for much.'

2. in *eum . . . possint*] cp. note to Fam. xvi. 12, 1 (312).

[*si*] *coram*] We have bracketed *si* before *coram* with Cobet ; either *quis* should be added after *si*, or *si* omitted.

quinque cohortes misisse in Chersonesum. Adeone copiis abundat, ut is, qui ex Asia fugere dicebatur, Europam appetere conetur? quinque autem cohortibus quidnam se facturum arbitratus est, cum tu eo loco quinque legiones, optimum equitatum, maxima auxilia haberes? quas quidem cohortes spero iam tuas esse, quoniam latro ille tam fuit demens. 2. Tuum consilium vehementer lando, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria: itaque, quod scribis postea statuiste te ducere exercitum in Chersonesum nec pati sceleratissimo hosti ludibrio esse imperium populi Romani, facis ex tua dignitate et ex re publica. 3. Quod scribis de seditione, quae facta est in legione quarta fraude C. Antonii—in bonam partem accipies—magis mihi probatur militum severitas quam tua clementia \* \*

This letter supposes that Brutus has heard of the Battle of Mutina (April 21). Brutus must have received that news about May 7, and his answer may have been in Rome about the 18th or 19th. It took from nine to twelve days for a letter to pass between Rome and Dyrrhachium.

1. *Scripta et obsignata epistola*] Words like these generally introduce a postscript, but not always: cp. Att. v. 19, 1 (220); viii. 6, 1 (337); x. 11, 1 (396), quoted by Meyer (p. 35). However, it shows that the date of 873 is the same as that of this letter.

*Chersonesum*] This was the regular place of transit from Europe to Asia; and even five cohorts, if strongly posted, could give several legions a great deal of trouble before the position could be secured. Dolabella, however, does not appear to have occupied the Chersonesus.

*eo loco*] It is impossible that *eo* should mean *ibi* (cp. Schmalz, *Antib.* i<sup>6</sup>. 461), or that the construction could be a pregnant one with an ellipse of *ducendas* or *missas* (Gurlitt) taken out of *misisse*. Accordingly we have, with Wesenberg, added *loco*. By *eo loco* Cicero means Europe, not the Chersonese. But perhaps Cobet is right in omitting *eo* altogether, with Cratander.

*quinque legiones*] Appian (iv. 75) says that Brutus had eight legions; Vell. (ii. 69) that he had seven. The additional three, or two, were probably raised after the departure of Brutus from Dyrrhachium.

2. *Bruti eruptione*] cp. note to 857, 1. *ex re p.*] It is usually *e re p.*, unless -que follows the preposition. For *ex re publica* Becher quotes Gell. vi. 3, 47.

3. *in legione quarta*] The fourth legion was in N. Italy, under the command of Octavian. It had gone over to him at the end of 710 (44), cp. Phil. iii. 39, so that there is some corruption in *quarta*. C. F. Hermann's suggestion *quadam* is quite impossible, addressed as the letter is to the commander of the legion in question; but most probably he is right in his correction, *fraude C. Antonii* for *de Catoniis* of the mss: cp. Dio Cass. xlvii. 22 fin., τὰ στρατεύματα στασιασθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατεστήσατο (sc. ὁ Βρούτος). Owing to the plural τὰ στρατεύματα we once thought that the corruption of *quarta* may have arisen from *legionibus* written in uncials, *LEGIONIV* (v for n, as often, and iv being mistaken for a numeral); or that *quarta* took the place of *eapta*, and the reference is to one of the legions of Antonius which had surrendered: Dio Cass. xlvii. 21, 7. Madvig (A. C. iii. 198) ingeniously proposes *in legione quarta de<eima fraude> C. Antonii*. For *de Catoniis* Middleton suggested *C. Antonio*, Orelli *deque Antonii*.

*in bonam partem accipies*] For Brutus, having shown such indulgence towards C. Antonius, might feel it as a stricture on himself that any conduct of Antonius should be called *fraus*, and would certainly resent any censure of his own conduct.

*clementia*] Some such word as this



## DCCCLXXV. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 19).

VERCELLAE; MAY 21; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus de re publica timet, Vicetinos commendat.

D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Ad senatum quas litteras misi velim prius perlegas et, si qua tibi videbuntur, commutes. Necessario me scripsisse ipse animadvertes: nam cum putarem quartam et Martiam legiones mecum futuras, ut Druso Paulloque placuerat vobis adsentientibus, minus de reliquis rebus laborandum existimavi. Nunc vero, cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis, valde et meam et vestram vicem timeam necesse est. 2. Vicetini me et M. Brutum praecipue observant. His ne quam patiari iniuriam fieri in senatu vernarum causa, a te peto. Causam habent optimam, officium in rem publicam summum, genus hominum adversariorum seditiosum et inertissimum. XII. Kal. Iun., Vercellis.

must be added: cp. 843, 5, *sed salutaris severitas vincit inanem speciem clementiae*. As regards Brutus's treatment of C. Antonius, cp. Plut. Brut. 26, χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολλὸν ἐν τιμῇ τὸν Γάϊον ἦγε (ὁ Βρούτος), καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἄρχης οὐκ ἀφῆρει, καίπερ, ὥς φασιν, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ Κικέρωνος ἀπὸ Ρώμης γραφόντων καὶ κελεύοντων ἀναιρεῖν. We must not suppose that ὥς φασιν implies that this statement was mere hearsay, and had virtually no evidence to support it. Plutarch uses the words of the written evidence of historians: cp. Comp. Ant. et Demetr. c. 4; and also as implying as much certainty as we imply when we say 'apparently,' or 'it seems,' instead of stating the fact in dogmatic language: cp. Plut. Cic. 40. The remainder of the letter is lost.

1. *quartam*] Apparently the Fourth and Martian legion refused to serve under any one of Caesar's murderers: cp. 886, 2, *legionem Martiam et quartam negant quae illas norunt ulla condicione ad te posse perducī*.

*ut Druso Paulloque placuerat*] This

means that Drusus and Paullus moved in the senate, and the rest of the senators voted, that D. Brutus should have command of the Fourth and Martian legions. Drusus was the father of Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus. Paullus had been consul in 704 (50).

2. *Vicetini*] The inhabitants of Vicetia, now Vicenza. They seem to have regarded M. and D. Brutus as their *patroni vernarum*] These were probably freedmen who had been made citizens of Vicetia, or, at any rate, given lands in the vicinity of the township, and were now involved in disputes with its authorities. D. Brutus, who appears to have been a hasty-tempered man, roundly calls them 'born slaves'; and perhaps they had been born such: but they must have been manumitted, as otherwise they would not have had a *locus standi* at all against the municipality. Of course by an aristocrat they were regarded as a disorderly and idle crew. For *inertissimum* Wesenberg reads *incertissimum*, 'utterly untrustworthy.' Gebhard (p. 18) notices that Cicero does not use the word *verna*.



## DCCCLXXVI. LEPIDUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 34, §§ 3, 4).

PONS ARGENTEUS; MAY 22; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Gratias agit Lepidus Ciceroni quod iniquis de se rumoribus non crediderit.

M. LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. S. D. M. TULLIO CICERONI.

3. Etsi omni tempore summa studia officii mutuo inter nos certatim constiterunt pro nostra inter nos familiaritate et proinde diligenter ab utroque conservata sunt, tamen non dubito in tanto et tam repentino motu rei publicae quin nonnulla de me falsis rumoribus a meis obtrectatoribus me indigna ad te delata sint, quae tuum animum magno opere moverent pro tuo amore in rem publicam. Ea te moderate accepisse neque temere credendum iudicasse a meis procuratoribus certior sum factus: quae mihi, ut debent, gratissima sunt. Memini enim et illa superiora, quae abs tua voluntate profecta sunt ad meam dignitatem augendam et ornandam, quae perpetuo animo meo fixa manebunt. 4. Abs te, mi Cicero, magno opere peto, si meam vitam, studium diligentissime superioribus temporibus in re publica administranda, quae Lepido digna sunt, perspecta habes, ut paria aut eo ampliora reliquo tempore exspectes et proinde tua auctoritate me tuendum existimes, quo tibi plura tuo merito debeo. Vale. D. XI. K. Iun. ex castris, ex Ponte Argenteo.

3. Etsi . . . conservata sunt] 'Although there has always existed between us the greatest emulation in kind service in virtue of our mutual friendship, and the practice is just as before scrupulously maintained by both of us': *studio officii* = 'zeal in doing service.' Madvig (A. C. iii. 163) needlessly alters *mutuo* to *mutui*, and Lambinus reads *officiaque mutua*. For the pleonasm *mutuo inter nos*, cp. Lucr. ii. 76, *inter se mortales mutua vivunt* and Munro ad loc.; Liv. viii. 24, 7; xxxvi. 39, 6; Quintil. x. 2, 15.

quae . . . moverent . . . publicam] 'of such a nature as seriously to disturb your mind, loving as you do your country.'

moderate] 'with reserve.'

animo] Wesenberg adds *in*, comparing Balb. 65; but *fixa* is found without *in* sometimes, e.g. Cat. iv. 23 (in many mss); Verg. Aen. iv. 16, *si mihi non animo fixum*

*immutumque sederet*.

4. vitam, studium diligentissime] Lambinus reads *diligentiam* or *diligentiam summam* for *diligentissime*, needlessly: for such an 'asyndeton bimembre' as appears in the mss here is common enough: cp. 882, 6, and Lehmann, p. 25.

quae Lepido digna sunt] 'and they (sc. my life and political activity) are worthy of a Lepidus.' Wesenberg reads *sint*, 'if you have thoroughly seen that my life and political activity are worthy of a Lepidus.'

et proinde . . . debeo] 'and I beg of you to feel that you should lend me the protection of your influence in proportion as I am the more deeply indebted to you by reason of your kindness.' *Proinde*, a word which Lepidus seems to affect (§ 3), is used instead of some ordinary phrase, like *eo magis*.

## DCCCLXXVII. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 20).

EPOREDIA ; MAY 24 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus M. Ciceronem monet, ut veteranorum animos sibi conciliet.

## D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Quod pro me non facio, id pro te facere amor meus in te tuaque officia cogunt ut timeam. Saepe enim mihi cum esset dictum neque a me contemptum, novissime Labeo Segulius, homo sibi simillimus, narrat mihi apud Caesarem se fuisse multumque sermonem de te habitum esse: ipsum Caesarem nihil sane de te questum nisi dictum quod diceret te dixisse<sup>x</sup> 'laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum'<sup>x</sup> se non esse commissurum ut tolli posset. Hoc ego Labeonem credo illi rettulisse aut finxisse dictum, non ab adolescente prolatum. Veteranos vero pessime loqui volebat Labeo me credere et tibi ab iis instare periculum, maximeque indignari, quod in decemviris neque Caesar neque ego habitus essemus atque omnia ad vestrum arbitrium essent collata. 2. Haec cum

1. Quod . . . ut timeam] The last two words are explanatory of *quod*, 'namely, fear.'

*homo sibi simillimus*] so H Pal. 'a man who is exactly the same as he always is,' i.e. in this case, a mischief-maker. M has *sini simillius*, and some inferior mss have *sui simillimus*. Mendelssohn wishes to read the latter. It is true that 'in Cicero *similis* generally takes the genitive of nouns and pronouns denoting persons; but there are about a dozen passages where the dative rests on fair authority, enumerated in Madvig Fin. v. 12' (Reid, Academ. ii. 118). Besides, we must remember that this is Brutus and not Cicero. Charisius, indeed (p. 84), says that *sui similis* is the correct usage (cp. Phil. i. 5; 829, 1); but we find *similis tibi* in Hor. A. P. 254; Quintil. ix. 4, 60.

*dictum*] 'a pointed remark which he said you made, that the young man should be lauded, applauded, and exalted to the skies; that he will not allow himself to be exalted to the skies.' *Tollendum* is

used in the double sense of 'to raise to honour' and 'to make away with': for the saying cp. Suet. Aug. 12, *causam optimatum sine emctatione deseruit, ad praetextum mutatae voluntatis dicta factaque quorundam calumniatus, quasi alii se puerum, alii ornandum tollendumque iactassent ne aut sibi aut veteranis par gratia referretur*: Vell. ii. 62, 6, *Hoc est illud tempus quo Cicero insito amore Pompeianorum partium Caesarem laudandum et tollendum censebat, eum aliud diceret aliud intellegi vellet*.

*prolatum*] 'that it was not first mentioned by the young man.'

*decemviris*] These ten commissioners were appointed, after the rescinding of the agrarian law of Antony, to distribute lands to the soldiers who had loyally served the state. Neither Octavian nor D. Brutus were appointed on the Commission, though they were at the head of armies who were interested in the proposed division.

*collata*] 'given over to.'

audissem et iam in itinere essem, committendum nondum putavi, prius ut Alpes transgrederer quam quid istic ageretur scirem. Nam de tuo periculo, crede mihi iactatione verborum et denuntiatione periculi sperare eos, te pertimefacto, adolescente impulso, posse magna consequi praemia et totam istam cantilenam ex hoc pendere, ut quam plurimum lucri faciant. Neque tamen non te cautum esse volo et insidias vitantem: nihil enim tua mihi vita potest esse iucundius neque carius. 3. Illud vide, ne timendo magis timere cogare et, quibus rebus potest occurri veteranis, occurras: primum, quod desiderant de decemviris, facias: deinde de praemiis, si tibi videtur, agros eorum militum, qui cum Antonio veterani fuerunt, iis dandos censeas ab utrisque nobis; de nummis lente ac ratione habita pecuniae senatum de ea re constituturum. Quattuor legionibus iis, quibus agros dandos censuistis, video facultatem fore ex agris Sullanis et agro Campano: aequaliter aut

2. *nondum*] This was certainly the reading of the archetype, see Adn. Crit.: and though *non* would be simpler and more Ciceronian, yet D. Brutus may have written *nondum*. Translate 'I did not think I should as yet proceed to cross the Alps before,' &c.

*sperare . . . consequi*] *posse consequi* = *consecuturos*: *iactatione verborum*, 'by boastful words,' in modern slang 'bluff.'

*pertimefacto*] cp. Pacuvius (302, Ribb.) *triplici pertimefactus macore animi incerte errans vagat*. Cicero uses *timefacta*, Off. ii. 24.

*totam istam cantilenam*] 'and that the rhyme attributed to you is altogether based on a desire of getting as much gain as possible,' i.e. they hope that you, when terrified by their threats, will propose that larger grants be made to the soldiers of Octavian than to mine. Brutus wishes it to be understood that he considered Cicero had been injudicious in his language; but that, while being more cautious in the future, he should not exhibit too much fear in the face of the threats of the soldiers of Octavian, and thus give them larger rewards than he gave to the soldiers of Brutus.

3. *occurras*] 'meet the wishes of,' cp. Cluent. 63, *sed ego occurram expectationi vestrae, indices*. We must not carry on *ne* to this clause. We might possibly take *occurras* to mean 'oppose' (cp. Cat. iii. 17, *omnibus eius consiliis occurri atque*

*obstiti*); but the following clauses lend countenance to the former interpretation.

*iis*] sc. to the veterans in our armies.

*ab utrisque nobis*] 'by both of us,' that is, by Octavian and Brutus himself. Cicero would have said *ab utrisque nostrum* (Lael. 16; Sull. 13), as indeed he does say in his answer to this letter, 893, 5.

*Quattuor legionibus*] These are apparently the soldiers of Octavian, viz. the fourth and Martian legions which had deserted from Antony, and the two legions of veterans which Octavian himself raised.

*ex agris Sullanis*] These are probably the lands illegally occupied by the *Sullani homines*, i.e. those who (1) either encroached upon state-land which had been confiscated by Sulla, or who (2) bought from soldiers land which had been assigned to them on condition that they should not sell it: see Vol. I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 410, 411. As both these classes of occupants held the land illegally, the state had a right to confiscate it, though prudent statesmen did not proceed to such stringent measures. Schütz thinks that possibly we should read *ex agris Stellatis et Campano*: for the *ager Stellatis* is often mentioned in connexion with the Campanian land (Leg. Agr. i. 20, ii. 85) as suitable for division. Mendelssohn thinks we might perhaps read with M Pal *Silani*. He holds apparently that these now confiscated lands belonged originally to M.

sorte agros legionibus adsignari puto oportere. 4. Haec me tibi scribere non prudentia mea hortatur, sed amor in te et cupiditas otii, quod sine te consistere non potest. Ego, nisi valde necesse fuerit, ex Italia non excedam. Legiones armo, paro: spero me non pessimum exercitum habiturum ad omnes casus et impetus hominum. De exercitu, quem Pausa habuit, legionem mihi Caesar non remittit. Ad has litteras statim mihi rescribe tuorumque aliquem mitte, si quid reconditum magis erit meque scire opus esse putaris. VIII. Kal. Iun., Eporedia.

### DCCCLXXVIII. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 23).

EPOREDIA; MAY 25; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

D. Brutus M. Ciceronem bene de re publica sperare iubet.

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Nos hic valemus recte et, quo melius valeamus, operam dabimus. Lepidus commode nobis sentire videtur. Omni timore deposito debemus libere rei publicae consulere. Quod si omnia essent aliena, tamen tribus tantis exercitibus, propriis rei publicae, valentibus magnum animum habere debebas, quem et semper habuisti et nunc fortuna adiuvante augere potes. 2. Quae tibi superioribus litteris mea manu scripsi, terrendi tui causa homines

Junius Silanus, who, though sent by Lepidus to assist D. Brutus at Mutina, fought on the side of Antony, cp. 841, 1; 869, 2; Dio Cass. xli. 38 fin. cp. Drumann iv. 47.

4. *ex Italia*] The name Italy at this time would seem to have embraced all the country up to the Alps; cp. § 2, *prius ut Alpes transgrederer*.

*reconditum*] 'abstruse,' cp. 893, 5. *occultius*, 'of a more secret nature,' would have been a better word: cp. 893, 5.

*Eporedia*] now Ivrea, in Piedmont, on the Dora Baltea.

1. *Nos hic valemus*] A variation on the usual S. V. B. E. E. Q. V.

*commodè*] The wish must have been father to the thought, for D. Brutus had, in general, very little confidence in Lepidus, cp. 847, 1, 2. Cicero, sanguine as ever, thought that this news from D. Brutus wiped away all fear (894, 1).

*Quod si . . . debebas*] 'But even if everything were adverse (i.e. if Lepidus had declared *against* us), yet, with three such large armies specially at the service of the state, and in strong force, you ought to maintain the high spirit which you have always maintained, and now with the help of fortune you should raise it higher.' The three armies are those of Octavian, of Plancus, and his own.

2. *superioribus litteris*] i.e. 887, §§ 1, 2.



loquuntur. Si frenum momorderis, peream, si te omnes, quot sunt, conantem loqui ferre poterunt. Ego, tibi ut antea scripsi, dum mihi a te litterae veniant, in Italia morabor. viii. Kal. Iun., Eporedia.

## DCCCLXXIX. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 19).

ROME; ABOUT MAY 27; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Planco scribit sibi et senatui gratiarum actionem gratam fuisse et litteris Planci senatum delectatum esse, ut bellum conficiat hortatur.

## CICERO PLANCO.

1. Quamquam gratiarum actionem a te non desiderabam, cum te re ipsa atque animo scirem esse gratissimum, tamen—fatendum est enim—fuit ea mihi periucunda. Sic enim vidi, quasi ea, quae oculis cernuntur, me a te amari. Dices, ‘quid antea?’ Semper equidem, sed numquam illustrius. Litterae tuae mirabiliter gratae sunt senatui, cum rebus ipsis, quae erant gravissimae et maximae,

*Si frenum momorderis . . . poterunt*] ‘If you take the bit between your teeth, may I die if the whole lot of them will be able to withstand you when you attempt to speak.’ Brutus likens Cicero to a horse which his opponents are trying to hold in: if he takes the bit between his teeth, that is, if he resists and begins to speak, their efforts will be in vain. For *frenum mordere*, cp. Senec. Tranquill, An. xv. 1 fin, *Desciscat oportet a solito et efferatur et mordeat frenos et rectorem rapiat suum*: Aesch. Prom. 1009, *δακὼν δὲ στόμιον ὡς νεοζυγῆς Πῶλος βιάζει καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μάχει*. The phrase is used in a different sense in Statius Silv. i. 2, 28, *subicit leges et frena momordit Ille solutus ancor*, ‘submits to the bit.’ We should have expected that Brutus would have used *coercere*, or some such word instead of *ferre*; but perhaps the intervention of *conantem loqui* led him to drop the metaphor.

*in Italia . . . Eporedia*] cp. note to 877, 4.

As regards the date, see introd. note to 881.

1. *gratiarum actionem*] ‘the giving of thanks.’ The reference is to 848, 1.

*re ipsa atque animo*] ‘in very deed and heart.’

*Dices ‘quid antea?’*] ‘You will say, “What of the past?” [i.e. Did you not love me before?] Yes, I did indeed (love you in the past), but never more conspicuously.’ It is as hard to analyse the colloquial and elliptical, *Quid antea?* as it is to analyse the English version we have given.

*Litterae*] ‘Your letter is marvellously pleasing to the senate, both in the subjects related, which were most weighty and important, and displayed a very resolute mind and sound judgment, and in the dignity of the sentiments and language.’ The letter referred to is probably one addressed to the senate, recounting the same events as 860. That was written on May 13, and allowing thirteen days for it to travel from Culuro to Rome (650 miles about), this letter may have been written as early as May 27.

*sunt . . . erant*] Perfect accuracy would demand either two present or two past



fortissimi animi summiq[ue] consilii, tum etiam gravitate sententiarum atq[ue] verborum. 2. Sed, mi Plance, incumbe, et belli extrema perficias: in hoc erit summa et gratia et gloria. Cupio omnia rei publicae causa; sed meherecules in ea conservanda iam defetigatus non multo plus patriae faveo quam tuae gloriae: cuius maximam facultatem tibi di immortales, ut spero, dedere: quam complectere, obsecro. Qui enim Antonium oppresserit, is hoc bellum taeterrium periculosissimumq[ue] confecerit.

### DCCCLXXX. CICERO TO FURNIUS (FAM. X. 25).

ROME; ABOUT MAY 26; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero C. Furnium, qui praeturam petere cupiebat, ne id nimio opere festinet, hortatur.

CICERO S. D. FURNIO.

1. Si interest, id quod homines arbitrantur, rei publicae te, ut instituisti atq[ue] fecisti, navare operam rebusq[ue] maximis, quae ad extinguendas reliquias belli pertinent, interesse, nihil videris melius neq[ue] laudabilius neq[ue] honestius facere posse istamq[ue] operam tuam, navitatem, animum in rem publicam celeritati praeturae anteponendam censeo. Nolo enim te ignorare quantam

tenses. But the slight irregularity hardly justifies Wesenberg's alteration to *fuerunt*, which certainly cannot be supported by his own unsatisfactory alteration of *prae-fuerunt* to *pracsunt* in 833, 3.

2. *in ea conservanda iam defetigatus*] cp. 851, 6 *quam* (sc. *remp.*) *nos, si licebit, more nostro tuebimur, quamquam admodum sumus iam defetigati.*

*dedere*] Orelli and Klotz read *dederunt*. Dr. Reid says (ap. Orat. 157, ed Sandys): 'There is hardly a sound example of *-ere* in the perfect in any really good ms of Cicero (Neue ii. 390), and similarly in the case of Caesar.' Neue (p. 295, ed. 1) mentions four passages in Cicero where all the good mss give *-ere*, viz., this passage; Leg. Agr. i. 12, *suscepere*, Piso 96 *fuere* (one ms has *fuerint*);

Leg. i. 6 *successere*. As all the mss here give *dedere*, we have thought it best to adhere to them.

For Furnius, see Introduction.

1. *navare operam*] 'devote your service to': cp. Fam. xv. 12, 2 (217), and note to ix. 2, 5 (461).

*ad extinguendas reliquias*] 'to quenching the last embers of this war.'

*celeritati praeturae*] 'the speedy attainment of the praetorship': cp. § 3. We do not know an exact parallel for this construction; but as it is allowable to say *morari certamen*, and hence *mora certaminis*, Liv. ix. 43, 10; so *celeritas praeturae* may be permitted as *accelerare consulatum* is good Latin, Tac. Ann. iii. 75, 2.

laudem consecutus sis: mihi crede, proximam Planco, idque ipsius Planci testimonio, praeterea fama scientiaque omnium. 2. Quam ob rem si quid operis tibi etiam nunc restat, id maximo opere censeo persequendum. Quid enim honestius aut quid honesto anteponendum? Sin autem satis factum rei publicae putas, celeriter ad comitia, quoniam mature futura sunt, veniendum censeo: dum modo ne [quid] haec ambitiosa festinatio aliquid imminuat eius gloriae, quam consecuti sumus. Multi clarissimi viri, cum rei publicae darent operam, annum petitionis suae non obierunt. Quod eo facilius nobis est, quod non est annus hic tibi destinatus, ut, si aedilis fuisses, post biennium tuus annus esset. Nunc nihil praetermittere videre usitati et quasi legitimi temporis ad petendum. Video autem Planco consule, etsi etiam sine eo rationes expeditas haberes, tamen splendidiorem petitionem tuam, si modo ista ex sententia confecta essent. 3. Omnino plura me scribere, cum tuum tantum consilium iudiciumque sit, non ita necesse arbitrabar, sed tamen sententiam meam tibi ignotam esse nolebam: cuius est haec summa, ut omnia te metiri dignitate malim quam ambitione maioremque fructum ponere in perpetuitate laudis quam in celeritate praeturae. Haec eadem locutus sum domi meae, adhibito Quinto fratre meo et Caecina et Calvisio, studiosissimis

*Planco*] This shows that the present letter was probably written about the same time as 879, and that the praise which Cicero bestows on both Plancus and Furnius was for the success of their negotiations with Lepidus, in which Furnius played an important part (848, 3).

2. *mature*] 'soon.'

*ambitiosa*] 'interested.'

*consecuti sumus*] Cicero implies that he takes such an interest in Furnius that he too has a share in whatever honour Furnius gains: cp. *nobis* immediately below. We have bracketed *quid* as it is not found in H Pal, and spoils the sentence.

*non obierunt*] 'have not put in an appearance in the regular year for their canvass,' lit. 'have not gone to meet': cp. Lael. 7, Att. xiii. 14, 1 (627), and the English phrase, 'to meet an engagement.'

*Quod . . . esset*] Furnius appears to have stood unsuccessfully for the aedileship of 711 (43). Cicero, in urging him to relinquish the canvass for the praetor-

ship of 712 (42), says that, if he had been successful in obtaining the aedileship, he could not have competed for the praetorship for two years, and accordingly 712 (42) would not have been 'his year.' Two years must elapse between aedileship and praetorship; thus Cicero was curule aedile in 685 (69), praetor in 688 (66); and Clodius was curule aedile in 698 (56), praetor in 701 (53): cp. Mommsen St. R.<sup>2</sup>. i. 509-10.

*rationes expeditas haberes*] 'you had your plans arranged quite independent of him.'

3. *dignitate . . . quam ambitione*] 'love of honour rather than considerations of mere advancement.'

*perpetuitate laudis*] 'lasting reward of glory.'

*Caecina*] Orelli considers it uncertain whether this Caecina was Cicero's correspondent (cp. vol. iv. p. xxiii), or his son, who is mentioned as a friend of Octavian's in 797, 2.

*Calvisio*] If, as Billerbeck and Orelli suppose, this was the Calvisius who had

tui, cum Dardanus, libertus tuus, interesset. Omnibus probari videbatur oratio mea, sed tu optime iudicabis.

## DCCCLXXXI. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 16).

ROME; MAY 27 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero gratissimas senatui fuisse L. Planci litteras factumque senatus consultum in suam sententiam significat, et ut, ubi facto opus sit, sibi ipse statim consulat neve senatus consilium expectet auctor est.

### CICERO PLANCO.

1. Nihil post hominum memoriam gloriosius, nihil gratius, ne tempore quidem ipso opportunius accidere vidi quam tuas, Plance, litteras. Redditae sunt enim frequenti senatu Cornuto, cum is frigidus sane et inconstantes recitasset litteras Lepidi. Sub eas statim recitatae sunt tuae non sine magnis quidem clamoribus. Cum rebus enim ipsis essent et studiis beneficiisque in rem publicam gratissimae, tum erant gravissimis verbis ac sententiis. Flagitare senatus institit Cornutum, ut referret statim de tuis litteris. Ille se considerare velle. Cum ei magnum convicium fieret cuncto a senatu, quinque tribuni plebi rettulerunt. Servilius rogatus rem

been sent by Antony to supersede Cornificius in Africa, but had failed to effect his purpose, it would be a proof that political differences, even in this crisis, did not necessarily cause a breach of friendly intercourse: cp. 907, 3, *Calvisius, homo magni iudicii tuique amantissimus*. But he was most probably another man altogether.

1. *tuas litteras*] This letter to the senate probably related the same events as 848 and 860. The latter epistle was written about May 13. Allowing the distance to be 650 miles from Cularo to Rome, the letters would take about 13 or 14 days on their journey. Accordingly they reached Rome about May 26, and were at once brought before the senate. Immediately after the first meeting of the senate Cicero probably wrote 879;

and, when the whole debate on the letters of Plancus had ended, he wrote 881. Possibly 879 was never despatched, or 879 and 881 were duplicates: cp. introd. note to 889.

*Cornuto*] As praetor urbanus Cornutus presided in the Senate, both the consuls being dead: cp. 838, 3.

*frigidus sane et inconstantes*] 'lifeless and shifty.' Probably Lepidus professed in a cold manner that he would serve the State, but at the same time urged that peace should be made. His letters lacked the warm professions of devotion which Plancus expressed.

*gravissimis verbis ac sententiis*] 'in their weighty language and sentiments': cp. 838, 1; 879, 1.

*quinque tribuni*] For examples of motions made in the Senate by tribunes during the last century of the Republic,

distulit : ego eam sententiam dixi, cui sunt adsensi ad unum. Ea quae fuerit ex senatus consulto cognosces. 2. Tu, quamquam consilio non eges vel abundas potius, tamen hoc animo esse debes, ut nihil huc reiicias neve in rebus tam subitis tamque angustis a senatu consilium petendum putes, ipse tibi sis senatus, quocumque te ratio rei publicae ducet, sequare, cures ut ante factum aliquod a te egregium audiamus quam futurum putarimus. Illud tibi promitto, quidquid erit a te factum, id senatum non modo ut fideliter, sed etiam ut sapienter factum comprobaturum.

## DCCCLXXXII. L. LENTULUS TO THE SENATE AND MAGISTRATES (FAM. XII. 15, §§ 1-6).

PERGA ; MAY 29 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

P. Lentulus res a se gestas publice memorat, in Rhodios invehitur, de Dolabella grata narrat.

P. LENTULUS P. F. PROQ. PROPR. S. D. COSS. PR. TR. PL.  
SENATUI POPULO PLEBIQUE R.

1. S. V. L. V. V. B. E. V. Scelere Dolabellae oppressa Asia in proximam provinciam Macedoniam praesidiaque rei publicae, quae

see the list in Willems Le Sénat ii. 141, note 3. He quotes Phil. iii. 13, *Quamobrem, tribuni pl., quamquam vos nihil aliud nisi de praesidio, ut senatum tuto consules Kal. Ian. habere possent, rettulistis* : cp. Phil. vii. 1. For the genitive *plebi*, cp. Neue i<sup>2</sup>. 380.

*rem distulit*] 'proposed to adjourn the matter.'

*ad unum*] Wesenberg has inserted *omnes*. He says *ad unum* is always found with *omnes* in prose. Lehmann (p. 82) quotes Q. Fr. iii. 2, 2 (150) *consurrexit senatus cum elamore ad unum sic ut ad corpus eius accederet*. In verse it is not unusual : cp. Ribbeck Frag. Trag., p. 273, *deletionem nostri ad unum exercitus* and Verg. Aen. v. 687 *Iupiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum Troianos*.

2. *in rebus . . . angustis*] 'in such a sudden and pressing crisis.'

*huc*] 'to Rome.'  
*putes, ipse*] Continue the force of *ut* with *ipse*.

For an account of Lentulus see Introduction. We have dated this letter May 29, as it was written on the same day as 883, though earlier in the day. The postscript § 7 (891) was added a few days later on June 2. There is a detailed and valuable treatise, 'Ueber die Sprache der Briefe des P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther,' by Dr. Albrecht Köhler of Nürnberg (1890), of which we have made considerable use.

PROQ. PROPR.] *Proquaestor* was the title (1) of the quaestor of the previous year who retained his position between the expiration of his own term of office and the arrival of the new quaestor ; (2), of the legate who performed the functions of quaestor in case the latter had become disabled or died, or for any other reason was prevented from performing the duties of quaestor. In virtue of (1) Lentulus was *Proquaestor*. Again, if the governor left his province he usually delegated his powers to the quaestor, who was called



M. Brutus V. C. tenebat, me contuli et id egi, ut, per quos celerime possent, Asia provincia vectigaliaque in vestram potestatem redigerentur. Quod cum pertinuisset Dolabella vastata provincia, correptis vectigalibus, praecipue civibus Romanis omnibus crudelissime denudatis ac divenditis, celeriusque Asia excessisset, quam eo praesidium adduci potuisset, diutius morari aut exspectare praesidium non necesse habui et quam primum ad meum officium revertendum mihi esse existimavi, ut et reliqua vectigalia exigerem et quam deposui pecuniam colligerem, quidque ex ea correptum esset aut quorum id culpa accidisset cognoscerem quam primum et vos de omni re facerem certiores. 2. Interim cum per insulas in Asiam naviganti mihi nuntiatum esset classem Dolabellae in Lycia esse Rhodiosque naves complures instructas et paratas in aqua habere, cum iis navibus, quas aut mecum adduxeram aut comparaverat Patiscus proq., homo mihi cum familiaritate tum etiam sensibus in re publica coniunctissimus, Rhodum deverti, confisus auctoritate vestra senatusque consulto, quo hostem Dolabellam iudicaratis, foedere quoque, quod cum iis M. Marcello Ser. Sulpicio *cons.* renovatum erat: quo iuraverant Rhodii eosdem

*quaestor pro praetore*: cp. Fam. ii. 15, 4 (273); or to a legate who was called *legatus pro praetore*. If the governor died, his powers devolved on the quaestor. In the present case the powers of the murdered Trebonius devolved on Lentulus.

1. s. v. l. v. v. b. e. v.] = *si valetis liberique vestri valent bene est, valeo* or *si vos liberique vestri valetis bene est, valeo*: cp. 885, 1. The omission of *q.* (= *que*) after *L* is strange: hence Lambinus added it.

*Scelere*] The conduct of Dolabella who entered by force a province held by another governor was a *scelus*; but much more so was his treacherous murder of Dolabella.

v. c.] = *vir clarissimus*.

*in vestram potestatem redigerentur*] 'should be got into your hands.'

*denudatis ac divenditis*] 'beggared and dispersed by sale.' We do not know any other passage in which *divendere* is used of persons. Lambinus reads *divexatis*: for the collocation of these two words cp. Pacuvius (200 Ribb.) *Neu reliquias quaesumias sireis denudatis ossibus Per terram sanie delibutas foede divexarier*.

*officium*] 'post' § 6.

2. *in aqua habere*] Köhler (p. 41)

thinks that this is a technical expression; but he quotes no closer parallel than Verr. iii. 192, *Coge ut ad aquam tibi . . . frumentum Hennesenses admetiantur*.

*Patiscus proq.*] Patiscus is mentioned before as having sent panthers to Caellius: cp. Fam. viii. 9, 3 (211); cp. ii. 11, 2 (255). Along with Lentulus he joined the conspirators on the evening of the Ides of March when they retired to the Capitol (App. ii. 119). Lentulus, having to act as proprætor after the murder of Trebonius, appointed Patiscus as his assistant proquaestor.

*sensibus in re publica*] 'political sympathy.' For *sensus* (plural) = 'sympathy': cp. Reid on Sull. 64. For *in* with ablative in this connexion see Fam. i. 8, 2 (119), *difficile sensum in rep. deponere*. Cicero also uses *de*: cp. Att. xv. 7 (739).

*deverti*] So Wesenberg (E. A. 40) for *reverti* of the mss. Lentulus was returning from Macedonia to Asia, and not to Rhodes.

*hostem Dolabellam*] This decree was passed about the middle of March: cp. Phil. xi.

*M. Marcello Ser. Sulpicio cons.*] i.e. 793 (51).



hostes se habituros, quos S. P. Q. R. Quae res nos vehementer fefellit. Tantum enim afuit, ut illorum praesidio nostram firmaremus classem, ut etiam a Rhodiis urbe, portu, statione, quae extra urbem est, commeatu, aqua denique prohiberentur nostri milites, nos vix ipsi singulis cum navigiis recipere. †Quam indignitatem deminutionemque maiestatis non solum iuris nostri, sed etiam imperii populi Romani idcirco tulimus, quod interceptis litteris cognoramus Dolabellam, si desperasset de Syria Aegyptoque, quod necesse erat fieri, in naves cum omnibus suis latronibus atque omni pecunia conscendere esse paratum Italiamque petere, idcirco etiam naves onerarias, quarum minor nulla erat duum milium amphorum, contractas in Lycia a classe eius obsideri. 3. Huius rei timore, patres conscripti, percitus iniurias perpeti et cum contumelia etiam nostra omnia prius experiri malui. Itaque ad illorum voluntatem introductus in urbem et in senatum eorum quam diligentissime potui causam rei publicae egi periculumque omne, quod instaret, si ille latro cum suis omnibus naves conscendisset, exposui. Rhodios autem tanta in pravitate animadverti, ut omnes firmiores putarent quam bonos, ut hanc concordiam et conspirationem omnium ordinum ad defendendam

*statione*] 'roadstead.'

*indignitatem . . . maiestatis*] We think that possibly *senatus* (written *s.*) or *vestri* may have dropped out after *imperii*, 'insult and slight to the majesty, not only of my position, but also of the authority of the senate and Roman people.' If this seems too bold, we may, perhaps, with Ernesti, suppose that the order of words has become confused, and read *deminutionemque non solum iuris nostri, sed etiam maiestatis imperiique populi Romani*; or else with Orelli omit *que* after *populi*.

*duum milium amphorum*] For the construction, cp. *Caes. B. G. i. 38, 5. Spatium quod est non amplius pedum sexcentorum.* An amphora held about 5·7 gallons: a vessel of 2000 amphorae would be equal to one of about 60 tons. In *Liv. xxi. 63, 3*, we also find the tonnage of a ship expressed in terms of *amphorae*. The genitive is contracted, as is usual in describing the tonnage of a ship, though sometimes the uncontracted form is used (e.g. *Dig. 14, 2, 10, 2*). The uncontracted form is always found when the word is used of a fluid measure, according to

Köhler, pp. 15, 16.

*contractas*] 'collected together in Lycia.' Dolabella appears to have taken them by force from the merchants: cp. § 5.

*obsideri*] 'were being watched.'

3. *percitus*] a word often used in the Comedies (*Plaut. Amph. ii. 2, 95*; *Cas. iii. 5, 8*); also in *Liv. vi. 38, 8*, quoted by Köhler, p. 38. Dr. Reid and Mr. Clark refuse to read it in *Cic. Mil. 63*. Dr. Reid says (critical note on that passage) "the word occurs in the old drama and in *Sall. Liv.*, but not in *Cicero*, *Caesar*, *Nepos*, *Vergil*, *Horace*, and many other writers. There is an example in *Bell. Afr. 46, ira percitus*: cp. *Lucr. 3, 303, irae fax subdita percit*."

*omnia prius experiri*] 'to make every effort to prevent this.'

*ad illorum voluntatem*] 'in accordance with their wish.'

*naves conscendisset*] cp. note to 883, 1. *tanta in pravitate*] 'were so utterly perverse.' The *in* is curious; *Lambinus* omits it. Perhaps we should read *tanta improbitate*, yet cp. 883, 3.

libertatem propense non crederent esse factam, ut patientiam senatus et optimi cuiusque manere etiam nunc confiderent nec potuisse audere quemquam Dolabellam hostem iudicare, ut denique omnia, quae improbi fingeant, magis vera existimarent quam quae vere facta erant et a nobis docebantur. 4. Qua mente etiam ante nostrum adventum post Trebonii indignissimam caedem ceteraque tot tamque nefaria facinora binae profectae erant ad Dolabellam legationes eorum, et quidem novo exemplo, contra leges ipsorum, prohibentibus iis, qui tum magistratus gerebant. Haec sive timore,

*propense*] 'spontaneously,' 'willingly': cp. Liv. xxxviii. 52, 6.

*patientiam*] 'apathy.'

*quae . . . docebantur*] cp. Caesar B. G. v. 42, 2, *haec a nobis cognoverant et, quos habebant captivos, ab iis docebantur*.

4. *binae*] For *binae*, instead of *duae*, Köhler compares Caesar B. G. i. 53, 5, *trinis catenis vinctus*: cp. note to 890, 3.

*contra leges ipsorum*] These embassies were sent by the Rhodian senate (βουλή), who, with the people, appear to have adopted the cause of Dolabella; the senate, perhaps, not very willingly, but being overborne by some violent democrats among their number. One or two of these violent anti-Romans appear to have succeeded in being elected among the prytanes: cp. 888, 3, *et nunc aut magistratum gerunt*. But foreign affairs strictly belonged to the discretion of the prytanes, who were the chief magistrates of the state, and not to the senate; so that the latter had no right to take any measures in that department at all, least of all measures which ran counter to the wishes of the prytanes: cp. Mendelssohn Jahrb. 1891, p. 347, note; Gilbert, ii. 178. These prytanes held office for six months. As the Rhodian year began in October, the prytanes in office in June, when this letter was written, were a different body from those who were in office in February, when the embassies were sent to Dolabella. Both sets of prytanes appear to have ostensibly taken the part of the Roman government against Dolabella, while the senate and people of the Rhodians took the opposite side: but the prytanes who were now in office were suspected of favouring the popular side and of being disloyal to the Romans; the loyalty of the late prytanes was unquestioned.

*Haec sive timore*] We have added <provocati>, after *parte*, as suggested by

Wesenberg. The passage will have a slight anacoluthon, *haec* being left ungoverned; but the length and rush of the sentence will excuse that. If such an anacoluthon is thought impossible, even in Lentulus, we can alter to *hic* with Orelli, or *haec* (sc. *mente*) with Lehmann. We may translate the whole passage: 'These things, whether from fear, as they say, for their lands on the continent, or through madness, or through the tolerance of some few politicians, who both in time past had treated with like insult the most illustrious men, and now do the same to those who hold the highest magistracies, without any precedent or provocation coming from our side—these things, I say, they have refused to help in averting (lit. 'in healing'), though they easily could have done so: I mean the danger to which we are exposed and which would have threatened Italy and our city, if that traitor, with his band of ruffians, when expelled from Asia and Syria, had sailed for Italy.' But the passage still awaits final emendation. Lehmann (pp. 117-120) reads *Qua mente etiam . . . prohibentibus iis qui tum magistratus gerebant, haec* (sc. *mente*) *sive timore . . . sive furore, sive patientia paucorum, qui et antea pari contumelia viros clarissimos adfecerant et nunc maximos magistratus gerentes* (accusative, not nominative) *nullo exemplo neque nostra ex parte <neque ipsorum in sua potestate habent> neque nostro praesentium neque, &c.* For the addition of those or similar words, he argues (1) there must be something to correspond to *nostra ex parte*; (2) in this § Lentulus says, *prohibentibus iis qui tum magistratus gerebant*, while in 883, 3, *eos qui sunt in magistratu in sua habent potestate*: cp. § 5 of this letter, *ipsi magistratus veniebant in suspicionem detinuisse nos, &c.* Though this view is far from final, we

ut dictitant, de agris, quos in continenti habent, sive furore sive patientia paucorum, qui et antea pari contumelia viros clarissimos adfecerant et nunc maximos magistratus gerentes nullo exemplo neque nostra ex parte *provocati* neque nostro praesentium neque imminenti Italiae ubique nostrae periculo, si ille parriocida cum suis latronibus navibus ex Asia Syriaque expulsus Italiam petisset, mederi, cum facile possent, voluerunt. 5. Non nullis etiam ipsi magistratus veniebant in suspicionem detinuisse nos et demorati esse, dum classis Dolabellae certior fieret de adventu nostro. Quam suspicionem consecutae res aliquot auxerunt, maxime quod subito ex Lycia Sex. Marius et C. Titius, legati Dolabellae, a classe discesserunt navique longa profugerunt onerariis relictis, in quibus colligendis non minimum temporis laborisque consumpserant. Itaque cum ab Rhodo cum iis, quas habueramus, navibus in Lyciam venissemus, naves onerarias recepimus dominisque restituumus, iidemque, quod maxime verebamur, ne posset Dolabella cum suis latronibus in Italiam venire, timere desiimus; classem fugientem persecuti sumus usque Sidam, quae extrema regio est provinciae meae. 6. Ibi cognovi partem navium Dolabellae diffugisse, reliquas Syriam Cyprumque petisse. Quibus

cannot help thinking that it is less unsatisfactory than the restoration which Mendelssohn approves, viz. *Hic sive . . . potentia paucorum . . . et nunc maximos magistratus gerunt nullo exemplo [neque] ex nostra parte neque . . . voluerunt.*

*de agris quos in continenti habent*] cp. Strabo xiv. 651, ἡ τῶν Ροδίων περαία. The Rhodian Peraea or Chersonese extended from the Gulf of Glaukos to Mount Phoenix. Its principal towns were Daedala, Kalynda, Kaunos, Physkos, and Phoenix. The Rhodians bought Kaunos for 200 talents either from the generals of Ptolemy Lagus in 309, or from those of Ptolemy Philadelphus in 266: it was especially valuable as a naval station. The government and institutions of the Peraea were virtually the same as those of Rhodes. Probably about the same time as they purchased Kaunos they acquired also the main portion of the Peraea. On such *contributae civitates* cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 33 (30). For *timor* de cp. Fam. xi. 2, 3 (740); 866, 5, and 2 Verr. i. 23.

*patientia paucorum*] 'by tolerating a

few politicians,' probably members of the senate who were violent democrats. There does not appear to us adequate reason to alter to *potentia* or *impotentia*. If alteration were required we should suggest *petulantia*, 'bullying.'

*viros clarissimos*] cp. 883, 3.

5. *detinuisse*] For the infinitive, after *in suspicionem venire*, Köhler compares (p. 34) Verr. iv. 30, Phil. i. 15, Fam. ix. 9 (409).

*demorati esse*] So M. The nominative with infinitive is a Greek rather than a Latin construction, yet is occasionally found, e.g. 901, 1, *malim . . . ipse . . . commendatus esse*: Verg. Aen. ii. 377, *sensit medios delapsus in hostes*: Catull. iv. 2, *Phaesus ille quem videtis, hospites, ait fuisse navium celerrimus*; and Wilkins on Hor. Epp. i. 7, 22; Roby § 1350. It has *demoratus* with *o* written over the *u*. *dominisque restituumus*] This shows that Dolabella had taken merchant vessels by force from their owners.

*Sidam*] in Pamphylia: cp. Fam. iii. 6, 1 (213). For *usque* cp. Att. xv. 29, 2 (768).

*provinciae meae*] sc. Asia.

disiectis, cum scirem C. Cassii, singularis civis et ducis, classem maximam foro praesto in Syria, ad meum officium reverti, daboque operam, ut meum studium et diligentiam vobis, patres conscripti, rei publicae praestem, pecuniamque quam maximam potero et quam celerrime cogam omnibusque rationibus ad vos mittam. Si pereurrero provinciam et cognovero qui nobis et rei publicae fidem praestiterunt in conservanda pecunia a me deposita quique scelere ultro deferentes pecuniam publicam hoc munere societatem facinorum cum Dolabella inierunt, faciam vos certiores. De quibus, si vobis videbitur, si, ut meriti sunt, graviter constitueritis nosque vestra auctoritate firmaveritis, facilius et reliqua exigere vectigalia et exacta servare poterimus. Interea quo commodius vectigalia tueri provinciamque ab iniuria defendere possim, praesidium voluntarium necessariumque comparavi.

### DCCCLXXXIII. LENTULUS TO CICERO (FAM. XII. 14).

PERGA ; MAY 29 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

P. Lentulus exponit res a se gestas, Rhodios accusat, procuracionem Asiae petit, merita sua in rem publicam commemorat.<sup>1</sup>

#### LENTULUS CICERONI SUO S. P. D.

1. Cum Brutum nostrum convenissem eumque tardius in Asiam venturum animadverterem, in Asiam redii, ut reliquias mei laboris

6. *officium*] 'post': cp. § 1.  
*studium et diligentiam*] H Pal: om. et  
 M, perhaps rightly, as such asyndeta are common in the letters: cp. Lehmann, p. 25.

*omnibusque rationibus*] 'and in every way I can I will send it to you'—a slightly inaccurate expression for 'I will get money every way I can and send it to you.' For *omnibus rationibus*, 'in every way,' cp. Fam. viii. 11, 1 (267). Köhler says that it means, 'with full accounts,' and that it is a bookkeeping expression. If so, we must surely read *omnibus eum rationibus*, with some inferior mss.

*quique scelere . . . inierunt*] 'and who were villains enough actually to hand over the public money to him, and by this gift

made themselves partners with Dolabella in his crimes.' The sentence would be improved by reading *seclerate* with Lambinus, as the ablative can hardly be defended by the analogy of *vitio, fraude*, unless *suo* is added. It is not necessary to alter to *praestiterint . . . inierint*: for the indicative, in indirect questions, is not unknown in old Latin: cp. Plaut. Most. v. 2, 50, *viden ut astat fureifer*, iii. 2, 145, *speeta quam arte dormiunt*: even in Att. xiii. 18 (630) *vides propinquitas quid habet* is what M and the vetus codex of Lambinus have, though it is unlikely that Cicero used the old construction: cp. Schmalz, Syntax, § 214, who quotes these examples.

*praesidium*] 'a guard of volunteers which was absolutely necessary.'



colligerem et pecuniam quam primum Romam mitterem. Interim cognovi in Lycia esse classem Dolabellae ampliusque centum naves onerarias, in quas exercitus eius imponi posset, idque Dolabellam ea mente comparasse, ut, si Syriae spes eum frustrata esset, conscenderet in naves et Italiam peteret seque cum Antoniis et reliquis latronibus coniungeret. Cuius rei tanto in timore fui, ut omnibus rebus relictis cum paucioribus et minoribus navibus ad illas ire conatus sim. 2. Quae res, si a Rhodiis non essem interpellatus, fortasse tota sublata esset: tamen magna ex parte profligata est, quoniam quidem classis dissipata est adventus nostri timore, milites ducesque effugerunt, onerariae omnes ad unam a nobis sunt exceptae. Certe, quod maxime timui, videor esse consecutus, ut non possit Dolabella in Italiam pervenire nec suis sociis firmatis durius vobis efficere negotium. 3. Rhodii nos et rem publicam quam valde desperaverint ex litteris, quas publice misi, cognosces. Et quidem multo parcius scripsi, quam re vera furere eos inveni: quod vero aliquid de iis scripsi, mirari noli: mira est eorum amentia. Nec moverunt me meae ullae privatim iniuriae umquam: malus animus

This is a private letter to Cicero, but of much the same tenor as 882.

1. *ut . . . colligerem*] 'to finish what remained of my tax-collecting business.' For *reliquias*, cp. Fam. xiii. 66, 2 (506), *oro ut cum in reliquiis veteris negotiationis colligendis iuves*.

*in quas . . . posset*] 'for his army to be embarked in.'

*idque*] The neuter though referring to *classis* and *navis*, cp. Dräger i. § 112 and Caes. B. G. i. 44, 5.

*spes cum frustrata esset*] cp. Ter. Andr. ii. 3, 37; Adolph. iv. 4, 13; Sall. Jug. 101, 3. It is a stronger expression than *spes me fallit* and, perhaps, a little less polished. It is not found in the orations of Cicero, nor in Caesar nor Nepos. *Frustror* can be used both as a deponent and passive verb: cp. Köhler, p. 39.

*conscenderet in naves*] cp. 882, 2, but *naves conscendisset* 882, 3. Köhler (p. 25) says that if *naves* precedes *conscendere* immediately, or is separated only by a kindred word, the preposition is usually omitted; otherwise the preposition is used.

*latronibus*] 'rebels.'

2. *interpellatus*] 'obstructed,' 'hindered': cp. 854, 1.

*nec . . . efficere negotium*] 'nor by strengthening his allies cause you a more serious trouble.' For *durius*, cp. 861, 2, *ut si durius aliquid esset succurrere celeriter possem*.

3. *Rhodii . . . cognosces*] 'From the official letter I am sending, you will understand in what a marked way the Rhodians have shown that they consider that we and the state have no chance.'

*Et quidem . . . amentia*] The words from *quam re vera . . . scripsi* are not found in M; but as they appear in H Pal, make excellent sense, and might easily have fallen out, *ex homoeoteleuto*, they have been unhesitatingly adopted by recent edd.

*moverunt*] Wesenberg adds this word from an old correction: it appears in the margin of M by a second hand. Possibly, however, the corruption lies in *unquam*; and we should omit *me* and read *tam* (sc. *ferendae mihi non sunt*), *quam malus animus*: cp. for this use of *tam quam* Plaut. Mil. iv. 7, 26; *tam quam hoc uteretur* = *tam (illo oculo uteretur) quam hoc uteret*.

*ullae privatim iniuriae*] For adverbs used adjectively, cp. Roby § 1020, 6; Dräger, § 79.



eorum in nostra salute, cupiditas partium aliarum, perseverantia in contemptione optimi cuiusque ferenda mihi non fuit. Nec tamen omnes perditos esse puto, sed iidem illi, qui tum fugientem patrem meum, qui L. Lentulum, qui Pompeium, qui ceteros viros clarissimos non receperunt, iidem tamquam aliquo fato et nunc aut magistratum gerunt aut eos, qui sunt in magistratu, in sua habent potestate. Itaque eadem superbia in pravitate utuntur. Quorum improbitatem aliquando retundi et non pati impunitate augeri non solum utile est rei publicae nostrae, sed etiam necessarium. 4. De nostra dignitate velim tibi ut semper curae sit et, quocumque tempore occasionem habueris, et in senatu et ceteris rebus laudi nostrae suffragere. Quoniam consulibus decreta est Asia et permissum est iis, ut, dum ipsi venirent, darent negotium, qui Asiam obtineant, rogo te, petas ab iis, ut hanc dignitatem potissimum nobis tribuant et mihi dent negotium, ut Asiam obtineam, dum ipsorum alter uter venit. Nam quod hoc properent in magistratu venire aut exercitum mittere causam non habent. Dolabella enim in Syria est, et, ut tu divina tua mente prospexisti et praedicasti, dum isti veniunt, Cassius eum opprimet. Exclusus enim ab Antiochea Dolabella et in oppugnando male acceptus, nulla alia confisus urbe Laodiceam, quae est in Syria ad mare, se contulit. Ibi spero celeriter eum poenas daturum: nam neque quo refugiat habet neque diutius ibi poterit tantum exercitum Cassii

*in nostra salute*] 'in a case where our lives were at stake.' Ernesti and Wesenberg wish to read *in nostram salutem*, which is no doubt the usual construction, S10, 1. §26, 1; Fam. i. 9, 10 (153); Planc. 9.

*fugientem*] sc. from Pharsalia.

*in pravitate*] 'in the badness of their nature': cp. §82, 3.

*retundi*] 'repressed': cp. Fam. viii. 6, 1 (242); S07, 3; also *contundere audaciam*, Phil. xiii. 29.

4. *velim . . . ut*] It would be equally allowable to omit *ut*: cp. § 5. 'The omission is the more usual.'

*laudi nostrae suffragere*] 'further my distinction by your support.'

*ut . . . obtineant*] 'to appoint some officers to hold Asia until they come themselves.' Cobet reads *obtineat* needlessly; Lentulus is speaking generally. For the consecution of tenses, a present being used where one would expect a past,

cp. § 1, *conatus sim*; § 5, *succedatur*: S82, 6 *possim*, passages which show that *Lepidus* <sup>Lent.</sup> affected this vivid usage. Köhler compares Plaut. Pseud. iii. 2, 6, *Oreus recipere ad se hunc noluit ut esset hic qui mortuis cenam coquat*.

*venit*] So the mss which Köhler defends (p. 31), as *venit* here can be regarded as outside the subjunctive portion of the sentence, which is not the case with *venirent* above.

*hoc*] = *huc*, cp. Neue. ii<sup>3</sup>. 613. The form is found in Caelius ap. Fam. viii. 6, 4 (242), Plancus (S61, 5, 6), D. Brutus (S54, 3), and Balbus ap. Att. viii. 15 A 1 (346), but not in Cicero.

*male acceptus*] 'having been roughly handled': cp. S69, 2, *pessime acceptae* (*copiolae*).

Köhler notices (p. 39) that Lentulus uses the more dignified expression *cum magno suo detrimento* in his despatch to the senate (§ 7).

sustinere. Spero etiam confectum esse iam et oppressum Dolabellam. 5. Qua re non puto Pansam et Hirtium in consulatu properaturos in provincias exire, sed Romae acturos consulatum. Itaque, si ab iis petieris, ut interea nobis procurationem Asiae dent, spero te posse impetrare. Praeterea mihi promiserunt Pansa et Hirtius coram et absenti mihi scripserunt Verriusque nostro Pansa adfirmavit se daturum operam, ne in suo consulatu mihi succedatur. Ego porro non me dius fidius cupiditate provinciae produci longius spatium mihi volo: nam mihi fuit ista provincia plena laboris, periculi, detrimenti: quae ego ne frustra subierim nunc prius, quam reliquias meae diligentiae consequar, decedere cogar, valde laboro. Nam si potuissem quam exegeram pecuniam universam mittere, postularem, ut mihi succederetur: nunc, quod Cassio dedi, quod Trebonii morte amisimus, quod etiam crudelitate Dolabellae aut perfidia eorum, qui fidem mihi rei publicae non praestiterunt, id consequi et reficere volo: quod aliter non potest fieri, nisi spatium habuero. Id ut per te consequar, velim, ut solet, tibi curae sit. 6. Ego me de re publica puto esse meritum, ut non provinciae istius beneficium expectare debeam, sed tantum, quantum Cassius et Bruti, non solum illius facti periculique societate, sed etiam huius temporis studio et virtute. Primus enim ego leges Antonias fregi, primus equitatum Dolabellae ad rem

*Dolabellam*] Lamb. brackets *Dolabellam*, but Köhler (p. 13) thinks it should be retained as *Lentulus* is given to harping on the same word, especially when he wishes to make that word, as he does here, the dominant word in the sentence.

5. *spero te posse impetrare*] 'I hope that you have the power to gain your request,' not 'that you will be able.'

*Verriusque*] Possibly the *Verrius* mentioned in *Fam.* ix. 20, 2 (475) as a man, *qua munditia! qua elegantia*: cp. ix. 26, 1 (479).

*nive*] So M. For this form, instead of *neve*, cp. *Neue* ii<sup>3</sup>. 969.

*quam . . . consequar*] 'before I finish what remains of my revenue work.'

*id consequi et reficere*] 'to obtain and get in.' For this sense of *reficere* cp. *Parad.* 45.

*nisi*] *Ernesti* and *Köhler* (p. 36) read *nisi <si>*. No doubt *nisi* is rare after *aliter*, but it is found in *Sallust*, *Hist.* i.

41, 17, *non aliter salvi eritis nisi . . . prodederint*: cp. also § 24 of that chapter, and *Liv.* xxxii. 38, 3, quoted by *Schmalz*, *Antib.* i. 539.

6. *Ego . . . virtute*] 'I think that I have deserved sufficiently well of the republic to justify my expecting not merely the grant of this province as a favour, but the grant of as much as *Cassius* and the two *Bruti* have obtained [i.e. provinces, armies, and honours], as well on account of my share in that dangerous deed of daring as of the spirit and valour which I have shown at this time.' For the part *Lentulus* took on the occasion of *Caesar's* assassination cp. *Introd.* After *Cassius et Bruti* we must understand something like *adepti sunt* taken out of *expectare*.

*Primus . . . fregi*] We do not know to what *Lentulus* is alluding; perhaps he treated as null several of the immunities which *Antony* sold to states and individuals in *Asia*: cp. *Dio. Cass.* xlv. 53, 3.

publicam traduxi Cassioque tradidi, primus dilectus habui pro salute omnium contra coniurationem sceleratissimam, solus Cassio et rei publicae Syriam exercitusque, qui ibi erant, coniunxi. Nam nisi ego tantam pecuniam tantaque praesidia et tam celeriter Cassio dedissem, ne ausus quidem esset ire in Syriam et nunc non minora pericula rei publicae a Dolabella instarent quam ab Antonio.

7. Atque haec omnia is feci, qui sodalis et familiarissimus Dolabellae eram, coniunctissimus sanguine Antoniis, provinciam quoque illorum beneficio habebam sed πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μάλλον φιλῶν omnibus meis bellum primus indixi. Haec etsi adhuc non magno opere mihi tulisse fructum animadverto, tamen non despero nec defetigabor permanere non solum in studio libertatis, sed etiam in labore et periculis. At tamen, si etiam aliqua gloria iusta et merita provocabimur senatus et optimi cuiusque officiis, maiore cum auctoritate apud ceteros erimus et eo plus prodesse rei publicae poterimus.

8. Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod iam in hiberna cum equitibus erat profectus, sed me dius fidius ea esse eum opinione et tua et ipsius et in primis mea causa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi est, qui ex te natus teque dignus est. Vale. D. iv. Kal. Iun., Pergae.

We fancy, from the comparative silence of historians as regards Lentulus, that he estimated his services rather too highly.

7. *is feci . . . qui eram . . . habebam*] For this rare use of the indicative in a concessive relative sentence cp. Fam. vii. 26, 2. *Ego, qui me ostreis et muraenis facile abstinentiam, a beta et a malva deceptus sum.*

*Illorum*] The three Antonii, Marcus, Gaius, Lucius.

πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μάλλον φιλῶν] The full line is given in Plutarch, Praecept. rei p. gerend. c. 14, p. 809 D. οὐδ' ἔκιν' ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μάλλον οὐδ': cp. Lycurg. Leocrat. § 101, from which passage Nauck, p. 918, infers that the quotation comes from the *Erechtheus* of Euripides.

*non solum . . . periculis*] 'to remain not only earnest for freedom but facing toil and danger in its defence.'

*At tamen*] The mss give *At tamen*, which gives a satisfactory sense, 'but, be

that as it may [i.e. though I will work loyally for the state, even though I get no reward], if we are stimulated by some just and well deserved distinction kindly granted by the senate and people, we shall have greater influence with the rest.' Wesenberg alters to *At tamen*.

8. *hiberna*] The meeting of Brutus and Lentulus took place apparently about the middle or latter end of March. Young Cicero probably went to the winter quarters in order to join the forces assembled there for the summer campaign: cp. Att. ix. 19, 1 377. Streng (p. 53) thinks the winter quarters were in Ambracia.

*ea esse eum opinione*] 'that he has acquired so high a reputation as this,' viz. to be placed in command of a division of horse. For *opinio* cp. Caes. B. G. vi. 24, 3, *summamque habet iustitiae et bellicae laudis opinionem*.

*iv. Kal. Iun. Pergae*] cp. 891, note.

## DCCCLXXXIV. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 20).

ROME; MAY 29; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Plancum interrogat, utrum Lepidus rem publicam sequatur an M. Antonium, hortaturque, ut bellum conficiat.

## CICERO PLANCO.

1. Ita erant omnia, quæ istim adferebantur, incerta ut quid ad te scriberem non occurreret. Modo enim quæ vellemus de Lepido, modo contra nuntiabantur: de te tamen fama constans, nec decipi posse nec vinci: quorum alterius fortuna partem habet quamdam, alterum proprium est prudentiæ tuæ. 2. Sed accepi litteras a collega tuo, datas Idibus Maiis, in quibus erat te ad se scripsisse a Lepido non recipi Antonium: quod erit certius, si tu ad nos idem scripseris, sed minus audes fortasse propter inanem lætitiā litterarum superiorum. Verum, ut errare, mi Plance, potuisti—quis enim id effugerit?—, sic decipi te non potuisse quis non videt? Nunc vero etiam [iam] erroris causa sublata est. Culpa enim illa, ‘bis ad eundem’ vulgari reprehensa proverbio est. Sin, ut scripsisti ad collegam, ita se res habet, omni cura liberati sumus, nec tamen erimus prius quam ita esse tu nos feceris certiores. 3. Mea quidem, ut ad te sæpius scripsi, hæc sententia est: qui reliquias huius belli oppresserit, eum totius belli confectorem fore, quem te et opto esse et confido futurum. Studia

1. *Modo . . . nuntiabantur*] On the very day on which Cicero wrote this letter, Lepidus deserted the Republic and joined Antony.

*de te*] Baiter thinks that *de* should probably be omitted before *te*, or *te* added before *decipi*. Gitlbauer (p. 97) supposes that *nuntiabantur de* is a mistake for *denuntiabantur*. But the anticipatory *de* is quite allowable: cp. 883, 4.

*alterius*] sc. *nec vinci posse*: *alterum*, sc. *nec decipi posse*.

2. *collega tuo*] D. Brutus: cp. 905, 1. *litterarum superiorum*] ‘on account of the unfounded good news contained in your former letter.’ In 860, 1, 2 (written May 13) Plancus expresses an

opinion that Lepidus will join with him, and prove loyal; while in 861 (written May 14) he notices that he was mistaken.

‘bis ad eundem’] sc. *offendere lapidem turpe est*. The proverb is a Greek one *δὲς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχρὸν εἰσπρῶναι λίθον* (Koch, Frag. adesp. 391). Otto (p. 186) quotes Ovid. Trist. ii. 16, *Saxa malum refero rursus ad icta pedem*; Ausonius Epist. 11, *tu ut tua culpa ad eundem lapidem offenderes*.

3. *qui . . . fore*] cp. 863, 2, *is bellum confecerit qui Antonium oppresserit*.

*quem . . . futurum*] ‘I pray that you are the man; I am confident that you will be.’



mea erga te, quibus certe nulla esse maiora potuerunt, tibi tam grata esse quam ego putavi fore, minime miror vehementerque laetor. Quae quidem tu, si recte istic erit, maiora et graviora cognosces. iv. Kalendas Iunias.

## DCCCLXXXV. LEPIDUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 35).

PONS ARGENTEUS; MAY 30; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Lepidus recepti M. Antonii causam in milites suos confert, dissensionem civium inique ferentes.

M. LEPIDUS IMP. ITER PONT. MAX. S. D. PR. TR. PL. S. P. PL. Q. R.

1. S. V. liberique vestri V. B. E. E. Q. V. Deos hominesque testor, patres conscripti, qua mente et quo animo semper in rem publicam fuerim et quam nihil antiquius communi saluti ac libertate iudicarem: quod vobis brevi probassem, nisi mihi fortuna proprium consilium extorsisset. Nam exercitus cunctus consuetudinem suam in civibus conservandis communique pace, seditione facta, retinuit meque tantae multitudinis civium Romanorum salutis atque incolumitatis causam suscipere, ut vere dicam, coëgit.

*si recte istic erit*] 'if all goes well with you.' For *recte esse* cp. Att. i. 7, 1 (3). *maiora et graviora*] 'more earnest and weighty.'

For the titles of Lepidus cp. note to 869. Compare the headings of this letter and 833. Note that here the consuls are omitted, as Lepidus knew that both were dead.

1. *S. V. . . . V. B. E. E. Q. V.*] = *si vos liberique vestri valetis bene est, ego quoque valeo.*

*proprium consilium*] 'the plan of action I had myself projected.'

*Nam . . . retinuit*] 'For the whole army mutinied, thus maintaining its practice of preserving the lives of the citizens and the general peace; and forced me to undertake the protection of the lives and fortunes of such a large number of Roman citizens.' *incolumitatis* probably has special reference to the civic position of the soldiers of Antony who had been

declared enemies: cp. 911. Appian iii. 84 (cp. Vell. ii. 63) gives a graphic account of the mutiny. It came to a crisis in the last watch of the night. A body of soldiers, who had been armed for an expedition, opened the gates to Antony. He and the mutineers proceeded to the tent of Lepidus, and implored him to show mercy (cp. *misericordiam*, § 2) to his unfortunate countrymen. Lepidus, in a humble manner, consented; the two armies were united; and the command practically, though not nominally, was put into the hands of Antony. The excuse, which was so often given for disloyalty, during the Civil Wars, viz. that the lives of the citizens should be spared (cp. Phil. viii. 13), probably arose from the order which Caesar gave to his army before the Battle of Pharsalia to spare their fellow-citizens as far as possible: cp. Suet. Jul. 75. For *consuetudinem in civibus conservandis*, instead of the genitive, cp. Fam. v. 9, 1 (639); Mil. 52.



2. In qua re ego vos, patres conscripti, oro atque obsecro, ut privatis offensionibus omissis summa rei publicae consulatis neve misericordiam nostram exercitusque nostri in civili dissensione sceleris loco ponatis. Quod si salutis omnium ac dignitatis rationem habueritis, melius et vobis et rei publicae consulatis. Data III. Kal. Iunias a Ponte Argenteo.

## DCCCLXXXVI. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 14).

ROME; END OF MAY; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruti litteris respondet de decemviris, de legionibus perducendis, de pecunia, de hominum admiratione de bello renovato, quod ut conficiat D. Brutum hortatur.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO COS. DESIG. S. D.

1. Mirabiliter, mi Brute, laetor mea consilia measque sententias a te probari de decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Sed quid refert? Mihi crede, homini non glorioso: plane iam, Brute, frigeo: > ὄργανον enim erat meum senatus; id iam est dissolutum. < Tantam spem attulerat exploratae victoriae tua praeclara Mutina eruptio, fuga Antonii conciso exercitu, ut omnium animi relaxati sint

2. *privatis*] possibly an allusion to the hostility of Cicero and Antony.

*dignitatis*] A hint that the decree of outlawry passed on Antony should be rescinded.

[< iii. Kal.] So the mss. Probably Lepidus did not write this letter until the day after he joined Antony. Ruete (p. 54) alters to *iiii. Kal.*

This letter is probably an answer to 875 (cp. § 2 with 875, 1) and to 869. It was written about the same time as 884, for both in this letter (§ 3) and in 884, 2, mention is made of a despatch from D. Brutus of May 15th. That Cicero makes no mention of the march of Brutus on Pollentia is due to the fact that it was well known at Rome that Brutus had been out-manceuvred by Antony, whose movement on Pollentia was a mere feint.

1. *de decemviris*] This refers to a proposal to elect a Committee of Ten to

investigate the acts of Antony during his consulship, and especially the use he had made of Caesar's memoranda. The Committee was appointed immediately after the news arrived of the union of Plancus and Brutus: cp. App. B. C. iii. 82.

*plane iam, Brute, frigeo*] 'I am now, Brutus, quite torpid' (with inaction): cp. Fam. viii. 6, 3, 5 (242), *Curioni nostro tribunatus conglaciat . . . Curionem valde frigere.*

*Tantum . . . vidcantur*] If the text is sound, and if we do not adopt *attulerunt* with Ernesti, we must translate, 'your glorious sally at Mutina, and the flight of Antony after his army was cut to pieces, suddenly brought to us such a certain expectation of assured victory that the spirits of all are now unstrung, and all those violent harangues of mine seem like beatings of the air.' For the use of the pluperfect, expressing sudden action, cp. Verg. Aen. iv. 685, viii. 219. The

meaeque illae vehementes contentiones tamquam *σκιαμαχίαι* esse videantur. 2. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, legionem Martiam et quartam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla condicione ad se posse perducī. Pecuniae, quam desideras, ratio potest haberi eaque habebitur. De Bruto aressendo Caesareque ad Italiae praesidium tenendo valde tibi adsentior. Sed, ut scribis, habes obtrectatores: quos equidem facillime sustineo, sed impediunt tamen. Ex Africa legiones exspectantur. 3. Sed bellum istue renatum mirantur homines. Nihil tam praeter spem umquam. Nam die tuo natali victoria nuntiata in multa saecula videbamus rem publicam liberatam. Hi novi timores retexunt superiora. Scripsisti autem ad me iis, quas Idibus Maiis dedisti, modo te accepisse a Planeo litteras, non recipi Antonium a Lepido. Id si ita est, omnia faciliora: sin aliter, magnum negotium, cuius exitum non extimesco: tuae partes sunt. Ego plus quam feci facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum et clarissimum videre cupio.

consecution, *sint . . . videantur*, after the pluperfect, is to be explained by the fact that the actions represented by those verbs are supposed to be coincident with the time at which the letter is written. Some commentators suppose a lacuna before *ut*, e.g. Orelli supplies <*quantus nunc timor insecutus est*>: O. E. Schmidt <*tot deinde peccata tantaque tristitia consecuta est*>, comparing 897, 2, *Bruti deinde ita multa peccata ut quodam modo victoria excideret e manibus*. Mendelssohn would approve of either of these violent additions.

*σκιαμαχίαι*] 'beatings of the air.' Strictly *σκιαμαχία* was used of a kind of sparring with an imaginary opponent practised in the gymnasium.

2. *legionem Martiam*] cp. 875, 1.

*Pecuniae . . . haberi*] 'measures can be taken for raising money.'

*sustineo*] 'withstand': cp. Caes. B.G. i. 24, 1; Liv. xxxi. 13, 4; Ovid. Met. xiv. 788.

3. *renatum*] cp. 913, 2, *renatum enim bellum est idque non parvo scelere Lepidi*; cp. Liv. ix. 12, 1: *istuc*, i.e. in Narbonense Gaul.

*die tuo natali*] The news of the Battle of Mutina reached Rome on April 26.

*retexunt superiora*] 'undo all the former work.'

*iis*] sc. *litteris*. Lehmann (p. 10) quotes Fam. vii. 16, 1 (157), ix. 26, 1 (479), among many examples of this ellipse.

*Idibus Maiis*] cp. 884, 2. The letter which Brutus wrote on May 15 is not extant. Ruete (p. 51) thinks that possibly it was 849; but that letter was written on April 30.

## DCCCLXXXVII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 8).

ROME; END OF MAY, OR JUNE (?) ; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero C. Nasennium, municipem Suessanum, Bruto commendat.

CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Multos tibi commendabo et commendem necesse est—optimus enim quisque vir et civis maxime sequitur tuum iudicium tibi que omnes fortes viri navare operam et studium volunt nec quisquam est, quin ita existimet, meam apud te et auctoritatem et gratiam valere plurimum—2. sed C. Nasennium, municipem Suessanum, tibi ita commendo, ut neminem diligentius. *Is* Cretensi bello Metello imperatore octavum principem duxit; postea in re familiari occupatus fuit: hoc tempore cum rei publicae partibus, tum tua excellenti dignitate commotus vult per te aliquid auctoritatis assumere. Fortem virum, Brute, tibi commendo, frugi hominem et, si quid ad rem pertinet, etiam locupletem: pergratum mihi erit, si eum ita tractaris, ut merito tuo mihi gratias agere possit.

The date of this letter is quite uncertain, and can be guessed at only from the position which the latter has in the collection.

1. *sequitur tuum iudicium*] i.e. approves of the part you take in politics.

*navare operam et studium*] 'to be industrious and enthusiastic on your behalf.'

2. *C. Nasennium*] The name is not infrequently found in inscriptions: cp. Wilmanns, 96, 1749.

*Cretensi bello*] Quintus Metellus, as proconsul 686-688 (68-66), subdued Crete, and obtained the surname of

Creticus for his success. Cn. Plancius, whom Cicero defended, also served in this war: cp. Plauc. 27.

*octavum principem duxit*] i.e. *ordinem*. He was the forty-third centurion of the legion. For the order of centurions cp. Dict. of Antiquities, i<sup>3</sup>, p. 800.

*rei p. partibus*] 'party divisions in the state.'

*locupletem*] cp. the letter recommending L. Castronius Pactus to M. Brutus, Fam. xiii. 13 (454), *tum etiam fortuna, si quid hoc ad rem pertinet, ornatus*. A man with money was always welcome to the philosophic M. Brutus.

## DCCCLXXXVIII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 16).

ROME; MAY OR JUNE; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruto commendat Lamiam in petitione praeturae.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO COS. DES. S. D.

1. Per magni interest, quo tibi haec tempore epistola reddita sit: utrum cum sollicitudinis aliquid haberes an cum ab omni molestia vacuus esses. Itaque ei praecepi, quem ad te misi, ut tempus observaret epistolae tibi reddendae. Nam quem ad modum coram, qui ad nos intempestive adeunt, molesti saepe sunt, sic epistolae offendunt non loco redditae. Si autem, ut spero, nihil te perturbat, nihil impedit, et ille, cui mandavi, satis scite et comode tempus ad te cepit adeundi, confido me quod velim facile a te impetraturum. 2. L. Lamia praeturam petit. Hoc ego utro uno omnium plurimum. Magna vetustas, magna consuetudo intercedit: quodque plurimum valet, nihil mihi eius est familiaritate incundius. Magno praeterea beneficio eius magnoque merito sum obligatus. Nam Clodianis temporibus, cum equestris ordinis princeps esset proque mea salute acerrime propugnaret, a Gabinio

1. *coram*] Translate 'in the case of visitors'; *coram* is opposed to *epistola*. For the general idea cp. Hor. Sat. i. 3, 63 ff.

*non loco*] 'inappositely': cp. Fam. ix. 16, 4 (472), *posuisti loco versus Attianos*.

*impedit*] 'embarrass.'

*scite et comode*] 'cleverly and suitably': for *satis scite* cp. Fam. xvi. 17 (653).

2. *L. Lamia*] This L. Aelius Lamia took a vigorous part in the defence of Cicero during 696 (58), and was on that account violently and illegally banished from the city by the consuls Gabinus (cp. 831, 1; Sest. 29) and Piso (Pis. 64, Post red. in Sen. 12). However, in 700 (54), he appears to have been again in the senate: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 2 (135); Fam. xiii. 62 (234). In 706 (48) he acted as mediator between Cicero and Antony: cp. Att. xi. 7, 2 (420); and in 709 (45) he

was aedile: cp. Att. xiii. 45, 1 (662). He was now seeking for the praetorship. Next year we find mention of his business concerns in Africa, Fam. xii. 29 (831). Pliny (II. N. vii. 173) and Val. Max. (i. 8, 12) relate a story that he was placed on the funeral pyre before he was dead, and woke up when it was too late to save him.

*Hoc ego uno*] 'there is no one in the world with whom I am on more familiar terms; there is a long standing friendship and a very close intimacy between us; and --what is of most weight--nothing gives me more pleasure than the friendly intercourse I have with him.' For *vetustas* = *vetustas amicitiae*, cp. 834, 2, and Reid on Arch. 31.

*equestris ordinis princeps*] Each *turma* of cavalry had six leaders (Polyb. vi. 25, 1), three *decuriones* and three *optiones*; and these are the *sevir equitum Roman-*

consule relegatus est : quod ante id tempus civi Romano Romae contigit nemini. Hoc cum populus Romanus meminit, me ipsum non meminisse turpissimum est. 3. Quapropter persuade tibi, mi Brute, me petere praeturam. Quamquam enim Lamia summo splendore, summa gratia est, magnificentissimo munere aedilicio, tamen, quasi ea ita non essent, ego suscepi totum negotium. Nunc, si me tanti facis, quanti certe facis, quoniam equitum centurias tenes, in quib<sup>us</sup> regnas, mitte ad Lupum nostrum, ut is nobis eas centurias conficiat. Non tenebo te pluribus : ponam in extremo quod sentio : nihil est, Brute, cum omnia a te exspectem, quod mihi gratius facere possis.

## DCCCLXXXIX. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 17).

ROME ; MAY OR JUNE ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruto iterum commendat Lamiam, paulo, ut videtur, post superiorem epistolam.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO S. D.

I. L. Lamia uno omnium familiarissime utor. Magna eius in me, non dico officia, sed merita, eaque sunt populo Romano

*orum.* The first *decurio* of the first *turma* was called *princeps equitum Romanorum* or *equestris ordinis*. This officer was called *princeps iuventutis* under the empire, and the post was held by the heir to the throne (cp. Mommsen, *Res gestae* d. Aug. p. 56 ; R. II. ii. p. 320, note). In *Petit Cons.* 33 (12) we saw that the *equites* were mostly young men.

*relegatus est*] The punishment of *relegatio* was merely banishment from Rome without loss of civil status. It was inflicted either by an act of the people or by a decree of the senate. During the empire it could also be inflicted by a magistrate's edict, but the republican magistrates had no such rights. *Relegatio* was a much less severe punishment than *exsilium*, which involved loss of civil status : cp. Ovid. *Trist.* ii. 137, *Quippe relegatus non exul dicor in illo* (sc. *edicto*), and Justinian's *Institutes*, i. 12, 1-3 ; also Festus 278, and Holden on *Sest.* 29.

*Romae*] This appears to mean that Lamia was the first Roman citizen who was relegated for a deed committed at Rome : those who had been previously relegated had committed crimes elsewhere. Cicero does not mention this exceptional feature of the *relegatio* of Lamia in the other passages quoted above. Graevius thinks that *Romae* should be ejected as having arisen from *Romano*.

3. *regnas*] 'your power is absolute' : cp. *regnum suum iudiciale*, Att. i. 1, 1 (10). *conficiat*] 'secure' : cp. *Petit. Cons.* 18 (12) *ad conficiendas centurias*, Planc. 45, *conficere tribum* ; Ter. *Eun.* v. 4, 6, *virginem, quam amabat, eam confeci*.

Some editors suppose that this letter was addressed to Marcus Brutus, because it was unlikely that Cicero would have written twice to Decimus Brutus on the same subject. However, all the mss agree in addressing it to D. Brutus. It is quite



notissima. Is magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis perfunctus petit praeturam, omnesque intellegunt nec dignitatem ei deesse nec gratiam. Sed is ambitus excitari videtur, ut ego omnia pertimescam totamque petitionem Lamiae mihi sustinendam putem. 2. In ea re quantum me possis adiuuvare facile perspicio, nec vero quantum mea causa velis dubito. Velim igitur, mi Brute, tibi persuadeas nihil me maiore studio a te petere, nihil te mihi gratius facere posse quam si omnibus tuis opibus, omni studio Lamiam in petitione iuveris: quod ut facias, vehementer te rogo.

## DCCCXC. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO (FAM. X. 33).

CORDUBA; END OF MAY; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Pollio calamitatem rei publicae deplorat proelio Mutinensi acceptam, seque communi incendio occurrere paratum ostendit.

## POLLIO CICERONI S. P.

1. S. V. B. E. E. Q. V. Quo tardius certior fierem de proeliis apud Mutinam factis, Lepidus effecit, qui meos tabellarios novem dies retinuit: tametsi tantam calamitatem rei publicae quam tardissime audire optandum est, sed illis, qui prodesse nihil

possible that Cicero may have written two letters and given them to different letter-carriers, in order to make sure of one at least reaching its destination: cp. 810, 1 (Cicero to Plancus), *Binas a te litteras accepi eodem exemplo: quod ipsum argumentum mihi fuit diligentiae tuae*. Or again, after he had heard that Lupus was in Rome (cp. 881, 3), he may have written to urge Decimus to recommend Lamia to Lupus, as the latter would be able to secure the votes of the equites in his favour. Or lastly, it is not impossible that Cicero wrote two drafts of the letter, and only despatched one: cp. introd. note to 881.

1. *officia*] cp. 888, 2. *excitari*] So some inferior mss. The good mss give *excitare*. Some few (e.g. both Mr. Allen's) have *extare*, a clever emendation.

For Pollio and his letters generally cp. 824.

1. *audire*] Cicero generally uses *opto* with *ut*, except in conjunction with another verb which takes accusative and infinitive: e.g. Fam. i. 7, 11 (167), *speroque et opto* . . . fore; or, in order to obtain a parallelism of expression, cp. N. D. iii. 95, as is noticed by Schmalz (Pollio, p. 27), who further shows that Pollio alone, of all the correspondents of Cicero, uses *opto* with infinitive: cp. Fam. xi. 3 fin. (782), Brutus and Cassius; vi. 7, 2 (532), Caecina; viii. 1, 5 (192), Caelius; xi. 28, 4 (785), Matius; 895, 7, Plancus: by all of whom *ut* is used.

*sed*] We are not quite certain how to explain this word. *Sed* often has the meaning of 'ay and,' e.g. Mart. i. 117, 7, *et scalis habito tribus sed altis*, which usage belonged to familiar speech, accord-

possunt neque mederi. Atque utinam eodem senatus consulto, quo Plancum et Lepidum in Italiam arcessistis, me quoque iussissetis venire! profecto non accepisset res publica hoc vulnus. Quo si qui laetantur in praesentia, quia videntur et duces et veterani Caesaris partium interisse, tamen postmodo necesse est doleant, cum vastitatem Italiae respexerint. Nam et robur et suboles militum interiit, si quidem quae nuntiantur ulla ex parte vera sunt. 2. Neque ego non videbam quanto usui rei publicae essem futurus, si ad Lepidum venissem: omnem enim cunctationem eius discussissem, praesertim adiutore Planco. Sed scribenti ad me eius modi litteras, quas leges, et contionibus videlicet, quas Narbone habuisse dicitur, similes, palparer plane necesse erat, si vellem commeatus per provinciam eius iter faciens habere. Praeterea verebar ne, si ante, quam ego incepta perficerem, proelium confectum esset, pium consilium meum raperent in contrariam partem obtrectatores mei propter amicitiam, quae mihi cum Antonio, non maior tamen quam Planco, fuit. 3. Itaque a Gadibus mense Aprili binis tabellariis in duas naves impositis et tibi et consulibus et Octaviano scripsi, ut me faceretis certiore quonam modo plurimum possem prodesse rei publicae. Sed, ut rationem in eo, quo die proelium Pansa commisit, eodem a Gadibus naves profectae sunt: nulla enim post hiemem fuit ante eam diem

ing to Friedländer; but it cannot bear that meaning here. Perhaps it is used in a corrective sense, 'I mean (*sed*) for those who can do nothing': cp. Orat. 97, *hic est enim cuius ornatum dicendi et copiam admiratae gentes eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passae sunt, sed hanc eloquentiam quae cursu magno sonituque ferretur*.

*Caesaris partium*] cp. 840, 5, *ne animi partium Caesaris . . . vehementer commoverentur*; Phil. v. 32, *Caesaris partes*, quoted by Mendelssohn. Accordingly, Götzbauer's transposition of *partium* to follow *duces* is unnecessary.

*vastitatem Italiae*] Schmalz notices that this would appear to be a kind of fixed and recognized expression in Latin: cp. Cic. Cat. i. 29; iv. 2, 13; Sull. 33; Sest. 12; Phil. ii. 17; Att. ix. 10, 3 (365); Fam. x. 5, 4 (810); Sall. Jug. 5, 2; Liv. xxi. 22, 9.

*et robur et suboles militum*] 'the flower and blossom of the soldiers,' i.e. the

legionaries and recruits.

2. *discussissem*] 'I would have dispelled.'

*palparer*] lit. 'stroke down,' 'soften down.' The word is often used by Plautus: e.g. Amph. i. 3, 9; Mil. ii. 1, 28; but not by Cicero. For the dative cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 20, *cui male si palpere recalcitrat undique tutus*. See Adn. Crit.

*confectum . . . consilium . . . contrariam*] For the alliteration, cp. 824, 4.

*raperent in contrariam partem*] 'misrepresent': cp. Ter. Adelph. Prol. 3, *raperet in peiorem partem*; Eun. iv. 2, 4; Plaut. Trin. iii. 2, 54.

3. *binis . . . in duas naves*] It is uncertain whether *binis* is here distributive, 'two into each ship,' or whether it simply = *duobus*. Schmalz (p. 38) thinks that the latter is the correct view, comparing 882, 4.

*quo die*] The Battle of Forum Gallorum was fought on April 15.

*ante eum diem*] Baiter wrongly alters

navigatio. Et hercules longe remotus ab omni suspitione futuri civilis tumultus penitus in Lusitania legiones in hibernis collocaram. Ita porro festinavit uterque confluere, tamquam nihil peius timerent quam ne sine maximo rei publicae detrimento bellum componeretur. Sed, si properandum fuit, nihil non summi ducis consilio gessisse Hirtium video. 4. Nunc haec mihi scribuntur ex Gallia Lepidi et nuntiantur: Pansae exercitum concisum esse: Pansam ex vulneribus mortuum: eodem proelio Martiam legionem interisse et L. Fabatum et C. Peducaeam et D. Carfulenum: Hirtino autem proelio et quartam legionem et omnes peraeque Antonii caesas, item Hirtii; quartam vero, cum castra quoque Antonii cepisset, a quinta legione concisam esse: ibi Hirtium quoque perisse et Pontium Aquilam: dici etiam Octavi-

to cum. With *ante*, *ad*, *post*, *ex*, the word *dies* is feminine: cp. Neue i<sup>2</sup>. 685 and Att. v. 14, 1 (204); Q. Fr. ii. 5, 4 (106); Fam. viii. 9, 2 (211), quoted by Schmalz (p. 9).

*futuri civilis tumultus*] 'of the civil disturbance which was about to arise.'

*festinavit uterque . . . timerent*] For singular and plural used after *uterque* cp. Fin. ii. 1, *Hic cum uterque me intrueretur seseque ad audiendum significarent paratos*, and Madvig ad loc. A somewhat similar union of singular and plural is found in Sall. Cat. 23, 6, *namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat et quasi pollui consulatum credebant. Festinare*, with infinitive, is rare in Cicero: cp. Fam. vii. 23, 4 (126). According to Schmalz (p. 28), it only occurs four times, and is to be considered inelegant.

*Sed, si . . . video*] 'But if the crisis had to be accelerated, there was nothing which Hirtius did otherwise than with the judgment of a consummate leader.'

4. *ex Gallia Lepidi*] Schmalz (p. 31) thinks (rather fancifully perhaps) that the relation of governor to his province was regarded as analogous to that of husband and wife: cp. Att. i. 16, 8 (22), *desponsam homini iam Syriam ademi*; Prov. Cons. 37, *habere provinciam debet, is ut eam desponsam non deeretam habere videatur*. Accordingly *Gallia Lepidi* is analogous to *Hectoris Andromache*, Verg. Aen. iii. 319. But we think *Gallia Lepidi* is merely used to distinguish it (Narbonensis) from the Gaul of Plancus (Comata), and the Gaul of D. Brutus (Cisalpine).

*ex vulneribus*] cp. Liv. xxvii. 33, 6, *ex vulnere moritur*. Cicero says, Att. v. 20, 3 (228), *vulnus accepit eoque moritur*.

*L. Fabatum*] In Att. viii. 12, 2 (345), we hear of this L. Roscius Fabatus as having, in company with L. Caesar, brought terms of peace from Julius Caesar to Pompey. We do not hear of C. Peducaeus elsewhere: he is not the Sext. Peducaeus who occurs so often in the Epistles ad Att.

*D. Carfulenum*] He was a distinguished soldier (cp. Bell. Alex. 31, *et animi magnitudine et rei militaris scientia vir praestans*) and a good patriot (Phil. iii. 31): cp. note to 841, 1, for the part he played at Forum Gallorum.

*Hirtino autem proelio*] i.e. the Battle of Mutina, not the concluding incidents of the Battle of Forum Gallorum. The correct form is *Hirtiano*: cp. Att. x. 4, 11 (382); Fam. ix. 18, 3 (473), as a vowel precedes the -us of *Hirtius*, cp. Varro, L. L., p. 220 M.

*quartam legionem*] For the legions engaged in the campaign near Mutina, see Addenda to the Commentary.

*peraeque*] 'just as much.'

*Pontium Aquilam*] This Pontius owned a *Trebulanum*, at which Cicero sometimes stayed: cp. Att. v. 2, 1 (185); also a *Neapolitanum*, Att. xiv. 21, 3 (728). He was a violent anti-Caesarian (see the story in Suet. Caes. 78), and joined in the conspiracy. His devotion to the senatorial party went so far that he lent large sums of money to D. Brutus, to enable him to carry on the war (Dio Cass. xlv).

anum cecidisse—quae si, quod di prohibeant! vera sunt, non mediocriter doleo\*:—Antonium turpiter Mutinae obsessionem reliquisse, sed habere equitum  $\bar{V}$ . legiones sub signis armatas tres et  $\dagger$ pupilli Bagienni unam, inermes bene multos: Ventidium quoque se cum legione septima, octava, nona coniunxisse: si nihil in Lepido spei sit, descensurum ad extrema et non modo nationes, sed etiam servitia concitaturum: Parmam direptam: L. Antonium Alpes occupasse. 5. Quae si vera sunt, nemini nostrum cessandum est nec expectandum quid decernat senatus. Res enim cogit huic tanto incendio succurrere omnes, qui aut imperium aut nomen denique populi Romani salvum volunt esse. Brutum enim cohortes XVII., et duas non frequentes tironum legiones, quas conscripserat Antonius, habere audio. Neque tamen dubito quin omnes, qui supersint de Hirtii exercitu, confluant ad eum. Nam in dilectu non multum spei puto esse, praesertim cum nihil sit periculosius quam spatium confirmandi sese Antonio dari. Anni autem tempus libertatem maiorem mihi dat, propterea quia frumenta aut in agris aut in villis sunt. Itaque proximis litteris consilium meum expeditur: nam neque deesse neque superesse

40). After his death the senate bestowed honours on him, as well as on Pansa, Hirtius, and others; and repaid to his heirs the money he had lent D. Brutus.

*equitum  $\bar{V}$ .]* = *quinque millia*. So Manutius fills up the number which is omitted in the MSS.

*pupilli Bagienni]* O. E. Schmidt (Philologus, vol. 51, 1892, pp. 186–188) has a valuable note on this name. He considers that Bagiennus is almost certainly the name of the nationality of the commander of the legion. The Bagienni lived between the source of the Po and the Maritime Alps. Doubtless Antony raised recruits there, as Caesar raised the Alauda legion in Gaul. Antony's movement on Pollentia in May, 711 (43), which caused D. Brutus to march from Aquae Statiellae past Pollentia, northwards, to Vercellae and Eporedia (855, 859, 875, 877, 878), had, perhaps, the design of saving the land of the Bagienni from the vengeance of D. Brutus. Possibly *pupilli* is a corruption of *Publii*, as Mendelssohn suggests, comparing Fam. xiii. 14, 1 (455); but we should rather expect a Roman gentile name like *Popillii*, as Gardthausen

suggests: cp. the Atrebatian Commius in Caes. B. G. iv. 21. Or possibly *pupilli* stands for *populi*, or *popelli*.

*legione]* When *legio* is joined with several ordinals, Cicero uses sometimes the singular, and sometimes the plural. Livy and Velleius always use the singular (Schmalz, p. 16).

*descensurum ad extrema]* 'he will have recourse to the most desperate expedients.'

*direptam]* i.e. by L. Antonius.

5. *frequentes]* 'full.' We cannot find another example of *frequens* used with *legio*. The converse term is *exilis*, Att. v. 15, 1 (207).

*libertatem]* 'freedom of action.' Pollio means that he will not be so entirely dependent on the favour of Lepidus, in order to procure provisions for his army.

*proximis litteris]* This promise was fulfilled in 896, written on June 8. As this letter was written at least forty days after the Battle of Mutina (April 21), its date is the end of May.

*expeditur]* 'will be set forth': cp. 914, 1; Sall. Jug. 5, 3.

*superesse]* = *superstitem esse*: cp. Gell. i. 22, 19, Praeter haec '*superesse*' invenimus



rei publicae volo. Maxime tamen doleo adeo et longo et infesto itinere ad me venire, ut die quadragensimo post aut ultra etiam, quam facta sunt, omnia nuntientur.

DCCCXCI. LENTULUS TO THE SENATE AND  
MAGISTRATES (FAM. XII. 15, § 7).  
(POSTSCRIPT TO 882).

[Litteris (882) iam scriptis nuntios de Dolabella recens allatos addit Lentulus.

PERGA; JUNE 2; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

7. His litteris scriptis milites circiter xxx., quos Dolabella ex Asia conscripserat, ex Syria fugientes in Pamphyliam venerunt. Hi nuntiaverunt Dolabellam Antiocheam, quae in Syria est, venisse: non receptum conatum esse aliquotiens vi introire: repulsum semper esse cum magno suo detrimento itaque dc. circiter amissis, aegris relictis, noctu Antiochea profugisse Laodiceam versus: ea nocte omnes fere Asiaticos milites ab eo discessisse, ex his ad octingentos Antiocheam redisse et se iis tradidisse, qui a Cassio relictis urbi illi praeerant, ceteros per Amanum in Ciliciam descendisse, quo ex numero se quoque esse dicebant: Cassium autem cum suis omnibus copiis nuntiatum esse quadridui iter Laodicea afuisse tum, cum Dolabella eo tenderet. Quam ob rem opinione celerius confido sceleratissimum latronem poenas datum. iv. Nonas Iunias, Pergae.

*dictum pro 'superstitem esse.' Ita enim scriptum est in libro epistolarum M. Ciceronis ad L. Plancum et in epistola M. Asinii Pollionis ad Ciceronem verbis his: Nam neque deesse rei p. volo neque superesse per quod significat si res p. emoriatur et pereat nolle se vivere. It is often used in later writers: Liv. xxvi. 41, 2; Florus, ii. 2, 14; Plin. Epp. i. 12, 8. adeo et . . . venire]* 'that I cannot be reached except by such a long and dangerous journey.'

7. *His litteris scriptis]* i.e. 882. This is the regular formula for introducing a postscript: cp. 874, 1.

*Antiocheam, quae in Syria est]* This

addition is made to distinguish it from other Antiochs, viz. Antioch in Pisidia, Antioch on the Maeander, &c.

*DC. circiter amissis]* So H Pal; but M and most mss give *centum*, instead of *DC*.

*Laodiceam]* a coast town of Syria, opposite the north-east promontory of Cyprus.

*Amanum]* The mountains which separated Cilicia from Syria.

*tenderet]* This less dignified word than *contendere* is found often in Sallust (Cat. 60, 5; Jug. 51, 4; 91, 4); also in Cic. Att. xvi. 5, 3 (770).

*iv. Non. Iun.]* This is the date of the postscript. The main portion of the



## DCCCXCII. D. BRUTUS TO CICERO (FAM. XI. 26).

CAMP ON MARCH TO CULARO; JUNE 3; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET.  
CIC. 63.

D. Brutus sollicitus de Antonii et Lepidi conspiratione legiones quam primum sibi et stipendium mitti vult.

D. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

Maximo meo dolore hoc solacio utor, quod intellegunt homines non sine causa me timuisse ista, quae acciderunt. Deliberent utrum traiciant legiones ex Africa necne, et ex Sardinia; et Brutum arcessant necne; et mihi stipendium dent an decernant. Ad senatum litteras misi. Crede mihi, nisi ista omnia ita fiunt, quem ad modum scribo, magnum nos omnes adituros periculum. Rogo te, videte quibus hominibus negotium detis, qui ad me legiones adducant. Et fide opus est et celeritate. 111. Non. Iun., ex castris.

letter to the senate and magistrates (882) was written on May 29.

*Pergae*] So the mss. There is no need to read *Perga* with Orelli and Wesenberg: cp. note to Att. iii. 5 fin. (60). It was a town in Pamphylia: cp. Acts of the Apostles, xiii. 13.

This is the last letter of D. Brutus to Cicero. He had apparently heard of the junction of Antony and Lepidus.

*ex Sardinia*] So the mss. We do not hear of any forces having been stationed in Sardinia. The most varied conjectures have been made: e.g. *et ex Macedonia Brutum arcessant* (Stroth); *et Caesarem retineant et Brutum arcessant* (Gronovius); *et ex Sardinia* . . . (Schütz). Mendelssohn is of opinion that there may be a serious corruption, under which are concealed the names of Asinius, Caesar, and Cassius; or that *Sardinia* et contains the name of some northerly portion of Macedonia. But there was probably some force, if even a small one, as garrison in Sardinia, and every available man was wanted at this crisis to defend the State. The position of the words would lend

support to this view, 'whether they will bring over the forces from Africa or not, and from Sardinia.'

*dent an decernant*] O. E. Schmidt ingeniously suggests that the difference between these words is that *dent* refers to ready money (cp. Caes. B. C. i. 6, 3, *pecunia uti ex aerario Pompeio detur*), *decernant* to money which was to be raised by taxes: cp. 899, 4; 915, 5. Mendelssohn suggests *denegant* for *dent*. Many inferior mss read *dent an <non> decernant*, 'and let them decide whether to give me money or not'—a poor conjecture. Klotz alters *decernant* to *demant*, a bad alteration, as there was no question, or indeed possibility, of taking money from Brutus, inasmuch as he had not as yet got any. A few days later than the date of this letter, on June 6, the senate did vote Brutus all the money available: cp. 894, 2.

*negotium . . . adducant*] 'you entrust the business of leading the forces to me.' Brutus fears that if the leaders were not trustworthy men, the soldiers would desert to Antony and Lepidus.

*Et fide opus est et celeritate*] 'loyal and rapid action is required.'

## DCCCXCIII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 21).

ROME; JUNE 4; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero respondet ad D. Bruti epistolam (877).

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Dei isti Segulio male faciant, homini nequissimo omnium, qui sunt, qui fuerunt, qui futuri sunt! Quid? tu illum tecum solum aut cum Caesare? qui neminem praetermiserit quicum loqui potuerit cui non eadem ista dixerit? Te tamen, mi Brute, sic amo, ut debeo, quod istud quidquid esset nugarum me scire voluisti. Signum enim magnum amoris dedisti. 2. Nam quod idem Segulius, veteranos queri, quod tu et Caesar in decemviris non essetis, utinam ne ego quidem essem! Quid enim molestius? Sed tamen, cum ego sensissem de iis, qui exercitus haberent, sententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui solent, reclamant; itaque excepti etiam estis me vehementer repugnante. Quocirca Segulium negligamus, qui res novas quaerit, non quo veterem comederit—nullam enim habuit,—sed hanc ipsam recentem [novam] devoravit. 3. Quod autem scribis te, quod pro te ipso non facias,

This letter is a detailed answer to 877, which should be compared all through.

1. *cum Caesare*] sc. *locutum esse*, supplied from *loqui* in the next clause: cp. Att. x. 15, 2 (401), *Quod suades, ut palam* (sc. *proficiscar*), *prorsus adsentior; itaque me profecturum puto*; xv. 21, 3 (753), *ne ante Sextus* (sc. *advenet*) *quem adventare aiunt*, quoted by Heidemann, p. 6.

2. *decemviris*] cp. note to 877, 1. *sensissem*] 'when I moved that a vote should be taken in reference to the generals in command of armies, the same set as usual cried out against it.'

*illi qui solent*] D. Brutus, as we know (cp. 854, 1), had many enemies in the senate.

*Quocirca . . . devoravit*] 'Wherefore let us pay no heed to Segulius, who is seeking after a change of fortunes; not that he has consumed his old fortune, for he never had one, but he has gulped down *this* windfall which he has recently got hold of,' i.e. he has swallowed the

idle tale about the dissatisfaction of the veterans, without examining what value it has; cp. Brut. 283, *Itaque eius* (i.e. the learned Calvus, who was too great a purist in his language, cp. Fam. xv. 21, 4, Ep. 450) *oratio nimia religione attenuata doctis et attente audientibus erat illustis: a multitudine autem et a foro, cui nata eloquentia, devorabatur*, i.e. gulped down without proper appreciation of the delicate flavour of his style. *Res novas* means 'political changes,' 'revolution'; but *res* also suggests 'fortune,' 'property,' and this gives Cicero a handle to jibe at the beggarliness of Segulius. In *hanc ipsam recentem*, sc. *rem*, the meaning is partly that of 'story,' 'gossip,' and Cicero says Segulius has greedily swallowed the idle tale; but the word *devorare* is further appropriate in that it also conveys the idea of wasteful consumption of property—cp. Att. i. 16, 10 (22)—and thus suits the previous clause, though this

id pro me, ut de me timeas aliquid, omni te, vir optime mihi que carissime, Brute, de me metu libero. Ego enim, quae provideri poterunt, non fallar in iis: quae cautionem non habebunt, de iis non ita valde laboro. Sim enim impudens, si plus postulem quam homini a rerum natura tribui potest. 4. Quod mihi praecipis, ut caveam ne timendo magis timere cogar, et sapienter et amicissime praecipis. Sed velim tibi persuadeas, cum te constet excellere hoc genere virtutis, ut numquam extimescas, numquam perturbare, me huic tuae virtuti proxime accedere. Quam ob rem nec metuum quidquam et cavebo omnia. Sed vide ne tua iam, mi Brute, culpa futura sit, si ego quidquam timeam: tuis enim opibus et consulatu tuo, etiam si timidi essemus, tamen omnem timorem abiiceremus, praesertim cum persuasum omnibus esset mihi que maxime, a te nos unice diligere. 5. Consiliis tuis, quae scribis de quattuor legionibus deque agris adsignandis ab utrisque vestrum, vehementer adsentior. Itaque cum quidam de collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurirent, disturbavi rem totamque vobis integram reservavi. Si quid erit occultius et, ut scribis, reconditum, meorum aliquem mittam, quo fidelius ad te litterae perferantur. Pridie Nonas Iunias.

idea is not prominent here. For *devorare*, used of language, cp. Plaut. Asin. iii. 3, 59, *mea dicta devorare*; Anl. iii. 6, 1, *nimum libenter edi sermonem tuum*; Shakespeare, Othello, i. 3, 150, 'and with a greedy ear devour up my discourse.' We have bracketed *novam*, which is probably a gloss on *recentem*.

3. *id pro me*] sc. *facere*, understood from *facias*: cp. Fam. xvi. 5, 2 (289), *poteris igitur et facias*. Lehmann (p. 105) adds *facere* after *facias*, comparing for the repetition Att. ii. 13, 2 (40); 886, 3. Cratander adds *facere* after *pro me*; yet cp. Heidemann, p. 61, who justly thinks that there is no need that *facere* should be inserted in the text.

*cautionem non habebunt*] 'will not admit of being guarded against.' In Off. i. 42, *res habet multas cautiones*, the phrase is somewhat different, 'the affair requires caution in many respects.'

4. *perturbare*] 'disquieted.' The wise

man of the Stoics was free from all fear and disquietude (*perturbationem*).

5. *de quattuor legionibus*] cp. 877, 3, *quattuor legionibus iis quibus agros dandos censuistis, video facultatem fore ex agris Silani et agro Campano*.

*ab utrisque vestrum*] cp. note to 877, 3.

*Itaque . . . reservavi*] 'Accordingly, when some of our colleagues had their mouths watering for the agrarian business, I quashed the proposal, and kept it entirely open for your decision.' By *collegis* Cicero means his colleagues among the *decemviri*, § 2. The commission had been appointed, and some of the commissioners wished to proceed to business at once. Cicero succeeded in quashing that proposal, and in suspending business, in accordance with the wishes of D. Brutus expressed in 887, 3.

*reconditum*] There is no need to add *magis* with Wesenberg before *reconditum*, on account of 877, 4.

## DCCCXCIV. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 24).

ROME; JUNE 6; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruto significat superiore sibi epistola timorem exemptum. Addit quid agendum ei sit et de pecunia decreta.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DESIG.

1. Narro tibi: antea subirascebar brevitati tuarum litterarum: nunc mihi loquax esse videor: te igitur imitabor. Quam multa quam paucis! te recte valere operamque dare ut cotidie melius, Lepidum commode sentire, tribus exercitibus quidvis nos oportere confidere. Si timidus essem, tamen ista epistola mihi omnem metum abstersisses. Sed, ut mones, frenum momordi: etenim, qui te incluso omnem spem habuerim in te, quid nunc putas? Cupio iam vigiliam meam, Brute, tibi tradere, sed ita, ut ne desim constantiae meae. 2. Quod scribis in Italia te moraturum, dum tibi litterae meae veniant, si per hostem licet, non erraris—multa enim Romae: sin adventu tuo bellum confici potest, nihil tibi sit antiquius. Pecunia expeditissima quae erat, tibi decreta est.

This letter is an answer to 878.

1. *Narro . . . videor*] Cicero, rallying Brutus for the shortness of his letters (cp. 903, 2; 905, 2), says that, whereas formerly he was angry with Brutus, and considered that he was in fault, now he perceives that it is he himself who is in fault, and has become garrulous.

*Quam multa . . . valere*] 'How much you have told, and in how few words! that you are getting on well, and are doing your best each day to become better': *te recte valere* is governed by *scripsisti* understood with the previous clause.

*Lepidum commode sentire*] The news of the treachery of Lepidus (May 29) had plainly not yet reached Rome. Pops Argenteus is about 500 miles from Rome, so that the news could not arrive in less than ten days, coming by land. With a good wind a ship could sail from Ostia to Narbonese Gaul in three days (Plin. II. N. xix. 4). We hear of the voyage being

completed in five days in Tac. Ann. xiv. 57.

*abstersisses*] cp. Fam. ix. 16, 9 (472), *velo enim abstergere animi tui metum*.

*frenum momordi*] cp. note to 878, 2.

*te incluso*] 'when you were besieged' (in Mutina).

*vigiliam*] 'my post as watchman, but without abandoning the firmness of my attitude.'

2. *multa enim Romae*] 'For much happens at Rome' (and thus it is well for you to be near the capital). For the ellipse of *accidunt* cp. 886, 3, *nihil tam praeter spem unquam*.

*nihil tibi sit antiquius*] We have inserted *tibi* with Wesenberg, who has shown (E. A. 39) that either the pronoun must be added, cp. Att. vii. 3, 2 (294); x. 8, 4 (392); xii. 5, 4 (467); Fam. xi. 29, 1 (762), or else *nihil antiquius habeo* (*existimo*) must be read.

*expeditissima*] 'most available': cp. note to 892.

Habes amantissimum tui Servium : nos non desumus. VIII. Idus Iunias.

## DCCCXCV. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 23).

CULARO ; JUNE 6 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus excusat se, quod Lepido crediderit : accepto de Lepidi et Antonii coniunctione nuntio, suas copias retraxisse significat : auxilium exercitus Caesariani postulat.

## PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. Numquam meherecules, mi Cicero, me paenitebit maxima pericula pro patria subire, dum, si quid acciderit mihi, a reprehensione temeritatis absim. Confiterer imprudentia me lapsum, si umquam Lepido ex animo credidissem. Credulitas enim error est magis quam culpa, et quidem in optimi cuiusque mentem facillime irrepit. Sed ego non hoc vitio paene sum deceptus : Lepidum enim pulere noram. Quid ergo est ? Pudor me, qui in bello maxime est periculosus, hunc casum coëgit subire. Nam, si uno loco essem, verebar ne cui obtrectatorum viderer et nimium pertinaciter Lepido offensus et mea patientia etiam alere bellum. 2. Itaque copias prope in conspectum Lepidi Antoniiue adduxi quadragintaque millium passuum spatio relicto consedi eo consilio, ut vel celeriter accedere vel salutariter recipere me possem. Ad-

*tui*] added by Wesenberg from Dresd.  
3.

*Servium*] i.e. Servius Sulpicius Galba : cp. 841.

1. *absim*] 'provided I am free from all blame on the score of rashness': cp. Att. iii. 15, 2 (73), *illum puto ab isto scelere afuisse*.

*optimi cuiusque*] cp. 861, 3, *ego non malus homo hoc suspicabar*. The whole sentence is a good example of the sententious remarks which characterise the style of Plancus : cp. 881, 1.

*Pudor*] 'scrupulous regard for honour.'  
*si uno loco essem*] 'if I remained where I was,' i.e. at the Isara. So the mss. For

a slightly different sense cp. 896, 4, *si uno loco legionem habuissem*. Some editors read *nisi*, 'if I did not come to the same place as Lepidus': yet cp. note to 870, 3. *et . . . bellum*] 'both to have maintained too persistently my grudge against Lepidus, and by my remissness to have even fostered the growth of the war.'

2. *salutariter*] 'without loss'—a slightly strange use of this rare adjective, which has a somewhat colloquial tone. Rhodius (p. 4, note 5) compares C. I. L. vi. 1527, 10, *salutariter latuisse*. In 916, 2, Plancus uses it again in a more natural sense, *nihil enim me non salutariter cogitare scio*, 'for I know that every plan of mine is of a wholesome nature.'



iunxi haec in loco eligendo, flumen oppositum ut haberem, in quo mora transitus esset: Vocontii sub manu ut essent, per quorum loca fideliter mihi pateret iter. Lepidus, desperato adventu meo, quem non medioeriter captabat, se cum Antonio coniunxit a. d. iv. Kal. Iunias, eodemque die ad me castra moverunt: viginti millia passuum cum abessent, res mihi nuntiata est. 3. Dedi operam deum benignitate, ut et eceleriter me reciperem et hic discessus nihil fugae simile haberet; non miles ullus, non eques, non quidquam impedimentorum amitteretur aut ab illis ferventibus latronibus interciperetur. Itaque pridie Nonas Iunias omnes copias Isaram traieci pontesque, quos feceram, interrupi, ut spatium ad colligendum se homines haberent et ego me interea cum collega coniungerem: quem triduo, cum has dabam litteras, exspectabam. 4. Laterensis nostri et fidem et animum singularem

*flumen*] The Verdon, a tributary of the Durance (Watson); or the Durance itself (Andr.).

*Vocontii sub manu ut essent*] 'that the Vocontii might be near at hand.' They lived in the district between the Isara and the Drumentia. The dictionaries do not give any other example of the colloquial *sub manu esse* used of place; for the phrase applied to time, 'on the spot,' cp. Sence. Ep. 71, 1, *consilium sub die nasci debet: et hoc quoque tardum est nimis: sub manu, quod aiunt, nascatur*. Cp. Suet. Oct. 49 and the Greek ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

*fideliter*] 'the road might be loyally kept open' (Watson).

*desperato adventu meo*] yet cp. 861, 2, *praesto mihi fuit stator eius cum litteris quibus, ne venirem, denuntiabat: se posse per se conficere negotium; interea ad Isaram exspectarem*.

*moverunt*] This is generally referred to Antony (cp. Gardthausen, Augustus, p. 117). Antony took the chief command, and he, with the main body of forces, advanced on May 29. Lepidus remained at Pons Argenteus, and wrote 885 from that place on May 30, unless, indeed, with Ruete, we read *iiii.* for *iii.* in 885, 2.

3. *ferventibus*] Andr. remarks that this word is generally applied, not to a person, but to his mind or some of its passions, e.g. *ira*. Caelius uses the adverb *ferenter* twice: Fam. viii. 8, 2 (223); 6, 5 (242). Some mss read *furantibus*.

*pridie Nonas*] It is about 150 miles from Cularo to Pons Argenteus. Plancus had halted 40 miles from the latter place: he accordingly had about 110 miles to retreat. He started on May 30, and marched the distance in six days, over eighteen miles a day.

*pontes*] Only one bridge is mentioned in 860, 3; 861, 2; 870, 4. For the plural used of a single bridge cp. Tac. Ann. ii. 8, and Furneaux's note.

*ut . . . haberent*] So H, except that it has the symbol for *et* above the line after *spatium*: see Adm. Crit. for M Pal. The construction is defended by Schmalz, ap. Reisig, iii. note 596 a. He compares, after Krause, Varro L. L. ix. 42, *ad discernendum vocis figuras*. If we compare 890, 5, *spatium confirmandi sese*, and recollect that *ad*, instead of the genitive, is a feature of the language of ordinary life, we shall not refuse to admit this rare construction in Plancus, however much we should object to it in Cicero: cp. Madvig, Opusc. Acad. i<sup>2</sup>. 308 ff. Wesenberg alters to *spatium colligendi se*, a reading which is grammatically, but not critically, satisfactory.

*collega*] D. Brutus: cp. note to 905, 1. *triduo eum . . . exspectabam*] 'I am expecting three days after the date of this letter': lit. 'on the date of this letter, I expect in three days.'

4. *Laterensis*] cp. note to 801, 3; Vel-leius speaks of him as *vir vita ac morte consentaneus*.

in rem publicam semper fatebor. Sed certe nimia eius indulgentia in Lepidum ad haec pericula perspicienda fecit eum minus sagacem. Qui quidem cum in fraudem se deductum videret, manus, quas iustus in Lepidi perniciem armasset, sibi adferre conatus est; in quo casu tamen interpellatus et adhuc vivit et dicitur victurus: sed tamen de hoc parum mihi certum est.

5. Magno cum dolore parricidarum elapsus sum iis: veniebant enim eodem furore in me, quo in patriam, incitati. Iracundias autem harum rerum recentes habebant, quod Lepidum castigare non destiteram, ut exstingeret bellum, quod colloquia facta improbabam, quod legatos fide Lepidi missos ad me in conspectum venire vetueram, quod C. Catium Vestinum, tribunum mil., missum ab Antonio ad eum cum litteris exceperam numeroque hostis habueram. In quo hanc capio voluptatem, quod certe, quo magis me petiverunt, tanto maiorem iis frustratio dolorem attulit.

6. Tu, mi Cicero, quod adhuc fecisti, idem praesta, ut vigilanter nervoseque nos, qui stamus in acie, subornes. Veniat Caesar cum copiis, quas habet firmissimas, aut, si ipsum aliqua res impedit, exercitus mittatur: cuius ipsius magnum periculum agitur. Quidquid aliquando futurum fuit in castris perditorum contra patriam, hoc

*in rem publicam*] The mss give *in re p.*, perhaps rightly. Rhodius (p. 13) compares Lentulus, 883, 2, *malus animus eorum in nostra salute*; and such usages as Fam. i. 8, 2 (119), *sensus in re p.*: cp. i. 9, 10 (153), and 882, 2.

*in fraudem se deductum*] 'that he was entrapped.'

*victurus*] He did not survive. As a reward for his patriotism, the senate voted him a public funeral, and a statue to be erected in his honour (Dio Cass. xlv. 51, 4).

5. *Iracundias*] For the plural cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 39 (30).

*harum*] Notice that this objective genitive refers to the considerations which follow his censure of Lepidus, &c.

*castigare*] 'because I did not cease to censure Lepidus, urging him to put an end to the war.'

*colloquia*] 'intercourse which had been set on foot' (between the soldiers of Antony and those of Lepidus).

*legatos fide Lepidi missos*] 'ambassadors of Antony sent under a safe conduct by Lepidus.' For *fides publica* cp. Sall.

Jug. 35, 7.

*C. Catium*] He would appear to have got a kind of recommendation from Lepidus; accordingly Planeus treated him as an enemy, and put him in prison. *Numeroque hostis habueram* is omitted by M. See Adn. Crit.

*exceperam*] 'intercepted': cp. Att. vii. 22, 1 (320). Mendelssohn suggests *exegeram*, 'drove out of the camp.'

*frustratio*] 'disappointment.'

6. *ut . . . subornes*] 'and with vigour and energy send supplies to us, who stand in the brunt of battle.' Cicero does not use *subornare* in this sense; it is found in a letter of Antony's, criticised in Phil. xiii. 32, *Apuleiana pecunia Brutum subornastis*.

*nervose*] cp. Off. iii. 106, where it is opposed to *remisse*, 'with laxity.'

*copiis*] The Legio Martia and the Fourth had remained with Octavian.

*eius . . . agitur*] This is parenthetical ('personally he runs considerable risk,' sc. from the plots of Antony).

*Quidquid . . . convenit*] 'All the desperadoes who were likely at any time to

omne iam convenit. Pro urbis vero salute cur non omnibus facultatibus, quas habemus, utamur? Quod si vos istie non defueritis, profecto, quod ad me attinet, omnibus rebus abunde rei publicae satis faciam. 7. Te quidem, mi Cicero, in dies meherecules habeo cariorem sollicitudinesque meas cotidie magis tua merita exacuunt, ne quid aut ex amore aut ex iudicio tuo perdam. Opto ut mihi liceat iam praesenti pietate meorum officiorum tua beneficia tibi facere iucundiora. VIII. Idus Iun. Cularone, ex finibus Allobrogum.

## DCCCXCVI. ASINIUS POLLIO TO CICERO (FAM. X. 32).

CORDUBA ; JUNE 8 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

C. Asinius Pollio de Balbi quaestoris sui flagitiis et de suo in rem publicam studio exponit.

### C. ASINIUS POLLIO CICERONI.

1. Balbus quaestor magna numerata pecunia, magno pondere auri, maiore argenti coacto de publicis exactionibus, ne stipendio

take the field against our country have met here,' i.e. in the camp of Antony and Lepidus (Watson). The fut. part. with *fui* signifies that something was likely to be or was contemplated at a past time, Madv. 342 a.

7. *Opto . . . iucundiora*] 'my prayer is that I may be soon allowed in person to increase, by the devotion of my services, the pleasure you feel in the kindnesses you have shown me.'

*Cularone*] The modern Grenoble: so Hirschfeld in C. I. L. xii. p. 273. Mr. Watson considers that the Gallic town of Cularo stood on the *right* bank of the Isara, ep. § 3, occupying the site of the modern St. Laurent, a suburb of Grenoble, which stands on the *left* bank. It would be quite natural, however, that Plancus, even though encamped across the river, should date his letter from the large town in the immediate vicinity.

1. *Balbus quaestor*] This Balbus was nephew of the Balbus defended by Cicero. He received the citizenship at the same

time as his uncle (Plin. II. N. v. 36). He was employed as an intermediary between Caesar and the consul Lentulus in 705 (49): ep. Att. viii. 9, 4 (340); 15, 3 (346); ix. 6, 1 (360). Just before the Battle of Pharsalia, with incredible rashness (*excedente humanam fidem temeritate*, Vell. ii. 51, 3), he went from the camp of Caesar to that of Pompey, and debated with the proconsul Lentulus concerning the price for which the latter would be willing to play the traitor, and desert to Caesar. It would appear that Balbus had a drama composed on his adventures during this diplomatic mission (§ 3). *Toujours l'audace* seems to have been the motto of Balbus, and he obtained thereby no insignificant reward, inasmuch as he was consul suffectus in 722 (32), and triumphed over Africa in 735 (19): ep. Vell. l. c. and Willems, Le Sénat, i. 608. *numerata pecunia*] 'ready money,' as often in Plautus.

*pondere*] i.e. uncoined metal, 'bullion.'

*exactionibus*] 'revenues,' 'taxes.'

quidem militibus reddito duxit se a Gadibus et triduum tempestate retentus ad Calpem Kal. Iuniis traiecit sese in regnum Bogudis, plane bene peculiatu. His rumoribus utrum Gades referatur an Romam—ad singulos enim nuntios turpissime consilia mutat—nondum scio. 2. Sed praeter furta et rapinas et virgis caesos socios haec quoque fecit,—ut ipse gloriari solet, eadem quae C. Caesar—: ludis, quos Gadibus fecit, Herennium Gallum histrionem, summo ludorum die anulo aureo donatum, in xiv. sessum deduxit:—tot enim fecerat ordines equestris loci,—: quattuorviratum sibi prorogavit: comitia biennii biduo habuit, hoc

*duxit se a Gadibus*] Cicero would probably have said *se subduxit de*: cp. Q. Fr. iii. 4, 1 (152). The preposition with names of towns is not infrequent from the time of the early Empire; it occurs again in Pollio, 890, 3.

*Calpem*] Gibraltar. We need not read *Calpen*. The nominative is *Culpes* in Mela, ii. 95, and Κάπης in Philostratus (Apoll. v. 1): cp. *Culpe relicta*, Juv. xiv. 278, where see the quotations from Priscian and Bentley cited by Mayor.

*traiecit sese in regnum*] cp. D. Brutus, 847, 2; 869, 4; Caesar, B. C. iii. 112, 9. Cicero does not use the phrase.

*Bogudis*] Bogudes, or Bogus, King of Mauretania, was a partisan of Caesar's.

*plane bene peculiatu*] 'certainly with a pretty penny in his pocket': cp. Plaut. Pers. ii. 2, 10, *atque ob istanc rem ego aliquid te peculiatu*, 'I'll put a penny in your pocket,' 'I'll give you a tip.'

*His rumoribus*] 'according to reports up to the present,' abl. of cause.

2. *ludis*] cp. § 3. For the abl. cp. Att. ii. 19, 3 (46), *gladiatoribus*, 'at the gladiatorial shows'; Planc. 66, *has orationes ego scripsi ludis et feriis*.

*summo ludorum die*] 'on the last day of the games': cp. Plaut. Pers. i. 1, 25; Asin. iii. 1, 31; Cael. Fam. viii. 12, 3 (279). Cicero says, Fam. vii. 1, 3 (127), *extremus elephantorum dies fuit*.

*anulo aureo donatum*] i.e. made him a knight, which was done by giving him a gold ring: cp. Dict. Antiq. i<sup>3</sup>. 132, s. v. JUS ANULI AUREI.

*in xiv. sessum deduxit*] 'brought him to a seat in the equestrian rows.' After xiv. understand *ordinibus*. Cicero adds *ordinibus*, Att. xv. 3, 2 (733); Phil. ii. 44; but other writers omit it. Schmalz (Pollio, p. 32) quotes Petron. 126, 7,

*usque ab orchestra quattuordecim transilit et in extrema plebe quaerit quod diligat*; Senec. Epp. 44, 2, *at mehercules multis quattuordecim sunt clausi*. *Sessum* is the supine: cp. Plaut. Poen. Prol. 19, 20, *Neu designator praeter os obambulet Neu sessum ducat dum histrio in scena siet*. It is noticeable that the influence of the '*vanus Otho qui nos distinxit*' (Juv. iii. 159) had spread to the ends of the earth, and that there were separate divisions for the different ranks of society, even at the shows in Gades.

*Quattuorviratum*] cp. note to Att. ii. 6, 1 (33). Gades, as being a *municipium*, had *quattuorviri* as its chief magistrates (Marquardt i. 152). This prolongation of his office by Balbus was in imitation of Caesar. Caesar may be said to have prolonged his own second dictatorship for over a year, though strictly the dictatorship was granted to him for an indefinite period: cp. C. I. L. i. 451–453. The constant practice of holding the consulship or praetorship for several years in succession (as was done by Marius, Cinna, Carbo, Lepidus, Caesar) was a revolutionary feature of the last century of the republic, and virtually marked the end of the free state and introduction of the monarchy. Formally, indeed, these were repetitions, rather than prorogations of the magistracies; but none the less they were essentially violations of a cardinal feature of the free state, that the principal magistracies should be annual. It is no wonder then that this 'Gaditanian municipal-Caesar' should imitate his model in the most vital feature of his policy: cp. Mommsen, St. R. i<sup>2</sup>. 615, note 1.

*comitia biennii*] Balbus held the elections, and appointed the magistrates for the two following years, as Caesar had



est renuntiavit, quos ei visum est: exsules reduxit, non horum temporum, sed illorum, quibus a seditiosis senatus trucidatus aut expulsus est, Sex. Varo proconsule. 3. Illa vero iam ne Caesaris quidem exemplo: quod ludis praetextam de suo itinere ad L. Lentulum procos. sollicitandum posuit, et quidem, cum ageretur, flevit memoria rerum gestarum commotus; gladiatoribus autem Fadium quemdam, militem Pompeianum, quia, cum depressus in ludum his gratis depugnasset, auctorare sese nolebat et ad populum confugerat, primum Gallos equites immisit in populum—coniecti enim lapides sunt in eum, cum abriperetur Fadius,—deinde abstractum defodit in ludo et vivum combussit, cum quidem pransus, nudis pedibus, tunica soluta, manibus ad tergum reiectis, inambularet et illi misero quiritanti: C. R. NATUS SUM, responde-

appointed the magistrates for three years in advance just before his assassination.

*exsules reduxit*] Caesar too had recalled all those condemned to exile by the laws of Pompey, except Milo: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 1, 4.

*senatus*] Strictly the senators in a municipal town were called *decuriones*.

*Sex. Varo proconsule*] Probably Sextus Quintilius Varus, praetor in 697 (57), and a supporter of Cicero (Post red. in Sen. 23). He was proconsul of Further Spain in the following year.

3. *Illā vero*] In this section we have adopted the punctuation of Wesenberg.

*praetextam*] The *fabula praetexta*, or *praetextata*, was a drama, the subject of which was taken from Roman history. For the form *praetexta*, cp. Hor. A. P. 288, *vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas*. According to the analogy of *palliata* and *togata*, the form ought to be *praetextata*, and such is the regular form in the grammarians: see Wilkins on Hor. l. c. For *fabulae praetextatae* generally cp. Teuffel, § 14.

*ad L. Lentulum*] cp. § 1.

*eum . . . ludum*] 'when compelled to join the gladiator's school he had twice fought, and killed his adversary'; such appears to be the force of *de*.

*auctorare*] 'to bind himself over to be a gladiator': cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 7, 58, *Quid refert uri virgis ferroque necari Auctoratus eas*. Freeman who engaged themselves as gladiators (*se auctorabant*) were sworn to obedience, Petron. 117, *in verba Eumolpi sacramentum iuravimus uri, vinciri, ver-*

*berari, ferroque necari et quidquid aliud Eumolpus iussisset: tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque religiosissime addicimus*, quoted by Mayor on Juv. xi. 8 (*regia verba lanistae*). For the reading see Adn. Crit.

*primum . . . Fadius*] Note how during this clause Pollio forgets the pendent accusative, *Fadium quemdam*, but afterwards takes it up again.

*deinde . . . combussit*] 'then, after having carried him away, he buried him in the gladiatorial school, and burned him alive.' This was a Carthaginian punishment: cp. Gell. iii. 14, 19, *M. Cato de Carthaginensibus ita scripsit 'Homines defoderunt in terram dimidiatos, ignemque circumposuerunt. Ita interfecerunt.'* Senec. De Ira, iii. 3, 6, *circumdatis defossis corporibus ignes*.

*nudis pedibus*] i.e. without his *calcei* on, in undress.

*manibus ad tergum reiectis*] Hor. Od. iii. 5, 21, uses the dat. *retorta tergo brachia libero*.

*quiritanti*] A strengthened and frequentative form from the same root as *queri* (Vanicek 180, Fick i. 555). From it is derived the Eng. *cry*, Ital. *gridare*. It was probably a word belonging to the language of ordinary life. The assertion of Varro, L. L. v. 7, *quiritare dicitur is qui Quiritium fidem clamans implorat*, is now exploded. Some scholars (e.g. Baiter and Kleyn) think that *C. R. natus sum* (= *Civis Romanus natus sum*), is a gloss suggested by the Varronian derivation; but the answer of Balbus shows



ret: 'Abi nunc, populum fidem implora.' Bestiis vero cives Romanos, in iis circulatorem quemdam auctionum, notissimum hominem Hispali, quia deformis erat, obiecit. Cum huiusce modi portento res mihi fuit. Sed de illo plura eorum. 4. Nunc, quod praestat, quid me velitis facere constituite. Tres legiones firmas habeo, quarum unam, duodetricesimam, cum ad se initio belli accessisset Antonius hac pollicitatione, quo die in castra venisset, denarios quingenos singulis militibus daturum, in victoria vero eadem praemia, quae suis legionibus—quorum quis ullam finem aut modum futurum putabit?—incitatissimam retinui, aegre meherecules: nec retinuissem, si uno loco habuissem, utpote cum singulae quaedam cohortes seditionem fecerint. Reliquas quoque legiones non destitit litteris atque infinitis pollicitationibus incitare. Nec vero minus Lepidus ursit me et suis et Antonii litteris, ut legionem tricesimam mitterem sibi. 5. Itaque quem exercitum neque vendere ullis praemiis volui nec eorum periculorum metu, quae victoribus illis portendebantur, deminuere, debetis existimare retentum et conservatum rei publicae esse, atque ita credere, quodcumque imperassetis, facturum fuisse, si quod iussistis feci. Nam et provinciam in otio et exercitum in mea potestate

that the words are required. A Roman citizen could not be legally condemned to death, except by the judgment of the people.

*circulatorem quemdam auctionum*] 'an itinerant pedlar, who attended auctions, a well-known character at Seville': cp. *circumforaneus pharmacopola* in Cluent. 40.

4. *Nunc quod praestat*] 'Now for something more important.' C. F. W. Müller reads *quod restat*, perhaps rightly.

*pollicitatione*] That Cicero avoided this word Schmalz (p. 35) infers from Fam. iv. 13, 1 (483), *id quoque deficiebat me, in quo debebat esse aut promissio auxilii alicuius aut consolatio doloris tui. Quod pollicerer non erat.*

*denarios quingenos*] about £17.

*daturum*] For the omission of the subject cp. § 5 below; Fam. xvi. 5, 1 (289), *is omnia pollicitus est quae tibi opus essent: facturum puto*, cp. v. 1, 1 (14); viii. 3, 1 (197).

*in victoria*] 'when the victory is won': cp. Fam. iv. 9, 2 (487), *Caesarem magis communem censemus in victoria futurum fuisse quam incertis in rebus fuisse?* xi. 28,

2 (785); 914, 8; Publilius Syrus (Ribb. 64), *Bis vincit qui se vincit in victoria.*

*incitatissimam*] 'though greatly excited.'

*si uno loco habuissem*] cp. 895, 1, 'and I should not have been able to hold them in check, if I had had them united together in one place, seeing that some individual cohorts became mutinous.'

*seditionem fecerint*] cp. Plaut. Merc. i. 1, 14, *Perii, seditionem facit lien, occupat praecordia*. Cicero would use the passive *seditione facta*, but not the active (Schmalz, p. 47).

*incitare*] 'to work upon them,' 'to stir them up.'

*ursit*] For this form of the perf. cp. Q. Fr. iii. 9, 1 (160); Lucr. ii. 197.

*legionem tricesimam*] cp. 824, 5.

5. *retentum . . . rei p.*] 'maintained safe for the state.'

*atque . . . feci*] 'and you ought to believe that I should have done whatever you commanded, seeing that I have done what you have ordered.' For *si* Gronovius reads *sicut*, which slightly simplifies the sentence, but is not necessary.

tenui: finibus meae provinciae nusquam excessi: militem non modo legionarium, sed ne auxiliarium quidem ullum quoquam misi, et, si quos equites decedentes nactus sum, supplicio adfecit. Quarum rerum fructum satis magnum re publica salva tulisse me putabo. Sed, res publica si me satis novisset et maior pars senatus, maiores ex me fructus tulisset. Epistolam, quam Balbo, cum etiam nunc in provincia esset, scripsi, legendam tibi misi: etiam praetextam, si voles legere, Gallum Cornelium, familiarem meum, poscito. VI. Idus Iunias, Corduba.

## DCCCXCVII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 10).

ROME; EARLY IN JUNE; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero de bello Mutinensi, de Octaviano omnique de re p. exponit, Brutumque urget ut ex senatus auctoritate celeriter cum exercitu in Italiam veniat, Cassiumque ut idem faciat hortetur.

### CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Nullas adhuc a te litteras habebamus, ne famam quidem, quae declararet te cognita senatus auctoritate in Italiam adducere

*auxiliarium*] For this form, instead of *auxiliarem*, cp. Bibulus, Fam. ii. 17, 7 (272); Cassius, xii. 13, 4 (901); Cicero, Prov. Cons. 15.

*decedentes*] 'trying to desert.' This is the only passage in which *decedere* is found in the sense of deserting (Schmalz, p. 41).

*re p. salva*] 'if the state is preserved.'

*Sed . . . tulisset*] Pollio grumbles more than once because the home government did not take more notice of him: cp. 824, 4, 6; 890, 1.

*Gallum Cornelium*] The celebrated poet, friend of Vergil and Ovid: cp. 824, 6.

This letter appears to have been written before the news of the union of Lepidus and Antony had become known, that is before June 9th. In 909 Cicero first mentions to Brutus that act of treachery. Again, what Cicero says about the vacil-

lation of Lepidus (§ 2) was probably caused by the receipt of 861 from Plan-  
cus, which was written May 13, and arrived in Rome towards the end of the month. These considerations lead us to place this letter in the early days of June.

1. *senatus auctoritate*] During the latter half of May it must have become very plain to the Optimates that the war in North Italy was far from finished; and they, accordingly, turned their eyes to Brutus, and passed an *auctoritas*, urging him to return. It is true that this *auctoritas* is not mentioned elsewhere; but there is every likelihood that it was passed, and it may readily have been forgotten, as Brutus did not obey it. Besides, it is quite certain that there was talk in political circles about this time as to the advisability of directing Brutus to return: cp. 886, 2, *de Bruto areessendo . . . valde tibi adseutor*; D. Brutus, 892, *Deliberent Brutum areessant necne*.

exercitum, quod ut faceres idque maturares, magno opere desiderabat res publica, ingravescit enim in dies intestinum malum nec externis hostibus magis quam domesticis laboramus, qui erant omnino ab initio belli, sed facilius frangebantur: erectior senatus erat non sententiis solum nostris, sed etiam cohortationibus excitatus; erat in senatu satis vehemens et acer Pansa cum in ceteros huius generis, tum maxime in socerum, cui consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum deficit. 2. Bellum ad Mutinam ita gerebatur, nihil ut in Caesare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio; huius belli fortuna,

ut in secundis, fluxa, ut in adversis, bona:

erat victrix res publica caesis Antonii copiis, ipso expulso; Bruti deinde ita multa peccata, ut quodam modo victoria excideret e manibus: perterritos, inermes, saucios non sunt nostri duces persecuti datumque Lepido tempus est, in quo levitatem eius saepe perspectam maioribus in malis experiremur. Sunt exercitus boni, sed rudes Bruti et Planci, sunt fidelissima et maxima auxilia Gallorum. 3. Sed Caesarem meis consiliis adhuc gubernatum, praeclara ipsum indole admirabilique constantia improbissimis

*ut faceres . . . desiderabat*] It is a mere accident that this construction is found only once elsewhere in Cicero (Off. ii. 39); for *opto ut* is common.

*externis . . . laboramus*] The metaphor in *ingravescit intestinum malum* is kept up, and *hostibus* is used as if *hostes* were the disease.

*erectior*] 'took a firmer stand.'

*socerum*] Calenus: cp. Phil. viii. 19.

*cui consuli*] Cicero inserts the word *consuli*, as otherwise *cui* would be referred to *socerum*. On Cicero's opinion of the consuls cp. 836, 1.

2. *nonnulla in Hirtio*] Cicero is referring to the whole campaign in North Italy, rather than specially to the two engagements, and there is no doubt that there was a certain amount of dilatoriness shown by the consuls: cp. 836, 1; Dio Cass. xli. 35, 6, *τόν τε πόλεμον μήτε σπουδῇ μήτε παραχρήμα τῇ τοῦ χειμῶνος προφάσει ποιοιμένους (τοὺς ὑπάτους) ᾤσθετο*. It is added by Wesenberg.

*ut in secundis . . . bona*] For this

iambic trimeter cp. Att. iv. 1, 8 (90).

*Bruti . . . multa peccata*] This refers especially to his delay after being released from Mutina, whereby he allowed Antony to get some days' start on his flight into Gaul. Also, perhaps, Cicero considered that D. Brutus showed want of tact and judgment in not acting in friendly concert with Octavian.

*Gallorum*] cp. 861, 5; the Allobroges appear to have been especially devoted, 900, 4.

3. *gubernatum*] As it is allowable to say (Phil. x. 19) *mentes huius ordinis gubernantur*, so we can say *hic ordo* or *Caesar gubernatur*: cp. Flacc. 63, *quae (civitas) sic optimatum consiliis gubernatur*. Meyer (p. 121) draws too fine a distinction between the man and his mind when he supposes that *Caesar gubernatur* cannot be allowed, because *gubernare* is not found elsewhere in Cicero with a strictly personal object; but it is found in good writers, cp. Ter. Heeyr. iii. 1, 31, *quia enim qui eos gubernat animus, infirmum gerunt*.

litteris quidam fallacibusque interpretibus ac nuntiis impulerunt in spem certissimam consulatus, quod simul atque sensi, neque ego illum absentem litteris monere destiti nec accusare praesentes eius necessarios, qui eius cupiditati suffragari videbantur, nec in senatu sceleratissimorum consiliorum fontes aperire dubitavi, nec vero ulla in re memini aut senatum meliorem aut magistratus; numquam enim in honore extraordinario potentis hominis vel potentissimi potius—quandoquidem potentia iam in vi posita est et armis—accidit, ut nemo tribunus plebis, nemo alio in magistratu, nemo privatus auctor existeret. Sed in hac constantia atque virtute erat tamen sollicita civitas: illudimur enim, Brute, tum militum deliciis, tum imperatoris insolentia: tantum quisque se in re publica posse postulat, quantum habet virium; non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet, non iudicium, non existimatio civium, non posteritatis verecundia. 4. Haec ego multo ante prospiciens fugiebam ex Italia tum, cum me vestrorum edictorum fama revocavit, incitavisti vero tu me, Brute, Veliae; quamquam enim dolebam in eam me urbem ire, quam tu fugeres, qui eam liberavisses, quod mihi quoque quondam acciderat periculo

*interpretibus*] 'negotiators.'  
*impulerunt in spem*] cp. Fam. i. 9, 12 (153), *in hanc mentem impellere*; Mil. 89.

*ulla in re*] Meyer (p. 68), after Drumann (i. 331 ff.), thinks that this must refer to the occasion on which 400 of Octavian's soldiers marched to Rome, and demanded the consulship for him (Dio Cass. xlv. 42-43); and as Meyer also holds that Plancus must be referring to the same event in 916, 6 (written July 28), and as news would take a fortnight to reach the Isara from Rome, he fixes July 13 or 14 as the date of that demand. But matters had not come to such a crisis so early as July. The reference rather is to one of the many attempts which, during these months, Octavian would appear to have made to obtain the consulship: cp. Dio Cass. xlv. 41, 3, *ὅπῃρ πού* (i.e. the consulship) *τὰ μάλιστα ἐγλίχeto*.

*nemo alio in magistratu*] We have ventured to add *<in>* (which might easily have fallen out before *in*), as we do not know of any parallel to such an ablative of quality as *nemo alio magistratu*.

*auctor*] Translate 'to propose it.'

*militum deliciis*] 'by the supercilious demands': cp. Att. i. 17, 9 (23), *Ecece aliae deliciae equitum vix ferendae*. On the whole sentence, from *Illudimur* down to *verecundia*, Cobet, who is no mean judge of Latin style, exclaims, 'Quis non in his verbis stilum et ubertatem Tullianam agnoscit?'

4. *Haec*] This refers to the whole deplorable state of affairs described in § 3.

*edictorum fama*] 'the renown obtained by your manifestoes.' The edicts did not fall flat, but were received with enthusiasm. The two documents are—(1) that referred to in Fam. xi. 3, 1 (782), and Phil. i. 8, which Cicero read at Leucopetra about the 7th of August: cp. Att. xvi. 7, 1 (783); and (2) after Antony's reply the manifesto (viz. 782) which was issued as a rejoinder to this reply, and read by Cicero on August 17 (783, 7).

*incitavisti . . . liberavisses*] cp. Phil. i. 9, *Atque ego eeleriter Veliam devertex Brutum vidi; quanto meo dolore, non dico. Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem me audere reverti, ex qua Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset.*



simili, casu tristiore, perrexi tamen Romamque perveni nulloque praesidio quatefeci Antonium contraque eius arma nefanda praesidia, quae oblata sunt Caesaris, consilio et auctoritate firmavi: qui si steterit fide mihi paruerit, satis videmur habituri praesidii; sin autem impiorum consilia plus valuerint quam nostra aut imbecillitas aetatis non potuerit gravitatem rerum sustinere, spes omnis est in te. Quam ob rem advola, obsecro, atque eam rem publicam, quam virtute atque animi magnitudine magis quam eventis rerum liberavisti, exitu libera: omnis omnium concursus ad te futurus est. 5. Hortare idem per litteras Cassium: spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Firmos omnino et duces habemus ab occidente et exercitus; hoc adolescentis praesidium equidem adhuc firmum esse confido, sed ita multi labefactant, ut, ne moveatur, interdum extimescam. Habes totum rei publicae statum, qui quidem tum erat, cum has litteras dabam: velim deinceps meliora sint: sin aliter fuerit—quod di omen avertant!—rei publicae vicem dolebo, quae immortalis esse debebat, mihi quidem quantum reliqui est?

*quatefeci*] This is a ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, like so many other words in Cicero's Letters: e.g. *adsessio*, *salaco*, *combibo*. It is legitimately formed: cp. *expergefacio*, *labefacio*, *tremefacio*. Meyer is probably right in supposing that it has a slightly vulgar tone about it, 'I made Antony shake in his shoes.'

*si steterit fide*] We read *fide* for *idem* with Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. xxix. 195). No definite parallel can be got for *stare idem*: cp. Meyer, 122, 123. Cicero would have said *idem fueris*.

*exitu*] 'by a (successful) issue'; 'effectively.' *Exitus* is often used in this sense in Livy, e.g. xxxii. 40, 3, *sine exitu*, 'without (successful) result.' Somewhat similar is 833, 3, *ut quae rei p. bonisque omnibus polliceremur, exitu praestaremus*. Accordingly, there is no necessity to have recourse to emendation, either inserting *felici* with Kayser, or altering to *exitio* with Becher, or to *exereitu* with Studemund; though for the latter may be compared 902, 3, *te tuumque exercitum expectamus sine quo . . . vix satis liberi videmur fore*, and *exitus* and

*exercitus* are often confused by copyists: cp. Drakenborch on Livy, v. 26, 7; xxii. 13, 5.

5. in *vestrorum castrorum principiis*] 'in the head-quarters of your camp.' This was the public place in the camp before the tents of the tribunes: cp. Diet. Antiq. i<sup>3</sup>. 374 a. The word is used in this sense by Nepos, Eum. 7, 2, a contemporary of Cicero. For the substance of the sentence cp. 904, 2.

*ne moveatur*] 'lest it should be moved from its firm base.' We should have expected *moveatur de statu* or *loco*; but as Horace (Sat. i. 6, 20) can say *movere* for *movere de senatu*, so Cicero may be accorded the privilege here of omitting an ordinary adjunct: cp. Psalm 125, 1, 'Mount Zion which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever.'

*totum rei p. statum*] cp. 902, 3, *de tota re p. plura scribam*.

*rei p. vicem dolebo*] cp. Att. iv. 6, 1 (110), *ipsius vicem minime dolemus*; 792, 3, *tuam vicem saepe doleo*.

*mihi quidem . . . est?*] 'as for myself—ah! how little remains?'



## DCCCXCVIII. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 8).

ROME; AFTER JUNE 8; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero renovatum a Lepido bellum esse queritur et C. Cassium ad liberandam rem publicam hortatur.

## CICERO CASSIO S.

1. Scelus adfinis tui Lepidi summamque levitatem et inconstantiam ex actis, quae ad te mitti certo scio, cognosse te arbitror. Itaque nos confecto bello, ut arbitrabamur, renovatum bellum gerimus, spemque omnem in D. Bruto et Planco habemus: si verum quaeris, in te et in meo Bruto non solum ad praesens perfugium, si, quod nolim, adversi quid acciderit, sed etiam ad confirmationem perpetuae libertatis. 2. Nos hic de Dolabella audiebamus quae vellemus, sed certos auctores non habebamus. Te quidem magnum hominem et praesenti iudicio et reliqui temporis expectatione scito esse. Hoc tibi proposito fac ut ad summa contendas. Nihil est tantum quod non populus Romanus a te perfici atque obtineri posse iudicet. Vale.

The news of the treason of Lepidus cannot have reached Rome by land much earlier than June 9 (cp. note to 894, 1).

1. *adfinis*] cp. note to 790, 2.

*summamque . . . inconstantiam*] 'and the grievous want of principle and firmness which he has shown': cp. 839, 1, which proves that this character of Lepidus was known before his treason.

*ex actis*] 'from the Public Journal.' For the *Acta* cp. Prof. A. S. Wilkins, in *Dict. Antiq.* i<sup>3</sup>. p. 12.

*si verum quaeris*] Possibly *sed* (*s*;) may have fallen out before *si*. 'We are resting our hopes on D. Brutus and Planco; but, to tell you the truth, our real refuge is in you and my friend Brutus.'

*in meo Bruto*] Gronovius alters to

*M(arco) Bruto*, as he considers that the contrast with D. Brutus requires to be marked. This alteration is possible, but not necessary; for his being mentioned in connexion with Cassius shows clearly which Brutus is meant.

*non solum . . . libertatis*] 'not only to serve as refuge for the immediate crisis if (what I deprecate) anything untoward should happen, but also to establish a freedom that will endure for all time.'

2. *Te quidem . . . contendas*] 'Let me tell you that you are a great man, both in the esteem which you now enjoy, and in the hopes entertained about your future. With this consideration clearly before you, aim high.'

*obtinere*] 'sustained.'

## DCCCXCIX. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 30).

ROME; AFTER JUNE 8; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero silentium litterarum, quod non esset nisi litigantium commendationibus interpellatum, molestis occupationibus suis excusat amoreque suum summum amico significat: deinde de bello renovato scribit, tum de angustiis pecuniae publicae propter sumptum, quem in rem militarem postularat Cornificius: de Dionysio, de Luccio, de Calvisii legatis.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO S.

1. Itane? praeter litigatores nemo ad te meas litteras? Multae istae quidem: tu enim perfecisti ut nemo sine litteris meis tibi se commendatum putaret: sed quis umquam tuorum mihi dixit esse cui darem quin dederim? aut quid mihi iucundius quam, cum coram tecum loqui non possim, aut scribere ad te aut tuas legere litteras? Illud magis mihi solet esse molestum, tantis me impediri occupationibus, ut ad te scribendi meo arbitrato facultas nulla detur. Non enim te epistolis, sed voluminibus lacesserem, quibus quidem me a te provocari oportebat. Quamvis enim occupatus sis, otii tamen plus habes, aut, si ne tu quidem vacas, noli impudens esse nec mihi molestiam exhibere et a me litteras crebriores, cum tu mihi raro mittas, flagitare. 2. Nam cum antea distinebar maximis occupationibus, propterea quod omnibus curis *rem publicam* mihi tuendam putabam, tum hoc tempore multo distineor vehementius. Ut enim gravius aegrotant ii, qui cum levati morbo viderentur, in eum de integro inciderunt, sic vehementius nos

This letter was probably written about the same time as 898: see introd. to that letter, and note to § 2 of this one.

1. *litigatores*] 'those who have law-suits,' and, accordingly, did not fail to present their letters of introduction. For ellipse of *dedit* cp. Att. xii. 38, 1 (581); Fam. xv. 16, 1 (531).

*lacesserem*] 'assail.'

*provocari*] 'though it is by volumes, indeed, that I should have been challenged (to make reprisals).' For *provocari* with abl. cp. Off. i. 48.

*aut . . . vacas*] 'or if you too have

no leisure, do not be importunate, and keep troubling me, and demand of me more frequent letters, when you write to me so seldom.' The kindly tone of the letter generally leads one to suppose that this is, in some measure, a simulation of anger. For *ne . . . quidem* see Reid on Acad. i. 5.

2. *in eum de integro inciderunt*] 'have a relapse.' The usual word for 'relapse' is *recidere*: cp. Att. xii. 21, 5 (557), and *febres recidivae* is the technical term for 'recurrent fevers.'

*vehementius*] 'acutely.'

laboramus, qui profligato bello ac paene sublato renovatum bellum gerere conamur. Sed haec haecenus. 3. Tu tibi, mi Cornifici, fac ut persuadeas non esse me tam imbecillo animo, ne dicam inhumano, ut a te vinci possim aut officiis aut amore. Non dubitabam equidem, verum tamen multo mihi notiozem amorem tuum effecit Chaerippus. O hominem semper illum quidem mihi aptum, nunc vero etiam suavem! Vultus meherecule tuos mihi expressit omnes, non solum animum ac verba pertulit. Itaque noli vereri, ne tibi suscensuerim, quod eodem exemplo ad me, quo ad ceteros. Requisivi equidem proprias ad me unum a te litteras, sed neque vehementer et amanter. 4. De sumptu, quem te in rem militarem facere et fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod et orbus *est* senatus consulibus amissis et incredibiles angustiae pecuniae publicae, quae conquiritur undique, ut optime meritis militibus promissa solvantur, quod quidem fieri sine tributo posse non arbitror. 5. De Attio Dionysio nihil puto esse, quoniam mihi nihil dixit Tratorius. De P. Luceio nihil

*profligato . . . sublato*] cp. 898, 1.

3. *non esse me*] 'that I am far from being so weak, not to say unfeeling, as to allow myself to be surpassed by you in affection or service.'

*Chaerippus*] One of the suite of Q. Cicero in Asia: cp. Q. Fr. i. 1, 14 (30); Att. iv. 7 (111); v. 4, 2 (187). He was now with Cornificius in Africa: cp. 813 fin.

*O hominem*] 'What a man! he always pleased me, but now quite charms me.'

*expressit*] 'reproduced.'

*ad me*] For the ellipse of *scripsisti* cp. Att. xiii. 40, 1 (660), and often: cp. § 7 below, and Heidemann, p. 67.

*sed neque vehementer et amanter*] 'but without insistence and with affection.'

4. *orbus est*] 'is orphaned.' We have added *est* with Wesenberg.

*angustiae*] 'scarcity.' The expressive language of the Stock Exchange speaks of the 'tightness' of money.

*optime meritis militibus*] These were the four legions which Octavian now commanded, and which had deserted from Antony: cp. 877, 3.

*tributo*] 'property tax.' After 587 (167) a *tributum* was never imposed during the time of the Republic, though during the Triumvirate at the end of this year, 711 (43), some very heavy taxes were imposed

on the rich, both men and women: cp. Appian iv., B. C. 5, 32, 34. Dio Cassius, indeed, talks of a reimposition of taxes formerly abolished (xlvi. 16, τὸ τῶν τελῶν τῶν πρότερον καταλυθέντων τότε δ' αὖθις ἐπαναχθέντων); but as the tax was imposed without any regard to the Servian census, and as the whole proceeding was capricious, violent, and arbitrary, we cannot regard the tax referred to by Dio as anything more than a *tributum temerarium* (cp. Festus 364). See Lange, R. A. i<sup>3</sup>. 546; Marquardt ii<sup>2</sup>. 178, where fuller details can be found.

5. *De Attio Dionysio*] cp. 817, 3. For Tratorius cp. 792, 4.

*De P. Luceio*] cp. 851, 6. It is difficult to be sure about the interpretation of this affair. It would appear that Luceius was a debtor of some bankrupt (probably now deceased) whose property was being sold. Gaius (iii. 79) gives the following rules about bankrupt sales (*bonorum venditio*):—In the case of the sale of a bankrupt's estate an order issued from the praetor, and the estate was possessed and advertised, for thirty days if the bankrupt was alive, for fifteen if he was dead. After that period a second order issued from the praetor, directing the creditors to hold a meeting, and elect out of their number a liquidator (*magister*),

tibi concedo, quo studiosior tu sis quam ego sum: est enim nobis necessarius. Sed a magistris cum contenderem de proferendo die, probarunt mihi sese, quo minus id facerent, et compromisso et iure iurando impediri. Qua re veniendum arbitror Luceio. Quamquam si meis litteris obtemperavit, cum tu haec leges, illum Romae esse oportebit. 6. Ceteris de rebus maximeque de pecunia, cum Pansae mortem ignorares, scripisti, quae per nos ab eo consequi te posse arbitrarere. Quae te non fefellissent, si viveret: nam te diligebat: post mortem autem eius quid fieri posset non videbamus. 7. De Venuleio, Latino, Horatio, valde laudo. Illud non nimium probo, quod scribis, quo illi animo aequiore ferrent, te tuis etiam legatis lictores ademisse—honore enim cum ignominia dignis non erant comparandi,—eosque ex senatus consulto, si non decedunt, cogendos, ut decedant, existimo. Haec fere ad eas litteras, quas eodem exemplo binas accepi. De reliquo velim tibi persuadeas non esse mihi meam dignitatem tua carior.

by whom the estate might be sold. After ten days if the bankrupt was alive, or five if he was dead, a third order is made, and the conditions of sale are published. After twenty (or ten) days more a decree of the praetor assigns (*addicit*) the estate to the purchaser. This shows that there were fixed times for the different steps in the sale of a bankrupt's estate. In the present case the liquidators (it appears that there were more than one), who, no doubt, made oath when appointed that they would act strictly according to law, declare that they are unable to put off the auction. It is not quite clear how *compromissum* comes in. A *compromissum* is an agreement of two persons to refer the matter in dispute to an arbiter, and to abide by his decision (cp. Long on Verr. ii. chap. 27, § 66). Probably Luceius, or some other person interested in the postponement of the auction, had made an agreement with the *magistri* to refer his claim for postponement to an arbiter, and that arbiter had decided against postponement. Accordingly, it was necessary that Luceius should put in an appearance on the day fixed, if he did not acknowledge the debt.

*tu sis*] So H Pal; *iussis* M. The ordinary reading is *eius sis*, but Mendelssohn quotes Fam. xiii. 61 (233), *filio mire studioso*, to show that *studiosus* can be

used absolutely: cp. Fam. xiv. 1, 2 (82); Att. x. 15, 4 (401).

6. *arbitrarere*] The subjunctive is that of reported definition; cp. note to Att. ii. 1, 2 (27), and Roby, § 1740.

*Quae te non fefellissent*] 'and you would not have been disappointed in this.'

7. *Venuleio, Latino, Horatio*] Perhaps two of these were the legates of C. Calvisius, whom he left at Utica when he returned to Rome: cp. Phil. iii. 26, and Tissot, *Fastes de la Province d'Afrique*, p. 25. Mommsen, however (St. R. i<sup>2</sup>. 370, note 6), thinks that they were unimportant senators who had been granted lictors (cp. 813). It would appear that even the legates had no right to have lictors.

*honore . . . comparandi*] 'For they (sc. your legates) ought not, in respect of distinction, to be put on a par with those who deserve to be disgraced.' For this use of the ablative cp. Livy ix. 19, 1, *Restat ut copiae copiis comparentur vel numero vel militum genere vel multitudine auxiliorum*: so that there is no necessity to read, with Lehmann, p. 107, *Honore enim <cum digni sunt> cum ignominia dignis non erant comparandi*.

*Haec . . . eodem exemplo binas accepi*] 'This is the answer I have to make to the two duplicate letters which I have received': cp. note to 855, 1; 810, 1.

DCCCC. D. BRUTUS AND L. PLANCUS TO THE  
SENATE AND MAGISTRATES (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 4, 5).

CULARO; ABOUT JUNE 11; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

In fragmento epistolae D. Brutus se Antonio et Lepido pro virili parte restitutum  
esse pollicetur, et senatum magistratusque rogat ut nihil de diligentia remittant.

[D. BRUTUS IMP. COS. DES. ET PLANCUS IMP. COS. DESIG. S. D.  
PR. TR. PL. SENATUI POPULO PLEBIQUE ROMANAE.]

4. \* \* \* in spem venerant, quod neque Planci quattuor legiones  
omnibus suis copiis pares arbitrabantur neque ex Italia tam  
celeriter exercitum traici posse credebant. Quos ipsi adhuc satis  
adroganter Allobroges equitatusque omnis, qui eo praemissus erat  
a nobis, sustinebant, nostroque adventu sustineri facilius posse  
confidimus. Tamen, si quo etiam casu Isaram se traiecerint, ne  
quod detrimentum rei publicae iniungant, summa a nobis dabitur  
opera. 5. Vos magnum animum optimamque spem de summa re  
publica habere volumus, cum et nos et exercitus nostros singulari  
concordia coniunctos ad omnia pro vobis videatis paratos. Sed  
tamen nihil de diligentia remittere debetis dareque operam, ut  
quam paratissimi et ab exercitu reliquisque rebus pro vestra salute  
contra sceleratissimam conspirationem hostium configamus: qui

That this is a separate letter from 869  
is quite plain, though both are run into  
one in the mss. Most probably a sheet  
of the archetype was lost, as this letter,  
as it appears here, is a mere fragment. It  
is the end of an official letter addressed by  
D. Brutus and Plancus to the senate and  
magistrates. Of course the superscription  
given above is not found in the mss. As  
in 885, cos. must be left out before PR.,  
as the consuls were dead.

4. \* \* \* in spem venerant] sc. Antony  
and Lepidus. For the phrase cp. Fam.  
ix. 1, 1 (456); De Orat. ii. 217.

quattuor] Plancus says, in 833, 3,  
that he had five legions; but only four  
were available for active service (860, 3;  
916, 3).

Italia] see note to 877, 4.

satis adroganter] 'contemptuously  
enough.'

sustinebant] This tense is epistolary.

nobis . . . nostro] These words show  
that this letter was written by D. Brutus  
and Plancus: contrast *meumque iter* in  
869, 4. Also *vos* below, § 5, shows that  
it is probably addressed to the senate and  
magistrates: contrast 869, 2, *tibi esse  
notum*.

sustineri facilius posse] 'that resistance  
can be more easily made.'

se traiecerint] cp. note to 847, 2.

5. ab exercitu] 'in respect of forces.'  
For *ab* cp. Att. i. 1, 2 (10).

conspirationem] 'conspiracy.' For this  
sense of the word cp. Cic. Scaur. 20;  
Deiot. 11; Vatinius ap. Fam. v. 9, 1  
(639). It often occurs in later authors.



quidem eas copias, quas diu simulatione rei publicae comparabant, subito ad patriae periculum converterunt.

## DCCCCL. CASSIUS PARMENSIS TO CICERO (FAM. XII. 13).

CROMMYUACRIS, IN CYPRUS; JUNE 13; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;  
AET. CIC. 63.

C. Cassius quaestor gratulatur de Mutinensi victoria et res a se gestas exponit.

C. CASSIUS Q. S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. S. V. B. E. V. Cum rei publicae vel salute vel victoria gaudemus tum instauratione tuarum laudum: quod maximus consularis maximum consulem te ipse vicisti, et laetamur et mirari satis non possumus. Fatale nescio quid tuae virtuti datum, id quod saepe iam experti sumus. Est enim tua toga omnium armis felicio: quae nunc quoque nobis paene victam rem publicam ex manibus hostium eripuit ac reddidit. Nunc ergo vivemus liberi: nunc te, omnium maxime civis et mihi carissime—id quod maximis rei publicae tenebris comperisti,—nunc te habebimus testem

*qui quidem . . . converterunt*] Watson thinks that this is an allusion to Lepidus, though it is just possible that it is a hint that Octavian is really hostile; for D. Brutus appears to have had suspicions that he was not to be trusted: cp. 854, 4, *neque Caesari imperari potest*; 877, 1, *se (Caesarem) non esse commissurum ut tolli posset*. The date of this letter will not, of course, admit of any reference to the declared hostility of Octavian.

Schütz, Krause (in Panly), and Wesenberg say that the writer of this letter was Lucius Cassius, nephew of Cassius the conspirator. Appian, iv. 135, states that this Lucius Cassius died fighting desperately at Philippi. But Drumann (ii. 161-163), Ruete (56-7), Prof. A. S. Wilkins (on Hor. Epist. i. 4, 3), and Mendelssohn hold that the writer is Cassius Parmensis: cp. with § 3 Appian v. 2, Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπικλῆν ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν (in

42 B.C.) ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Ruete supposes that the C. Cassius mentioned in Att. xv. 8 (741) is also Cassius Parmensis. For more about him cp. Teuffel, § 210, 7.

1. *instauratione tuarum laudum*] 'revival of your glories.' Cassius is congratulating Cicero on the victory of Mutina, which the state had won by reason of his policy.

*Fatale nescio quid*] 'a power as of Fate.'

*Est enim . . . felicio*] This was the regular compliment to be paid Cicero. He appears to have first paid it to himself (*Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*) in his poem *De meis temporibus*, 691 (63): cp. Pis. 73 ff., and Mayor's note on Juv. viii. 240. The verse was generally condemned for its arrogance, Quintil. xi. 1, 24.

*maximis . . . tenebris*] 'in the darkest

nostri et in te et in coniunctissimam tibi rem publicam amoris, et, quae saepe pollicitus es te et taciturnum, dum serviremus, et dicturum de me tum, cum mihi profutura essent, nunc illa non ego quidem dici tanto opere desiderabo quam sentiri a te ipso. Neque enim omnium iudicio malim me a te commendari quam ipse tuo iudicio digne ac mereor commendatus esse, ut haec novissima nostra facta non subita nec convenientia, sed similia illis cogitationibus, quarum tu testis es, fuisse iudices meque ad optimam spem patriae non minimum tibi ipsi producendum putes. 2. Sunt tibi, M. Tulli, liberi propinquire digni quidem te et merito tibi carissimi: esse etiam debent in re publica proximo hos cari, qui studiorum tuorum sunt aemuli, quorum esse cupio tibi copiam: sed tamen non maxima me turba puto excludi, quo minus tibi vacet me excipere et ad omnia, quae velis et probes, producere. Animum tibi nostrum fortasse probavimus: ingenium diutina servitus certe, quaecumque est, minus tamen, quam erat, passa est videri. 3. Nos ex ora maritima Asiae provinciae et ex insulis quas potuimus naves deduximus: dilectum remigum,

hour of the state.' Probably Cassius means the few years that followed Pharsalia. Perhaps Cassius had been kind to Cicero when the latter was at Brundisium.

*digne ac mereor*] Just as *aeque ac* is common, and *pro eo ac* is allowable (cp. Sulpicius, Fam. iv. 5, 1 (555)), so objection cannot be raised against *digne ac*. Similar unusual examples of *atque* are also found in the Digest, ii. 14, 4; xix. 2, 54.

*malim . . . ipse . . . commendatus esse*] cp. note to *demorati esse* (882, 4).

*ut haec . . . putes*] 'by your judging that these recent acts of mine are not hasty and inconsistent ones, but quite in accordance with those principles you know so well; and by your reflecting that you yourself should be the main cause of my advancement to a position wherein our country may entertain the highest hopes of me.' The subjunctives *ut iudices* and *ut putes* are explicative subjunctives, developing *tuo iudicio . . . commendatus esse*. We need not read *nec inconvenientia* with some inferior MSS; for *nec convenientia* = *et non convenientia*, cp. Prop. 2, 28, 52, *Vobiscum Europe nec proba* (= et improba) *Pasiphae*; Ovid, Her. 12, 33, *et vidi et perii nec notis* (= et

ignotis) *ignibus arsi*. This usage may pass in Cassius, but would make us pause in Cicero, though some examples occur: Acad. Post. 20, *quod inchoatum est neque absolutum* (= et non absolutum). For other examples cp. Dräger, ii. 69, 70. Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 24), after Gronovius, wishes to read *meque ad optimam spem patriae, non minimam tibi ipsi producendum putes*, 'and by your holding the opinion that I should be advanced to honour, so that high hopes of me may be entertained by my country, no trifling hopes of me entertained by yourself.' This makes an elegant and well-balanced sentence, such as suits this studied composition.

2. *liberi*] The plu. must not be pressed. Cicero had only one child alive.

*studiorum*] 'rivals for your interest'; or, perhaps, 'rivals in your studies,' i.e. highly cultured and learned young men.

*sed tamen . . . videri*] 'yet, for all that, I do not think that, though they are numerous, you will refuse to find room for me, and to further my advancement, as far as you think fit and proper. Possibly I have already satisfied you as to my principles: my talents, slight though they are, were certainly dwarfed by the long-continued despotism.'

3. *deduximus*] 'launched.'

magna contumacia civitatum, tamen satis celeriter habuimus: secuti sumus classem Dolabellae, cui L. Figulus praeerat: qui spem saepe transitionis praebendo neque umquam non decedendo novissime Corycum se contulit et clauso portu se tenere coepit. Nos illa relicta, quod et in castra pervenire satius esse putabamus et sequebatur classis altera,—quam anno priore in Bithynia Tillius Cimber compararat, Turullius quaestor praeerat—Cyprum petivimus. Ibi quae cognovimus scribere ad vos quam celerrime voluimus. 4. Dolabellam ut Tarsenses, pessimi socii, ita Laudiceni multo amentiores ultro arcessierunt: ex quibus utrisque civitatibus Graecorum militum numero speciem exercitus effecit. Castra habet ante oppidum Laudiceam posita et partem muri demolitus est et castra oppido coniunxit. Cassius noster cum decem legionibus et cohortibus viginti auxiliariis et quattuor milium equitatu a milibus passuum viginti castra habet posita Πάλτωρ et existimat se sine proelio posse vincere. Nam iam ternis tetrachmis triticum

*magna contumacia*] ‘with stubborn resistance on the part of the states.’ Wesenberg (E. A., p. 46) wished to add *in*, comparing Fam. iii. 11, 4 (265), *in summis tuis occupationibus*; Liv. i. 17, 3, *in variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant*. But it is not necessary to add the preposition: cp. Verr. ii. 189, *Tubulus in foro summa hominum frequentia exscribo*. If a preposition were required *com* might be suggested: it could readily have fallen out after *com*.

*L. Figulus*] The mss give *Lucilius*; but cp. Appian iv. 60.

*neque umquam non decedendo*] ‘yet never failing to draw back from these offers.’

*in castra*] This is somewhat vague. Possibly we should read *in* <Cassii> castra.

*Tillius Cimber*] He was one of Caesar’s assassins. Turullius was also one of the conspirators, and afterwards a partisan of Antony against Octavian: cp. Val. Max. i. 1, 19. For the readings of the sentence see Adn. Crit.

4. *Laudiceni*] The inhabitants of Laodicea in Syria.

*Graecorum militum numero*] ‘with a horde of Greek soldiers.’ For the contemptuous sense of *numerus* cp. Hor. Epist. i. 2, 27, *nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati*. Though the Roman speaks thus contemptuously of the Greek

soldiers, no doubt they were respectable enough as compared with the Orientals. This passage is interesting, as showing that the Greeks appear to have had an organized militia of their own in these Syrian towns: cp. Holm, Griechische Geschichte, p. 165.

*et quattuor milium equitatu*] ‘and a body of horse consisting of four thousand.’ For *equitatus* = ‘a body of horse,’ cp. Caes. B. C. i. 61, 3; Sall. Jug. 46, 7, where *equitatus* is used in the plural.

*a milibus passuum*] ‘at a distance of twenty miles.’ For this use of *a* cp. Caes. B. G. ii. 7, 3, *ab milibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt*.

Πάλτωρ] Manutius reads Παλτοῖ, as he considers the dative would require a preposition; yet cp. Thucyd. v. 18, 10, καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ Ἀθήναις. Paltus was a coast town in Syria, a little south of Laodicea.

*Nam . . . est*] ‘For corn in the camp of Dolabella now costs three tetradrachms the medimnus.’ For the form τέτραχμον and tetrachmum Mendelssohn refers to Hultsch, Metrologici Scriptores, Index, pp. 220, 259, who gives many examples. The form is common in Livy, xxxiv. 52, 6; xxxvii. 46, 3; 59. 4; xxxix. 7, 1, quoted by Weissenborn. A tetradrachm was about 3s. 3d., and a medimnus about 1½ bushels. Accordingly, the price of corn was about 52s. a quarter. The average

apud Dolabellam est. Nisi quid navibus Laodiceenorum supportarit, cito fame pereat necesse est : ne supportare possit, et Cassii classis bene magna, cui praeest Sextilius Rufus, et tres, quas nos adduximus, ego, Turullius, Patiscus, facile praestabunt. Te volo bene sperare et rem publicam, ut vos istie expedistis, ita pro nostra parte celeriter nobis expediri posse confidere. Vale. Data Idibus Iun. Cypro, a Crommyuacride.

## DCCCCII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 9).

ROME; JUNE 8 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutum morte Porciae suae lugentem consolatur Cicero et ad fortitudinem cohortatur.

### CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Fungerer officio, quo tu functus es in meo luctu, teque per litteras consolarer, nisi scirem iis remediis, quibus meum dolorem

price of wheat is now about 29s. a quarter. The highest it ever reached in England was 177s. a quarter in 1801.

*Nisi quid . . . supportarit*] 'unless he procures a supply of corn in the ships of the Laodiceans.'

*Sextilius Rufus*] cp. Fam. xiii. 48 (929), where he appears as quaestor in Cyprus. For Patiscus see note to 882, 2. *expedistis*] 'you have freed it of difficulties.'

*nobis*] dat. comm. There is no need to add *a*.

*Crommyuacride*] 'Onion-point,' a promontory on the north of Cyprus, looking towards Pamphylia.

This is the celebrated Consolation sent by Cicero to Brutus on the death of his wife, 'a lady well-reputed, Cato's daughter,' that paragon among women (*id enim amisisti cui simile in terris nihil fuit*). In his letter to Atticus (865, 7) Brutus alludes to her illness, and it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that she died of a pestilence which visited Italy about this time, Dio Cass. xlv. 17, 8, *ἐπεγένετο καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς πάσῃ ὥς εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἰσχυρός*. It is strange that there

is no mention of Porcia's illness in the letters of Brutus to Cicero; but we may explain that by the fact that the whole correspondence was of a purely business and political character. That the ordinary view that Porcia was daughter, and not sister, of Cato of Utica is right, is convincingly shown by Fr. Rühl (Jahrb. 1880, p. 147 f.) against the arbitrary theorizing of Mommsen (Hermes xv. p. 99 ff.).

The ordinary account of the death of Porcia is that she committed suicide after the Battle of Philippi by 'swallowing fire,' as Shakespeare says, following an account which literally translated the Greek (Val. Max. iv. 6, 5; Martial i. 42; Dio Cass. xlvii. 49, 4; Appian iv. 136). Plutarch (Brut. 53) relates this story, and also another account of her death, which is more in accordance with our letter: *Πορκίαν δὲ τὴν Βρούτου γυναῖκα Νικόλαος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μάξιμος βουλομένην ἀποθανεῖν, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐπέτρεπε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ προσέκειντο καὶ παρεφύλαττον, ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναρπάσσαν ἄνθρακας καταπιεῖν καὶ τὸ στόμα συγκλείσσαν καὶ μύσσαν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι. Καίτοι φέρεται τις ἐπιστολὴ Βρούτου πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔγκα-*



tu levasses, te in tuo non egere, ac velim facilius, quam tunc mihi, nunc tibi tute medeare; est autem alienum tanto viro, quantus es tu, quod alteri praeceperit, id ipsum facere non posse. Me quidem cum rationes, quas collegeras, tum auctoritas tua a nimio maerore deterruit; cum enim mollius tibi ferre viderer, quam deceret virum, praesertim eum, qui alios consolari soleret, accusasti me per litteras gravioribus verbis, quam tua consuetudo ferebat.

2. Itaque iudicium tuum magni aestimans idque veritus me ipse collegi et ea, quae didiceram, legeram, acceperam, graviora duxi tua auctoritate addita. Ac mihi tum, Brute, officio solum erat et naturae, tibi nunc populo et scenae, ut dicitur, serviendum est; nam, cum in te non solum exercitus tui, sed omnium civium ac

λοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλοφυρομένου περὶ τῆς Πορκίας, ὡς ἀμεληθείσης ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ προελομένης διὰ νόσον καταλιπεῖν τὸν βίον. Ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Νικόλαος ἡγνοῦν καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τό γε πάθος καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς γυναίκος καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τελευτῆς ὑπονοῆσαι δίδωσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιστόλιον, εἴπερ ἄρα τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστίν. Now it is plain that Plutarch appears to favour the more romantic story, not only by the words in his life of Cato Minor 73, καὶ προήκατο (ἡ Πορκία) τὸν βίον ἀξίως τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, but also by his statement here that the letter of Brutus is, perhaps, not genuine. It is easy to account for the more romantic story when we remember the tone of the opposition literature of the early empire, and its tendency to exalt Brutus and all connected with him to a plane of heroism on which they never deserved to be placed; but it is hard to account for the more prosaic story, unless it was virtually the truth. No doubt in Plutarch's time there were forged letters, purporting to have been composed by Brutus; but we cannot believe that a forger, if he wrote such letters as we possess in the interests of Augustus and the Empire, would have represented Brutus and his doings in a manner so very similar to that in which other writers exhibit them, and mingled with so very little exaggeration or misrepresentation. We cannot, of course, argue that a forger on the Republican side, if composing a correspondence of Brutus and Cicero, would have adopted the romantic story which Plutarch attributes to Nicolaus; for that story supposed that Porcia's death

did not occur till after the deaths of Cicero and Brutus; but he would surely have given more prominence than is given in these letters to the death of a personage who, according to the prevailing account, won such high honour by the courage and magnanimity displayed in the closing scene of her life.

1. *levasses*] This subjunctive is due to the attraction of the other clauses: cp. Tusc. iii. 35, *diceret aliquid et magno quidem philosopho dignum si ea bona esse sentiret quae essent homine dignissima*, and many examples quoted by Dräger, i. 318-9.

*teque per litteras . . . posse*] Some writers have supposed that this sentence has been copied from Fam. iv. 5, 5 (555), the celebrated letter of condolence sent by Servius Sulpicius to Cicero: they also compare § 2 of this letter with § 6 of that of Sulpicius. But letters of condolence, no matter by whom written, of necessity contain very similar thoughts: in them, if anywhere, 'common is the commonplace.'

*Me quidem*] Cicero refers to the letter of consolation which Brutus sent him on the death of Tullia.

*gravioribus verbis*] Cicero did not like that letter of Brutus at all: cp. Att. xii. 14, 4 (546), *De Bruti ad me litteris scripsi ad te antea: prudenter scriptae sed nihil quod me adjuvaret*; xiii. 6, 3 (554), *cum illius (sc. Bruti) obiurgatoria (epistola)*.

2. *populo et scenae, ut dicitur*] 'you must pay regard to the people, and the part we act, so to say, before the public': cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 71, *ubi se a vulgo et saena in secreta remorant*.



paene gentium coniecti oculi sint, minime decet, propter quem fortiores ceteri sumus, cum ipsum animo debilitatum videri. Quam ob rem acceperisti tu quidem dolorem—id enim amisisti, cui simile in terris nihil fuit,—et est dolendum in tam gravi vulnere, ne id ipsum, carere omni sensu doloris, sit miserius quam dolere, sed, ut modice, ceteris utile est, tibi necesse est. 3. Scriberem plura, nisi ad te haec ipsa nimis multa essent. Nos te tuumque exercitum exspectamus, sine quo, ut reliqua ex sententia succedant, vix satis liberi videmur fore. De tota re publica plura scribam et fortasse iam certiora iis litteris, quas Veteri nostro cogitabam dare.

### DCCCCIII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 25).

ROME; JUNE 18; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero scribit omnem spem esse in Planco et D. Bruto. De M. Bruti rebus certior fieri cupit.

#### M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO.

1. Exspectanti mihi tuas cotidie litteras Lupus noster subito denuntiavit, ut ad te scriberem, si quid vellem. Ego autem, etsi quid scriberem non habebam—acta enim ad te mitti sciebam, inanem autem sermonem litterarum tibi iniucundum esse audiebam,—brevitatem secutus sum te magistro. Scito igitur in te et in collega spem omnem esse. 2. De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi: quem ego, quem ad modum praecipis, privatis litteris ad

*in tam gravi vulnere*] 'in the case of so severe a blow': cp. note to 842, 5.

*ne . . . necesse est*] 'lest the very freedom from all feelings of grief should be itself a more wretched state than that of grief; but moderation in grief, while advantageous to the rest, is essential to you.'

*ut modice*] sc. *doleas*. Wesenberg inserts *ita* before *tibi*, apparently on the ground that *utile est ut* is not found elsewhere, and that *necesse est ut* is rare. According to that reading supply *dolere* after *modice*. But the mss reading gives a satisfactory construction.

*ut reliqua . . . succedant*] 'even if everything else turns out as prosperously as we could wish.'

*de tota re publica*] cp. 897, 5, *Habes totum rei p. statum*.

*Veteri*] cp. 837, 5, and note to 909, 1.

1. *Lupus*] see note to 809, 1.<sup>2</sup>  
*inanem . . . litterarum*] 'chit-chat of letters.'

*brevitatem . . . magistro*] 'I have followed your teaching in being brief': cp. note to 894, 1.

*collega*] i.e. Planco: cp. 905, 1.

bellum commune vocare non desino. Qui utinam iam adesset! intestinum urbis malum, quod est non mediocre, minus timemus. Sed quid ago? non imitor λακωνισμόν tuum: altera iam pagella procedit. Vince et vale. XIV. Kal. Quinctiles.

## DCCCCIV. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 9).

ROME; MIDDLE OF JUNE; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero queritur de Lepido et Cassium, ut ad rem publicam liberandam in Italiam veniat, hortatur.

## CICERO CASSIO S.

1. Brevitas tuarum litterarum me quoque breviorē in scribendo facit et, vere ut dicam, non satis occurrit quid scribam. Nostras enim res in actis perferri ad te certo scio, tuas autem ignoramus. Tamquam enim clausa sit Asia, sic nihil perfertur ad nos praeter rumores de oppresso Dolabella, satis illos quidem constantes, sed adhuc sine auctore. 2. Nos, confectum bellum cum putaremus, repente a Lepido tuo in summam sollicitudinem sumus adducti. Itaque tibi persuade, maximam rei publicae spem in te et in tuis copiis esse. Firmos omnino exercitus habemus, sed tamen, ut omnia, ut spero, prospere procedant, multum inte-

2. *intestinum . . . mediocre*] 'internal troubles here in the city, no slight ones.' The reference is probably to the intrigues which were in progress to secure the consulship for Octavian, cp. 897, 2, as Manutius supposes, though these intrigues did not begin to be really serious until July: cp. 915, 3; 916, 6.

*pagella*] On account of the shortness of this letter, which, nevertheless, required a second page, it has been supposed that this letter was written on *codicilli*, for which cp. Fam. ix. 26, 1 (479).

*Vince et vale*] 'Success and health'—a formula which occurs elsewhere: cp. 907 fin.

1. *Brevitas tuarum litterarum*] Schmidt (Cass. p. 52) considers that the present

letter is an answer to 822, which was written on March 7. It may seem a bold thing to suppose that a letter would take over 100 days to reach Rome from Syria; but a letter took close on 70 days to reach Cicero in Cilicia, cp. Fam. iii. 11, 1 (265); and the messenger of Cassius may have been delayed, owing to his having to take precautions against being captured by Dolabella: cp. 856, 1.

*actis*] cp. 898, 1.

2. *a Lepido tuo*] cp. note to 790, 2. The fact that the treachery of Lepidus is mentioned in the middle of the letter as a subject which had been treated of previously shows that the present letter was written later than 898.

*ut omnia . . . procedant*] 'even supposing everything goes on prosperously.'

rest te venire. Exigua enim spes est rei publicae—nam nullam non libet dicere—, sed, quaecumque est, ea despondetur anno consulatus tui. Vale.

# DCCCCV. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 15).

ROME; JUNE (END OF); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Laudat M. Cicero officium D. Bruti et hortatur, ut secum iam ipso certet.

M. CICERO D. BRUTO COS. DES. S. D.

1. Etsi mihi tuae litterae iucundissimae sunt, tamen iucundius fuit, quod in summa occupatione tua Planco collegae mandasti, ut te mihi per litteras excusaret: quod fecit ille diligenter. Mihi autem nihil amabilius officio tuo et diligentia. Coniunctio tua cum collega concordiaque vestra, quae litteris communibus declarata est, S. P. Q. R. gratissima accidit. 2. Quod superest, perge, mi Brute, et iam non cum aliis, sed tecum ipse certa. Plura scribere non debeo, praesertim ad te, quo magistro brevitatis uti cogito. Litteras tuas vehementer exspecto et quidem tales, quales maxime opto.

*despondetur*] 'is affianced to,' i.e. belongs wholly to, is entirely connected with. For another figurative use of *despondere* cp. Att. i. 10, 4 (6), *bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris*, and note to 890, 4.

For the date, see note to 895. On June 3 Brutus was in camp at least one day's march from Eporedia. From that camp to Cularo was about 100 miles, so that his union with Plancus could hardly have been effected much before June 12; for most of the journey was across the Alps where a day's march cannot have compassed the normal distance; and the soldiers must have been allowed a day's

rest at least once during the journey. A *iustum iter* was about 15 Roman miles.

1. *collegae*] D. Brutus and Plancus had been designated as consuls for 712 (42).

*Coniunctio*] cp. App. iii. 81. It occurred about June 12. News of it would take thirteen days to reach Rome, so that this letter must have been written at the end of June at the earliest.

2. *tecum ipse certa*] cp. 823, 2, *Tu fac in agenda gloria te ipsum vincas*.

*magistro brevitatis*] Cicero elsewhere complains of the shortness of the letters of D. Brutus: cp. 894, 1; 903, 1, *brevitatem secutus sum te magistro*.

*Litteras . . . opto*] This same conclusion occurs in the next letter.

## DCCCCVI. CICERO TO PLANCUS (FAM. X. 22).

ROME; JUNE (END OF); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero L. Planco, qui agris dividendis praefici cupierat, respondet.

## CICERO PLANCO.

1. In te et in collega omnes spes est, dis approbantibus. Concordia vestra, quae senatui declarata litteris vestris est, mirifice et senatus et cuncta civitas delectata est. 2. Quod ad me scripseras de re agraria, si consultus senatus esset, ut quisque honorificentissimam de te sententiam dixisset, eam secutus essem: qui certe ego fuisset. Sed propter tarditatem sententiarum moramque rerum cum ea, quae consulebantur, ad exitum non pervenirent, commodissimum mihi Plancoque fratri visum est uti eo *s. c.*, quod ne nostro arbitrato componeretur quis fuerit impedimento arbitror te ex Planci litteris cognovisse. 3. Sed sive in *s. c.* sive in ceteris rebus desideras aliquid, sic tibi persuade, tantam esse apud omnes bonos tui caritatem, ut nullum genus amplissimae dig-

1. *Concordia*] This shows that Plancus and D. Brutus had joined forces: cp. 905, introd. note.

2. *de re agraria*] Both D. Brutus and Plancus evidently wished to be on the Commission which was to be appointed to consider the distribution of lands to the soldiers: cp. 877, 1.

*si consultus . . . fuisset*] This sentence is somewhat awkward, as *qui* must refer to *quisque*; and there is a slight verbal inaccuracy in Cicero's saying that he would have followed a proposal, and then saying that he would have originated it; but the sense is plain. We are to suppose that *qui . . . fuisset* is a sort of correction on Cicero's part, 'If the senate had been consulted, I should have adopted the opinion of the proposer of the most complimentary motion on your behalf, and that proposer would assuredly have been myself.' Various alterations have been proposed. Mendelssohn suggests *esset*, in *quis* for *essem qui*, 'the senate would

have followed the most complimentary opinion.' The long separation of the relative from the antecedent is not a vital objection to the passage; for such separation is found in Cicero (*Tusc. i. 3*), and is frequent in other writers, e.g. *Caes. B. G. vii. 59, 2* (*qui = Bellovaci*); *Sall. Cat. 48, 1* (*quae = plebes*); *Tac. Ann. i. 74, 1* (*qui = Caepio*); *Vell. ii. 47, 4* (*quem = Milonem*); still it is bold to change *essem* to *esset in*. We thought of *quod ego certe favissem*, 'which I should certainly have approved of': cp. *Tusc. i. 55*. But it is safer, on the whole, to adhere to the mss reading.

*uti eo . . . cognovisse*] 'to accept the decree which was passed; and I think you have learned from your brother's letters who hindered its being drafted according to our wishes.' Most editors since Manutius add *s. c.*; or, with Orelli and Baier, think that *eo* took the place of *s. c.* The person referred to by *quis* was probably Servilius: cp. 838, 3.

nitatis excogitari possit quod tibi non paratum sit. Litteras tuas vehementer exspecto et quidem tales, quales maxime opto. Vale.

# DCCCCVII. CICERO TO FURNIUS (FAM. X. 26).

ROME; JUNE (END); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Quod se Furnius scripserat se ad comitia praetoria venturum, monet eum M. Cicero, ut absens potius bene de re publica mereatur.

## M. CICERO S. D. C. FURNIO.

1. Lectis tuis litteris, quibus declarabas aut omittendos Narbonenses aut cum periculo dimicandum, illud magis timui: quod vitatum non moleste fero. Quod de Planci et Bruti concordia scribis, in eo vel maximam spem pono victoriae. De Gallorum studio nos aliquando cognoscemus, ut scribis, cuius id opera maxime excitatum sit. Sed iam, mihi crede, cognovimus. Itaque iucundissimis tuis litteris stomachatus sum in extremo. Scribis enim, si in Sextilem comitia, cito te: sin iam confecta, citius, 'ne diutius cum periculo fatuus sis.' 2. O mi Furni, quam tu tuam causam non nosti, qui alienas tam facile discas! Tu nunc candi-

### 3. *Litteras . . . opto*] cp. 905 fin.

For Furnius see 880.

1. *illud*] sc. the loss of Narbonese Gaul. *quod*] Editors wrongly alter to *hoc*. The possible loss of Narbonese Gaul was what caused Cicero most fear, and he was glad that such a mishap had been avoided. He seems to think that the other alternative will come to pass, and that a critical engagement will take place; but he has no fear for the result now that Decimus and Planus are united.

*concordia*] cp. note to 905, 1; 906, 1. *Gallorum studio*] 'loyalty of the Gauls' (subjective genitive).

*iare*] Cicero hints that he knows that Furnius has played a large part in this honourable work. Accordingly (*itaque*), he goes on to say, 'when I was delighted to hear that you were treading the path of duty and glory, I was vexed to find at the end of your letter that you had deter-

mined to throw up the whole business, and come home and stand for a magistracy.'

*in extremo*] cp. 888, 3.

*si . . . cito te*] = *si in Sextilem comitia (praetoria dilata sunt) cito te (rediturum)*. For the ellipse of *differre*, a favourite one with Cicero, cp. Q. Fr. ii. 13 (15 a), 3 (141), *sed in alterum annum* (sc. *res dilata est*), and Boot on Att. xiii. 30, 2 (608), *nihil erat novi nisi auctionem biduum* (sc. *prolatam esse*): cp. 14, 1 (627), and Heidemann, p. 91. The ellipse of a verb of motion after a verb *declarandi* is common: cp. Att. xiii. 47 a (664), *Dolabella scribit se ad me postridie Idus* (sc. *venturum*); cp. Heidemann, p. 55.

'*ne diutius . . . fatuus sis*'] 'that you may not any longer incur danger, as well as be a fool.' This is obviously a quotation from Furnius's letter.

2. *alienas*] Possibly, as Manutius says, Furnius had practised in the courts.



datum te putas et id cogitas, ut aut ad comitia curras aut, si iam confecta, domi tuae sis, ne cum maximo periculo, ut scribis, stultissimus sis? Non arbitror te ita sentire: omnes enim tuos ad laudem impetus novi. Quod si, ut scribis, ita sentis, non magis te quam de te iudicium reprehendo meum. Te adipiscendi magistratus levissimi et divulgatissimi, si ita adipiscare ut plerique, praepropera festinatio abducat a tantis laudibus, quibus te omnes in caelum iure et vere ferunt? Scilicet id agitur, utrum hac petitione an proxima praetor fias, non ut ita de republica mereare, omni honore ut dignissimus iudicare. 3. Utrum nescis quam alte ascenderis an pro nihilo id putas? Si nescis, tibi ignosco, nos in culpa sumus: sin intellegis, ulla tibi est praetura vel officio, quod pauci, vel gloria, quam omnes sequuntur, dulcior? Hac de re et ego et Calvisius, homo magni iudicii tuique amantissimus, te accusamus cotidie. Comitata tamen, quoniam ex iis pendes, quantum facere possumus, quod multis de causis rei publicae arbitramur conducere, in Ianuarium mensem protrudimus. Vince igitur et vale.

*id cogitas ut*] 'are planning this, either to hasten back to the elections.'

*impetus*] 'impulses': cp. Vell. ii. 55, 2, *adolescens impetus ad bella maximi*.

*adipiscendi . . . festinatio*] 'this precipitous haste to acquire a magistracy, which is most worthless and common if you were to acquire it in the way most candidates do, will draw you away from the sphere of that fame with which all men are legitimately and rightly immortalizing you' (or 'lauding you to skies').

*ut plerique*] i.e. without having performed any distinguished service which might give you a claim to it.

*Scilicet . . . iudicare*] 'We are to suppose, are we, that the point is whether you be chosen praetor at this election or

the next; and not that you should deserve so well of the state as to be esteemed most worthy of every honour.' *Id agitur* is somewhat zeugmatic, (1) = 'the question is,' (2) 'the object is.'

3. *Calvisius*] cp. note to 880, 3.

*protrudimus*] The dictionaries give no other example of this use of *protrudere*. Cicero generally uses *detrudere*: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 3 (135); Att. iv. 16, 6 (144).

*Vince igitur et vale*] 'Success, therefore, and health.' The same conclusion occurs 903, 2. Some editors insert *te*, 'conquer yourself,' i.e. give up your idea of coming to Rome and abide at your post. But 903, 2 shows that *vince et vale* is a mere formula.

## DCCCCVIII. BRUTUS TO CICERO (BRUT. I. 13).

CAMP IN MACEDONIA ; JULY 1 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Brutus liberos Lepidi Ciceroni commendat, rogatque ne ex lege cum iis agatur.

## BRUTUS CICERONI SAL.

1. De M. Lepido vereri me cogit reliquorum timor : qui si eripuerit se nobis, quod velim temere atque iniuriose de illo suspicati sint homines, oro atque obsecro te, Cicero, necessitudinem nostram tuamque in me benevolentiam obtestans, sororis meae liberos obliviscaris esse Lepidi filios meque iis in patris locum successisse existimes : hoc si a te impetro, nihil profecto dubitabis pro iis suscipere ; aliter alii cum suis vivunt, nihil ego possum in sororis meae liberis facere, quo possit expleri voluntas mea aut officium. Quid vero aut mihi tribuere boni possunt—si modo digni sumus, quibus aliquid tribuatur—aut ego matri ac sorori puerisque illis praestaturus sum, si nihil valuerit apud te reliquumque senatum contra patrem Lepidum Brutus avunculus ?

2. Scribere multa ad te neque possum prae sollicitudine ac stomacho neque debeo ; nam, si in tanta re tamque necessaria verbis mihi opus est ad te excitandum et confirmandum, nulla spes est facturum te, quod volo et quod oportet : quare noli expectare longas preces ; intueri me ipsum, qui hoc a te, vel a Cicerone,

1. De M. Lepido] The reason why Brutus was so urgent in this matter probably was not fear lest any injury should be done to the lives or persons of the children of Lepidus, but fear lest their property might be confiscated to the state : cp. 861, 4, *hostibus denique omnibus indicatis bonisque publicatis*, and note to 909, 2.

*si eripuerit se nobis*] 'if he has broken away from us,' implying perhaps that Lepidus was previously on the republican side against his will.

*quod . . . homines*] 'and I should be glad to think that this was a hasty and erroneous suspicion on the part of the public.'

*necessitudinem nostram*] i.e. his friendship towards Cicero : cp. § 2.

*si a te impetro . . . dubitabis*] For this consecution of tenses cp. note to 843, 6.

*in . . . liberis*] 'in the case of the children.' For this common use of *in* cp. Verr. iii. 6 ; Caes. B. G. vii. 21, 1.

*voluntas mea aut officium*] 'whereby my feelings of regard or duty can consider themselves satisfied.'

2. *stomacho*] 'vexation.' The rest of this letter shows that Brutus was so vexed that he could hardly be courteous. If you won't do this of yourself, he says in effect, there is no use arguing. We have often drawn attention to the irritability of Brutus, and he was especially irritable when it was a question of money : cp. Att. vi. 1, 5 (212) ; vi. 3, 7 (264).

*intuere . . . impetrare*] 'Regard me, Brutus, who deserve to gain the request

coniunctissimo homine, privatim, vel a consulari viro remota necessitudine privata, debeo impetrare. Quid sis facturus, velim mihi quam primum rescribas. Kal. Quinctilibus ex castris.

## DCCCCIX. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 12).

ROME; JULY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero excusat se Bruto quod matris eius et sororis precibus de liberis M. Lepidi hostis a senatu iudicati, excipiendis satisfacere non posset. De Antistio liberaliter promittit, et ipsum, ut in Italiam veniat, hortatur.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Etsi daturus eram Messallae Corvino continuo litteras, tamen Veterem nostrum ad te sine litteris meis venire nolui. Maximo in discrimine res publica, Brute, versatur victoresque rursus decertare cogimur: id accidit M. Lepidi scelere et amentia. Quo tempore cum multa propter eam curam, quam pro re publica suscepi, graviter ferrem, tum nihil tuli gravius quam me non posse matris tuae precibus cedere, non sororis, nam tibi, quod mihi plurimi est, facile me satisfacturum arbitrabar; nullo enim modo poterat causa Lepidi distingui ab Antonio omniumque iudicio etiam durior erat, quod cum honoribus amplissimis a senatu esset Lepidus ornatus, tum etiam paucis ante diebus praeclaras

from *you*, whether on private grounds, because you are Cicero, a close friend, or, private considerations apart, because you are a man of consular position,' i.e. a public man, who has attained to high position in the state, and accordingly ought to have a calm judicial mind, and not one capable of being hurried away by feelings of revenge.

1. *Veterem*] Cicero must have learned later than the time when he wrote 902 fin. that Vetus was not going to Brutus as soon as he had expected; most probably he learned it after he had written 897, and then sent that letter by another messenger. This letter was written later than June 30, the day on which Lepidus was declared a

public enemy: ep. § 1, *nullo modo poterat causa Lepidi distingui ab Antonio*; and before 913, written on July 11.

*M. Lepidi scelere et amentia*] ep. Ruti<sup>l</sup>. Namatianus 299. *Ille tamen Lepidus prior civilibus armis Qui gessit sociis impia bella tribus, Qui libertatem Mutinensi Marte receptam Obruit auxiliis orbe pavente novis.*

*sororis*] wife of Lepidus.

*ab Antonio*] an instance of the ordinary *comparatio compendiaria*: ep. 864, 2 (*liberatoribus*); 866, 4 (*cum quolibet*).

*durior*] 'more flagrant,' 'more impudent.' Generally used with *os* in this sense: ep. Pro Quint. 77.

*praeclaras litteras*] Probably a letter to the senate of the same tenor as 869,

litteras ad senatum misisset. *Set* repente non solum recepit reliquias hostium, sed bellum acerrime terra marique gerit, cuius exitus qui futurus sit, incertum est: ita, cum rogamur, ut misericordiam liberis eius impertiamus, nihil affertur, quo minus summa supplicia, si—quod Iuppiter omen avertat!—pater puerorum vicerit, subeunda nobis sint. 2. Nec vero me fugit, quam sit acerbum parentum scelera filiorum poenis lui, sed hoc praeclare legibus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes rei publicae redderet; itaque Lepidus crudelis in liberos, non is, qui Lepidum hostem iudicat. Atque, ille si armis positis de vi damnatus esset, quo in iudicio certe defensionem non haberet, eandem calamitatem subirent liberi bonis publicatis. Quamquam, quod tua mater et soror deprecatur pro pueris, id ipsum et multa alia crudeliora nobis omnibus Lepidus, Antonius et reliqui hostes denuntiant; itaque maximam spem hoc tempore habemus in te atque exercitu tuo: cum ad rei publicae summam, tum ad gloriam et dignitatem tuam vehementer pertinet te, ut ante scripsi, in Italiam venire quam primum: eget enim vehementer cum viribus tuis, tum etiam consilio res publica. 3. Veterem pro eius erga te

876 (written 18th and 22nd May). I 869, 2, he said, *quod ad bellum hoc attinet nec senatui nec rei p. deerimus*.

*Set repente*] We have added *Set*, which probably dropped out after *misisset*. An adversative conjunction is required.

*marique*] It is possible that Lepidus may have had a fleet on the south coast of Gaul, and that he may have been acting in conjunction with Sextus Pompeius. But it is more probable, as Ruete (p. 93) suggests, that Cicero exaggerated the hostile attitude of Lepidus, in order to justify to his brother-in-law, Brutus, the sentence of outlawry which was passed upon him by the senate. He accordingly used a strong proverbial expression, which must not be taken in a strictly literal sense: cp. Plaut. Poen. prol. 125, *marique terraeque usquequaque quaeritat*: Pseud. i. 3, 98, *aut terra aut mari aut aliunde id evolam tibi*: Vatinius ap. Fam. v. 9, 2 (639), *Ego tamen terra marique ut conquireretur praemandavi*. Similar phrases are *fas nefasque*; *aris et focis*; *ferro ignique*: *viris equisque* (Off. ii. 116). For rhetorical, but somewhat inapposite, additions, such as *marique* here, cp. Sall. Cat. 15, *animus impurus neque vigiliis*

*neque quietibus sedari poterat*: Tac. Ann. xv. 37, *per licita atque illicita foedatus*.

*nihil affertur, quo minus*] cp. Pro Quint. 99; Pro Domo 82, and note to 852, 1.

2. *bonis publicatis*] Van der Vliet (Jahrb. 1885, p. 374) justly considers that this was the extreme penalty that Cicero ever contemplated as right to be inflicted on the children of Lepidus, and that Cobet's talk (Mnem. vii. 242) about Cicero's thirsting for blood is overstrained. In 914, 1, *miseriordiam* means pity towards them, which would save them from being reduced to want by the confiscation of their property.

*ad rei p. summam*] Cicero does not generally use *summa* as a substantive in this connexion, but as an adjective. Yet *rei p. summa* is quite correct: cp. Plancus in 861, 1; and in this passage Cicero deviates from the phrase he usually adopts, in order to get an antithesis to *tuam*. Zumpt on Verr. ii. 28, and Boot on Att. i. 16, 9 (22), would correct the genitive every place it occurs; but it is better to hold that both expressions are correct, and that Cicero used *res publica summa* by preference, except where there was some reason to use the other.

benevolentia singularique officio libenter ex tuis litteris complexus sum eumque cum tui, tum rei publicae studiosissimum amantissimumque cognovi. Ciceronem meum propediem, ut spero, videbo; tecum enim illum [†et te] in Italiam celeriter esse venturum confido.

## DCCCCX. CICERO TO CASSIUS (FAM. XII. 10).

ROME; JULY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero Lepidum hostem iudicatum scribit et Cassium cum exercitu in Italia exspectari.

## CICERO CASSIO S.

1. Lepidus, tuus adfinis, meus familiaris, pridie Kal. Quinctiles sententiis omnibus hostis a senatu iudicatus est ceterique, qui una cum illo a re publica defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Septembr. potestas facta est. Fortis sane senatus, sed maxime spe subsidii tui. Bellum quidem, cum haec scribebam, sane magnum erat scelere et levitate Lepidi. Nos de Dolabella cotidie quae volumus audimus, sed adhuc sine capite, sine auctore, rumore nuntio. 2. Quod cum ita esset, tamen litteris tuis, quas Nonis Maiis ex castris datas acceperamus, ita persuasum erat civitati, ut illum iam oppressum omnes arbitrarentur, te autem in Italiam venire cum exercitu, ut, si haec ex sententia confecta essent, consilio atque auctoritate tua, sin quid forte titubatum, ut

3. *et te*] That these words cannot be allowed to stand is plain, both from *tecum* and from the singular *venturum*. They are perhaps a gloss on *tecum*.

1. *Lepidus, tuus adfinis*] cp. 790, 2. *meus familiaris*] 'my (quondam) friend': cp. 792, 2, *Antonius, noster familiaris*.

*ad sanitatem redeundi*] 'of returning to their senses.' *Sanus* and *insanus* are occasionally contrasted as referring to loyal and disloyal conduct: cp. Att. ix. 7, 3 (362), *nisi etiam Caesaris (litteras) ad eos sana mente scriptas, quomodo in tanta in-*

*sania*: cp. 791, 3, *furorem*.

*scribebam . . . erat*] epistolary tenses.

*levitate*] 'want of principle.'

*sine capite*] 'without definite source.'

Andr. refers to Planc. 57, *si quid sine capite manabit aut quid erit eiusmodi ut non exstet auctor*: cp. Planc. 18. For these unauthenticated rumours cp. 898, 2; 904, 1.

2. *litteris tuis*] i.e. 856, written from Syria on May 7th. It thus took about fifty days to reach Rome.

*titubatum*] 'if there was any stumbling'; *niteremur*, 'we should have the support of,' governed by *ut* before *si*.



fit in bello, exercitu tuo niteremur. Quem quidem ego exercitum quibuscumque potuero rebus ornabo: cuius rei tum tempus erit, cum, quid opis rei publicae laturus is exercitus sit aut quid iam tulerit, notum esse coeperit; nam adhuc tantum conatus audiuntur, optimi illi quidem et praeclarissimi, sed gesta res exspectatur: quam quidem aut iam esse aliquam aut appropinquare confido.

3. Tua virtute magnitudine animi nihil est nobilius. Itaque optamus, ut quam primum te in Italia videamus. Rem publicam nos habere arbitramur, si vos habebimus. Praeclare viceramus, nisi spoliatum, inermem, fugientem Lepidus recepisset Antonium. Itaque numquam tanto odio civitati Antonius fuit quanto est Lepidus. Ille enim ex turbulenta re publica, hic ex pace et victoria bellum excitavit. Huic oppositos consules designatos habemus: in quibus est magna illa quidem spes, sed anceps cura propter incertos exitus proeliorum.

4. Persuade tibi igitur in te et in Bruto tuo esse omnia, vos exspectari, Brutum quidem iam iamque. Quod si, ut spero, victis hostibus nostris veneritis, tamen auctoritate vestra res publica exsurget et in aliquo statu tolerabili consistet. Sunt enim permulta, quibus erit medendum, etiam si res publica satis esse videbitur sceleribus hostium liberata. Vale.

*potuero*] The future perfect often differs little from the simple future: cp. *Madv.* 340, *Obs.* 4, who quotes *Att.* v. 1, 3 (184), *ego accivero pueros*. This use is common with *videro*: cp. *Roby*, § 1485.

*ornabo*] 'I shall make honourable provision for': cp. the request of Cassius, 856, 3, 4.

*gesta res*] 'some action.'

*quam . . . confido*] 'and, indeed, I hope that there has been some action already, or will be soon.'

3. *virtute, magnitudine animi*] asyndeton of two words as often: cp. *Lehmann*, p. 26.

*viceramus . . . recepisset*] Just as in English we can say 'we had conquered' for 'we should have conquered,' so the Latins say *viceramus* for *vicissemus*. The usual parallel to quote is *Hor. Od.* ii. 17, 27, *me truncus illapsus cerebro sustulerat nisi Faunus ictum Dextra levasset*; *Seneca, De Ira*, i. 11, 5, *Perierat imperium . . . si Fabius tantum ausus esset quantum ira suadebat*; 914, 12, *sive enim vicerimus—*

*qui quidem pulcherrime viceramus nisi Lepidus perdere omnia et perire ipse cum suis concupivisset*.

*spoliatum*] 'stripped' (*Jeans*).

*ex turbulenta re publica*] 'from a disordered state of things.'

*consules designatos*] *D. Brutus* and *Plancus*. *Watson* thinks that no mention is made of *Octavian*, because *Cicero* did not trust him, and that it is *Octavian's* ambiguous attitude which is referred to in § 4, *permulta quibus erit medendum*.

*anceps cura*] 'anxiety.'

4. *iam iamque*] 'every moment.' But *Brutus* never came; he went off instead to *Asia*.

*tamen*] 'even so'; i.e. even though we shall not require the aid of you and your army to put down the rebels, yet we shall require your influence in the administration of the state, in order to raise it once more to a firm condition.

*permulta*] cp. note to § 3.

*sceleribus . . . liberata*] 'freed from the traitorous assaults of its enemies.'

## DCCCCXI. CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS (FAM. X. 29).

ROME; JULY 6; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero consolatur Appium exsultantem et eum bona spe esse iubet.

CICERO APPIO SAL.

De meo studio erga salutem et incolumitatem tuam credo te cognosse ex litteris tuorum, quibus me cumulatissime satis fecisse certo scio: nec iis concedo, quamquam sunt singulari in te benevolentia, ut te salvum malint quam ego. Illi mihi necesse est concedant, ut tibi plus quam ipsi hoc tempore prodesse possim: quod quidem nec destiti facere nec desistam, et iam in maxima re feci et fundamenta ieci salutis tuae. Tu fac bono animo magnoque sis meque tibi nulla re defuturum esse confidas. Pridie Nonas Quinctiles.

## DCCCCXII. CICERO TO D. BRUTUS (FAM. XI. 22).

ROME; JULY 6; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

M. Cicero D. Bruto commendat App. Claudium, qui cum M. Antonio se coniunxerat, ut ex hostium numero eximatur.

M. CICERO S. D. D. BRUTO.

1. Cum Appio Claudio C. F. summa mihi necessitudo est multis eius officiis et meis mutuis constituta. Peto a te maiorem

Probably 912 was sent with this letter: cp. introductory note to that letter. For Appius Claudius cp. 912, 1.

*incolumitatem*] 'restoration': cp. note to 885, 1.

*hoc tempore*] Cicero was recognized at this time as the head of the constitutional party.

*fecit et*] Gitlbauer (p. 263) needlessly wishes to eject these words.

*in maxima re*] 'in the most essential

matter,' i.e. as regards his not losing his citizenship: cp. 912, 2.

It is probable that this letter was despatched on July 6th by the messenger who brought Cicero's letter to Appius (911): cp. the letter recommending Caecina to Furfanius, which was sent at the same time as the letter to Caecina (527, 528).

1. *Appio Claudio*] He was son of Gaius

in modum vel humanitatis tuae vel mea causa, ut eum auctoritate tua, quae plurimum valet, conservatum velis. Volo te, cum fortissimus vir cognitus sis, etiam clementissimum existimari. Magno tibi erit ornamento nobilissimum adolescentem beneficio tuo esse salvum; cuius quidem causa hoc melior debet esse, quod pietate adductus propter patris restitutionem se cum Antonio coniunxit. 2. Qua re etsi minus veram causam habebis, tamen vel probabilem aliquam poteris inducere. Nutus tuus potest hominem summo loco natum, summo ingenio, summa virtute, officiosissimum praeterea et gratissimum, incolumem in civitate retinere. Quod ut facias, ita a te peto, ut maiore studio magisque ex animo petere non possim.

## DCCCCXIII. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 14).

ROME; JULY 11; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero paucitatem et brevitatem epistolarum Bruti accusat: rogat ut, Ciceronem filium secum retineat: et in Italiam quam primum ut veniat hortatur.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Breves litterae tuae, breves dico? immo nullae: tribusne versiculis his temporibus Brutus ad me? nihil scripsissem potius.

Clodius, and was spoken of as a probable accuser of Q. Cicero on his return from Asia, 696 (58): cp. Att. iii. 17, 1 (75). This Gaius Clodius had been governor of Asia in 699-700 (55-54), and on his return he was condemned for extortion, but appears to have been restored to his rights as citizen after a short time by Antony. He died before the prosecution of Milo came on in 702 (52): cp. Asconius 35, *qui frater fuerat Clodi*. His son, the Appius Claudius of whom Cicero writes, was one of the most vigorous prosecutors of Milo (cp. Mil. 59); but we see from this letter that Cicero did not feel any resentment against him for his conduct on that occasion. There is an Appius Claudius mentioned by Appian (iv. 44) who was proscribed by the triumvirs, but was saved by the devotion of a

slave. Whether he was this Appius Claudius or not we cannot say.

*multis . . . mutuis constituta*] 'brought about by the many good services we have done one another.'

2. *veram*] 'sound'; *probabilem*, 'plausible.'

*inducere*] 'bring forward'—a metaphor from the stage: cp. *sermo inducitur* and such like expressions.

*officiosissimum*] 'most serviceable.'

*maiore studio . . . animo*] 'more earnestly or sincerely.'

1. *Breves*] Plutarch (Brut. 2) says that Brutus, in his Greek epistles, often adopted a laconic style, and we may suppose that occasionally he did the same in his Latin letters.

*nihil scripsissem*] 'you should have

Et requiris meas: quis umquam ad te tuorum sine meis venit? quae autem epistola non pondus habuit? quae si ad te perlatae non sunt, ne domesticas quidem tuas perlata arbitror. Ciceroni scribis te longiorem daturum epistolam: recte id quidem, sed haec quoque debuit esse plenior. Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios litterasque ad Ciceronem, ut, etiamsi in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret; nihil enim mihi iucundius, nihil illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram sacerdotum comitia mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse reiecta—quod ego cum Ciceronis causa elaboravi, tum Domitii, Catonis, Lentuli, Bibulorum, quod ad te etiam scripseram—: sed videlicet, cum illam pusillam epistolam tuam ad me dabas, nondum erat tibi id notum. 2. Quare omni studio a te, mi Brute, contendo, ut Ciceronem meum ne dimittas tecumque deducas, quod ipsum, si rem publicam, cui susceptus es, respicis,

written nothing rather.' For this use of the plupf. subj., cp. our note to Att. ii. 1, 3 (27), *ne poposcisses*; also Dr. Reid on Sull. 25, and Dr. Holden on Sest. 45, who calls this subjunctive the past jussive.

*pondus* 'weighty matter': cp. Att. xiv. 14, 1 (719), *accepi tuas litteras et magni quidem ponderis*; i. 13, 1 (19), *epistolam paullo graviorem*; Fam. ii. 19, 2 (262), *tuae litterae . . . maximi sunt apud me ponderis*.

*de Ciceronis abs te discessu*] This may mean 'concerning my son's intended departure from you,' and does not necessarily imply that he had actually departed when Brutus wrote the letter which Cicero is answering. As an excuse for the brevity of his letter, Brutus said something like this, 'Your son will be leaving me shortly, and I shall give him a longer letter.' But Brutus did not say *when* young Cicero was leaving; and, accordingly, the elder Cicero, knowing that the comitia were postponed, made haste to stop his son's return, if possible, before he reached Italy. The route along the Egnatian Way, and across from Dyrhachium to Brundisium was the regular one used by travellers, so that there was every probability that Cicero's letter-carriers would meet his son. The reason why Cicero wished his son to remain with Brutus was that he would occupy a more distinguished position in coming back to Italy with his commander-in-

chief than by himself, especially as Brutus would have a sort of triumphal return.

*litterasque*] *sc. dedi*: cp. Att. xii. 38, 1 (581).

*sacerdotum comitia*] cp. note to 852, 3. *quod . . . elaboravi*] There is no other example quoted in the dictionaries of *elaborare* used in the active with the acc. in writers of the Ciceronian age; but the passive is frequently found, Att. i. 8, 1 (5), *quid mihi elaborandum sit*; Phil. vii. 7, *omne enim curriculum . . . elaboratum est*; Leg. Man. 1, Cael. 54. For the neuter Becher compares Fam. vi. 8, 2 (527), *quid tibi sim auctor*; N. D. i. 31, *eamdem fere peccat*.

*Domitii . . . Bibulorum*] cp. note to 868, 2. Cato was son of Cato of Utica. We are not sure what Lentulus is referred to. For the Bibuli cp. note to 868, 1.

*quod ad te etiam scripseram*] This letter must have been lost: it is not in the collection.

2. *deducas*] The force of *de-* appears to be the same as in *deportare* *καρτίζειν*, to bring home from the provinces: cp. Leg. Manil. 61. Becher, with some hesitation, proposes <*exercitumque*> *tecum deducas*.

*eui susceptus es*] 'for whose welfare you have been born and reared': cp. Verr. iii. 161, *susceperas enim liberos non solum tibi sed etiam patriae*. For *suscipi*, the passive, in the sense of 'being reared,' cp. Att. xi. 9, 3 (423).

tibi iam iamque faciendum est: renatum enim bellum est, idque non parvum scelere Lepidi; exercitus autem Caesaris, qui erat optimus, non modo nihil prodest, sed etiam cogit exercitum tuum flagitari, qui si Italiam attigerit, erit civis nemo, quem quidem civem appellari fas sit, qui se non in tua castra conferat; etsi Brutum praelare cum Planco coniunctum habemus, sed non ignoras, quam sint incerti et animi hominum infecti partibus et exitus procliorum. Quin etiam, si, ut spero, vicerimus, tamen magnam gubernationem tui consilii tuaeque auctoritatis res desiderabit: subveni igitur, per deos, idque quam primum, tibi que persuade non te Idibus Martiis, quibus servitutem a tuis civibus depulisti, plus profuisse patriae quam, si mature veneris, profuturum. v. Idus Quinctiles.

*renatum*] cp. 886, 3, *sed bellum istuc renatum mirantur homines.*

*exercitus autem Caesaris . . . flagitari*] During July the army of Octavian appears to have exhibited a tendency to put pressure on the government, and to insist that their general should be elected consul; but the peremptory demand of the 400 centurions was most probably not made until August. Such a striking event, and one which impressed future ages so powerfully (cp. App. iii. 87; Suet. Aug. 26; Dio Cass. xlv. 42) would certainly have been mentioned more definitely in this letter if it had already been made; and Cicero could hardly have written of Octavian as he did in 915, 4, if such a very overt act of insubordination had occurred in his army.

*Brutum cum Planco coniunctum*] This occurred about June 12, and must have been known in Rome before the end of the month. Cicero was so occupied in

defending the measures taken by the senate against Lepidus that he did not mention this news in 909.

*partibus*] 'party spirit': cp. Sall. Cat. 4, 2, *quod mihi a spe metu partibus rei p. animus liber erat.*

*Quin . . . desiderabit*] cp. 910, 4 (to Cassius).

*depulisti*] So Ern. for *repulisti*. The two words differ: *depellere* is to drive away an evil already affecting you; *repellere* to ward off an approaching evil: cp. Madvig, Fin. i. 33. Meyer excellently compares *deicere* and *reicere*, Caec. 38, *Isne apud vos obtinebit causam suam, qui se ita defenderit*: '*Reicci ego te armatis hominibus non deieci, ut tantum facinus non in aequitate defensionis, sed in una littera latuisse videatur.*' He also refers to 914, 4, *pestis depulsa*; 842, 2, *repellit omnes reprehensiones*. Cicero designedly uses *depulisti*, for he always considered that they were slaves under the tyranny of Caesar.



## DCCCCXIV. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 15).

ROME; BETWEEN JULY 11 AND 27; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43;

AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero Messallam mirifice laudat, et reprehensionem nimiae in tribuendis honoribus facilitatis, in poenis autem decernendis severitatis accurate diluit.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Messallam habes: quibus igitur litteris tam accurate scriptis assequi possum, subtilius ut explicem, quae gerantur quaeque sint in re publica, quam tibi is exponet, qui et optime omnia novit et elegantissime expedire et deferre ad te potest? cave enim exis-

This letter was written after July 11th (the date of 913), and before the 27th (the date of 915), on which day Cicero had an interview with Servilia; for he makes no mention of that interview in this long letter. It is not to be considered as merely an answer to 857 (of May 15th). Doubtless Brutus had been writing to several friends at Rome, complaining of Cicero's general policy towards Octavian, and Cicero felt bound to write a formal justification. Perhaps even, as Schmidt (Jahrb. 1890, p. 122) suggests, this letter was written before the receipt of Brutus's letter of July 1 (908), cp. 915, 6, that is, before July 15.

Messalla, who was one of the fellow-students of young Cicero at Athens, was on intimate terms with Cicero, cp. Att. xvi. 16A, 5 (767), and was accordingly entrusted with this political letter, which opened with an introduction of Messalla to Brutus. Once having become acquainted with Brutus, Messalla could be regarded by him somewhat in the light of an ambassador, and could support and advance the case already urged by Cicero. This letter then is something more than a mere *epistola commendaticia*. That Cicero was intending to give Messalla a letter of some importance to convey to Brutus is probable, cp. 909, 1, *etsi daturus eram Messallae Corvino continuo litteras*, as he would hardly speak in these terms of a mere letter of introduction.

For another example of an *epistola commendaticia* which develops into a political document cp. Fam. i. 8 (119), where the bearer, Plaetorius, probably played much the same part as Messalla does here. Another letter of introduction, which goes on to treat of other matters, is Fam. xiii. 77 (638).

1. *Messallam habes*] 'Messalla is now with you': cp. Att. ii. 22, 4 (49), *si te habebo*; xiii. 9, 1 (623), *cum haberem Dolabellam*. A chronological difficulty is caused by the fact that Appian (iv. 38) appears to imply that Messalla did not leave Rome for the camp of Brutus until the proscriptions had been already set on foot. But what Appian is interested in relating is that Messalla was one of those who were proscribed, who escaped death, and who afterwards were advanced to honours: he was not careful to be strictly accurate as to the exact date on which Messalla repaired to the camp of Brutus.

*quibus igitur . . . potest*] 'by what letters of mine, be they ever so carefully composed, can I succeed in describing with more minute accuracy the course and situation of affairs in the political world than his narrative will give? He has the most thorough knowledge of everything, and can set it forth and relate it to you in the most perfect style.' For *tam* in this sense Becher compares Att. viii. 4, 2 (335), *numquam reo cuiquam tam humili . . . tam praeclasse negavi quam hic mihi*

times, Brute—quamquam non necesse est ea me ad te, quae tibi nota sunt, scribere, sed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellentiam non queo silentio praeterire—, cave putes probitate constantia, cura studio rei publicae quidquam illi esse simile, ut eloquentia, qua mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere videatur, quamquam in hac ipsa sapientia plus apparet: ita gravi iudicio multaque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi; tanta autem industria est tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio, quod in eo summum est, gratia habenda videatur. 2. Sed provehor amore: non enim id propositum est huic epistolae, Messallam ut laudem, praesertim ad Brutum, cui et virtus illius non minus quam mihi nota est et haec ipsa studia, quae laudo, notiora; quem cum a me dimittens graviter ferrem, hoc levabar uno, quod ad te tamquam ad alterum me proficiscens et officioungebatur et laudem maximam sequebatur. Sed haec hactenus. 3. Venio nunc longo sane intervallo ad quandam epistolam, qua mihi multa tribuens unum reprehendebas, quod in honoribus decernendis essem nimius et tamquam prodigus. Tu hoc: alius fortasse, quod in animadversione poenaeque durior, nisi

*plane nulla exceptione praecidit*, where with *tam humili* supply in thought *quam qui humillimus*: De Orat. i. 226: Pis. 10, and similarly *ita* in Brut. 197. *Elegantia* is often applied to what is expressed with neatness and precision. For *expedire* cp. 890, 5, and note; Tac. Hist. iv. 12. For *adsequi* ut cp. Rep. i. 50.

*tantum . . . excellentiam*] 'so great pre-eminence in every kind of distinction.'

*eloquentia*] Between 708 and 710 (46 and 44) occurred the trial of Aufidia (Quintil. x. 1, 22), in which Messalla appeared with considerable success against Servius Sulpicius. As regards Messalla's eloquence, cp. Dial. de Orat. 18, *Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus*; Senec. Controv. ii. 12, 8 (= p. 198 Kiessl.), *fuit autem Messalla exactissimi ingenii quidem in omnes studiorum partes, Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus*; Quintil. x. 1, 113, *At Messalla nitidus et candidus et quodam modo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor*.

*in eo*] 'in his case.'

*locum ad laudandum*] For this passive use of the gerund Hermann compares De

Orat. ii. 346, *haec habent uberrimam copiam ad laudandum*; Roby, 1377.

*gravi iudicio*] 'sound judgment.' *verissimo*] cp. Brut. 23, *qui eloquentiae verae dat operam, dat prudentiae*.

2. *quem cum . . . ferrem*] 'and when, on parting from him, I felt sad.' In strict grammar we must not take *graviter ferrem* as governing *dimittens*, for that would be a Greek construction not allowable in prose. Similarly, in Att. iv. 5, 1 (108), *senscrum, noram, inductus, relictus, proiectus ab iis*, we must take the participles by themselves, 'I perceived and learned (their perfidy), taken in as I was by them': cp. Fam. xv. 20, 2 (702); also below, § 3, *tribuens*. For *graviter ferre* used absolutely, Ruete (p. 113) compares Att. ii. 19, 3 (46).

*tamquam ad alterum me*] cp. Fam. ii. 15, 4 (273), *quoniam alterum me reliquissim*; vii. 5, 1 (134); Att. iv. 1, 7 (90).

3. *epistolam*] This is a very plain reference to 857, 2-3: 856, 3-5, which passages Gurlitt holds supplied a cue to the (as he believes) forger of §§ 3-11.

*nimius . . . prodigus*] 'extravagant and, so to speak, wasteful.'

*Tu hoc*] sc. *reprehendebas*, supplied

forte utrumque tu; quod si ita est, utriusque rei meum iudicium studeo tibi esse notissimum, neque solum, ut Solonis dictum usurpem, qui et sapientissimus fuit ex septem et legum scriptor solus ex septem: is rem publicam contineri duabus rebus dixit, praemio et poena; est scilicet utriusque rei modus, sicut reliquarum, et quaedam in utroque genere mediocritas. Sed non tanta de re propositum est hoc loco disputare. 4. Quid ego autem secutus hoc bello sim in sententiis dicendis, aperire non alienum puto. Post interitum Caesaris et vestras memorabiles Idus Mart., Brute, quid ego praetermissum a vobis quantamque impendere rei publicae tempestatem dixerim, non es oblitus: magna pestis erit depulsa per vos, magna populi Romani macula deleta, vobis vero parta divina gloria, sed instrumentum regni delatum ad Lepidum et Antonium, quorum alter inconstantior, alter impurior, uterque

from the previous sentence. Meyer (p. 129) notices the number of ellipses in this sentence and in § 10.

*forte*] The mss give *fortasse*; but that word cannot be used after *si* or *nisi* (Antibarbar. i<sup>o</sup>. 551). The corruption arose either from the proximity of *fortasse* in the line before, or possibly *essem* was originally written after *durior*, and somehow was transposed out of its proper place, and made to follow *forte*.

*neque solum*] It is difficult to suggest any reasonable correction for this sentence. If we could suppose that *facere* fell out after *solum*, all would be right; but we cannot see any reason why the word should have been lost. Commentators generally regard the sentence as an anacoluthon, the clause with *sed etiam* having been omitted.

*usurpem*] 'to adopt': cp. Att. vii. 2, 8 (293), *usurpavi vetus illud Drusi*. Dr. Reid, on Lael. 28, says, "The word properly means (*usu-rip-are* = to seize on for use) "to constantly put a thing in practice," or of thoughts, "to con over." Cicero might simply have appealed to Solon's judgment, but he preferred to set forth at length his own opinion on the question.

*qui . . . septem*] 'who was not only the wisest theoretical philosopher of the Seven Wise Men, but was also the only one of them who was a practical legislator.' M<sup>2</sup> has *sapiens unus*, which Becher wishes to read, comparing Lael. 59, a

*Biante qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem*; and he might appeal to the Drendensis, which has *sapiens unus*. But it is better to adhere to the reading of M<sup>1</sup>, as it makes the sentence stronger, and balances *legum scriptor solus* better than the reading of M<sup>2</sup> does.

*is . . . poena*] cp. Fam. i. 9, 18 (153), where a similar sentiment is attributed to Plato, *cumque populum Atheniensem nec persuadendo nec nisi cogendo regi posse vidisset*. For appeals to the conduct of statesmen of the old time, cp. the reference to Solon and Themistocles, Att. x. 1, 2 (378): and to Themistocles, x. 8, 4, 7 (392); vii. 3, 11 (304); ix. 10, 2 (365). We may add, to Agamemnon and Nestor in Fam. ix. 14, 2 (722).

*mediocritas*] 'moderation,' 'mean': cp. Hor. Carm. ii. 10, 5, *Auream quisquis mediocritatem Diligit*.

4. *Post interitum*] As the reference in this clause is to Cicero's often-expressed opinion that Antony ought to have been slain with Caesar, we must take *post* with *dixerim*, not with *praetermissum*. Schmidt, however, thinks (Jahrb. 1884, p. 636) that it may refer to the indulgence shown by the conspirators to Lepidus, to their neglect to summon the senate to the Capitol on March 16, and to the sin of omission committed by D. Brutus in not bringing his troops to Rome in April, 710 (44), when Antony had left the city: cp. Att. xv. 11, 2 (744), and Schmidt, Die letzten Kämpfe i. 713.

pacem metuens, inimicus otio; his ardentibus perturbandae rei publicae cupiditate quod opponi posset praesidium, non habebamus—erexerat enim se civitas in retinenda libertate consentiens, 5. nos tum nimis acres, vos fortasse sapientius excessistis urbe ea, quam liberaratis, Italiae sua vobis studia profitenti remisistis. Itaque, cum teneri urbem a parriicidis viderem nec te in ea nec Cassium tuto esse posse eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi—tetrum enim spectaculum oppressa ab impiis civitas opitulandi potestate praecisa—; sed animus idem, qui semper, infixus in patriae caritate discessum ab eius periculis ferre non potuit. Itaque in medio Achaico cursu, cum etesiarum diebus Auster me in Italiam quasi dissuasor mei consilii rettulisset, te vidi Veliae doluique vehementer, cedebas enim, Brute, cedebas—quoniam Stoici nostri negant fugere sapientes—; 6. Romam ut veni, statim me obtuli Antonii scelerei atque dementiae, quem cum in me incitavissem, consilia inire

*inimicus otio*] cp. Att. xiv. 21, 2, 4 (728), *timere otium*.

*erexerat . . . consentiens*] In order to explain *enim*, a simple course to adopt would be, with Kayser and Meyer, to transfer *erexerat* . . . *consentiens* to follow *remisistis*. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 184) alters *habebamus* to *carebamus*; Van der Vliet to *desiderabamus*; but these alterations are nearly as desperate as the insertion of a negative. Doubtless the true explanation is that suggested by Becher, that the force of *enim* does not come into operation until we arrive at *vos fortasse*, the previous clauses being virtually equivalent to *quamvis se erexisset*. For this use of *enim* cp. Nägelsbach (ed. 6), 523–524; Madv. Fin. i. 18.

5. *nos tum nimis acres*] cp. 842, 1, *ratio quibusdam in rebus—non enim omnibus—paullo fortasse vehementior*. Cicero is, perhaps, here alluding to his action on the evening of the Ides of March and on the following days. He advised that there should be no dealings with Antony, and urged that the praetors Brutus and Cassius should summon the senate to the Capitol while their opponents were still in a panic: cp. Att. xiv. 10, 1 (713); Phil. ii. 89 (Ruete, p. 95). Cicero adhered to this opinion even after another course of action had been adopted.

*remisistis*] 'you declined to use it.'

*infixus in patriae caritate*] It is hard to

find an exact parallel for this expression; but Phil. xiv. 3 (quoted by Meyer), *qui omnes suas curas in rei p. salute defigunt* is almost similar; for *caritas* can be viewed as an object on which one's attention is directed almost as well as *salus*, 'concentrated on patriotism,' i.e. acted on by no other motive than patriotism: Phil. vii. 5; Fam. ii. 6, 3 (177). For *caritate* Schmidt proposes to read *integritate*.

*in medio Achaico cursu*] 'in the middle of my journey to Achaëa': cp. *Epiroticae litterae*, 'letters for Epirus,' Boot on Att. xii. 53 (600). On the strength of *medio* here we read *medio* for *mco* of the best mss in Fam. x. 1, 1 (787).

*quasi dissuasor*] cp. Fam. xii. 25, 3 (825), *in Gracciam rapiebar, cum me etesiae quasi boni cives relinquentem rem publicam prosequi noluerunt, austerque adversus maximo flatu me ad tribules tuos Regium rettulit*.

*cedebas*] i.e. you were 'retiring.' Such is the word to use, not 'flying,' for Stoics never fly.

*sapientes*] So Wesenberg, for *sapientis*. for the ellipse of *esse* with *sapientis* is harsh. Cobet (p. 288) proposes *sapientem*, as the characteristics of the stoical wise man are generally represented by a series of statements like *ὁ σόφος οὐ φεύγει*: cp. Fam. ix. 22, 5 (633).

6. *me obtuli*] cp. Pis. 21, *unum me pro omnium salute obtuli*.



coepi Brutina plane—vestri enim haec sunt propria sanguinis—rei publicae liberandae. Longa sunt, quae restant, *et* praetereunda, sunt enim de me : tantum dico, Caesarem hunc adolescentem, per quem adhuc sumus, si verum fateri volumus, fluxisse ex fonte consiliorum meorum. 7. Huic habiti a me honores, nulli quidem, Brute, nisi debiti, nulli nisi necessarii ; ut enim primum libertatem revocare coepimus, cum se nondum ne Decimi quidem Bruti divina virtus ita commovisset, ut iam id scire possemus, atque omne praesidium esset [in puero, qui a cervicibus nostris avertisset Antonium, quis honos ei non fuit decernendus ? quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem tribui, eamque modicam ; decrevi etiam imperium, quod quamquam videbatur illi aetati honorificum, tamen erat exercitum habenti necessarium, quid enim est sine imperio exercitus ? Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, post maiorem etiam Servilius :

*et praetereunda*] The insertion of *et* is due to Wesenberg, and is sanctioned by Becher.

*fluxisse ex fonte consiliorum meorum*] 'is a stream which derives its source from my advice.' For equally strong metaphors of 'flowing,' cp. Nägelsbach<sup>6</sup>, 469.

7. *divina virtus*] It is hard to believe, with Ruete (p. 113) and Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 184), that this is ironical. No doubt Cicero does sometimes censure D. Brutus, Att. xv. 4, 1 (734) ; 897, 2 ; but these passages would not justify such bitter sarcasm as *divina virtus* used ironically ; nor could Cicero have said in § 8, *atque illo die cognovi haud paullo plures in senatu malevolos esse quam gratos*, if he had a very contemptuous opinion of the services of D. Brutus ; and it would be too glaringly inconsistent with the tone of Cicero's letters to him. Whatever may have been the faults of D. Brutus, he had stood firmly for the cause of the state. He was perhaps the least inefficient soldier of all the senatorial generals.

*se . . . commovisset*] 'had stirred itself.' For this use of *commovere* with an impersonal subject personified, Becher compares Mil. 85, *religiones mehercule ipsae . . . commosse se videntur* ; Lucr. iv. 886, *ergo animus cum sese ita commovet ut velit ire*.

*id*] i.e. *nos libertatem revocasse*. For *id* referring to a preceding clause, cp.

Reid on Senect. 8 ; so that there is no need to read with Schmidt (Jahrb. 1889, p. 184), *ut iam quid (? aliquid) sperare possemus*, nor his later conjecture (Jahrb. 1890, p. 135), *ut iam respirare possemus*, comparing Att. ii. 24, 5 (51) ; x. 1, 1 (378).

*decrevi . . . exercitus*] cp. Phil. v. 45, *Demus igitur imperium Caesari, sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest : sit pro praetore eo iure quo qui optimo : qui honos quamquam est magnus illa aetate, tamen ad necessitatem rerum gerendarum, non solum ad dignitatem valet*.

*primo Servius post . . . Servilius*] It might seem from Phil. v. 46, that the proposals referred to were Cicero's own ; but when we remember that Servilius was on other occasions in 711 (43) asked his opinion before Cicero (Phil. vii. 27 ; xiv. 11), we may readily suppose that such was also the case on January 1 ; and that, as Cicero had made a long speech on that occasion, he, in regular fashion, concluded it by once more stating the motion which had been already made by Servius Sulpicius and Servilius : see Cobet, p. 289. Probably whenever a senator spoke to his opinion, and did not merely express his assent to a motion already made, he was at liberty, if he pleased, to conclude his speech by again reading the motion in full.



nihil tum nimium videbatur. 8. Sed nescio quo modo *homines* facilius in timore benigni quam in victoria grati reperiuntur: ego enim, D. Bruto liberato cum laetissimus ille civitati dies illuxisset idemque casu Bruti natalis esset, decrevi, ut in fastis ad eum diem Bruti nomen ascriberetur, in eoque sum maiorum exemplum secutus, qui hunc honorem mulieri Larentiae tribuerunt, cuius vos pontifices ad aram in Velabro sacrificium facere soletis, quod ego eum dabam Bruto, notam esse in fastis gratissimae victoriae sempiternam volebam; atqui illo die cognovi paullo plures in senatu malevolos esse quam gratos. Eos per ipsos dies effudi—si ita vis—honores in mortuos, Hirtium et Pansam, Aquilam etiam, quod quis reprehendit, nisi qui deposito metu praeteriti periculi fuerit oblitus? 9. Accedebat ad beneficii memoriam gratam ratio illa, quae etiam posteris esset salutaris: exstare enim volebam in crudelissimos hostes monumenta odii publici sempi-

8. *homines*] Cobet inserts this word, comparing 864, 8.

*laetissimus ille . . . dies*] i.e. the day on which the news of the Battle of Mutina reached Rome (April 26 or 27): cp. 886, 3 (to D. Brutus), *nam die tuo natali victoria nuntiata in multa saecula videbamus rem p. liberatam*. Cicero appears to have proposed that there be added to that day in the Calendar NAT. D. IVNI BRVTI. Festivals in honour of victories were often celebrated in subsequent years, on the anniversary of the day on which the news arrived in Rome: thus the festival in commemoration of the Battle of Munda (fought March 17) was celebrated on April 21 (Dio Cass. xliii. 42, 3; Marquardt iii. 551).

*mulieri Larentiae*] Various stories are told as to the character and adventures of Acca Larentia, who was specially honoured in the feast to the dead called Larentalia, celebrated Dec. 23. For these stories see Mommsen, Röm. Forsch. ii. 1 ff., and Wissowa, in the new ed. of Pauly, i. 132. She was a mortal, and not a goddess—that may be regarded as settled (cp. Wissowa, p. 134); and what Cicero means here is, that if he had carried his motion, Acca Larentia and D. Brutus would have been the only two mortals whose names were inserted in the Calendar: cp. Van der Vliet (Jahrb. 1885. p. 376).

*sacrificium facere*] Though no doubt

*facere* can be used by itself in the signification of 'to perform a sacrifice,' cp. Att. i. 12, 3 (17); Mur. 90; Liv. x. 42, 7, yet there is no sufficient reason, with Manutius and Becher, to suppose that *sacrificium* is a gloss: cp. Balb. 55, *sed cum illam quae Graecum illud sacrum monstraret et faceret ex Graccia deligerent, tamen sacra pro civibus civem facere voluerunt*.

*paullo*] So the mss. Editors since Vict. read *haud paullo*. But the ungrateful majority in the senate may not have been large: and the absence of the negative renders the sentence more consonant with the studied moderation of expression which is preserved throughout the whole letter.

*malevolos*] cp. D. Brutus, 854, 1; 855, 1. The motion of Cicero fell through owing to the jealousy of some enemies of Brutus.

*effudi*] 'squandered.'

*honores in mortuos*] The consuls were granted a public funeral: cp. Liv. Epit. 119; Vell. ii. 62.

*reprehendit*] For the consecution Becher (505) compares Att. x. 8, 5 (392), *quod si iam misso officio periculi ratio habenda est, ab illis est periculum si peccaro, ab hoc si recte fecero*; Ter. Andr. 3, 3, 33, *qui scis ergo istuc, nisi periculum feceris?* There is no need to alter to *reprehendet*, with Orelli and Wesenberg.

9. *ratio*] 'consideration.'

terna. Suspicio illud tibi minus probari, quod a tuis familiaribus, optimis illis quidem viris, sed in re publica rudibus, non probabatur, quod, ut ovanti introire Caesari liceret, decreverim; ego autem—sed erro fortasse, nec tamen is sum, ut mea me maxime delectent—nihil mihi videor hoc bello sensisse prudentius; cur autem ita sit, aperiendum non est, ne magis videar providus fuisse quam gratus: [hoc ipsum nimium,] quare alia videamus. D. Bruto decrevi honores, decrevi L. Planco: praeclara illa quidem ingenia, quae gloria invitantur, sed senatus etiam sapiens, qui, qua quemque re putat, modo honesta, ad rem publicam iuvandam posse adduci, hac utitur. At in Lepido reprehendimur, cui cum statuam in rostris statuissimus, iidem illam evertimus: nos illum honore studuimus a furore revocare; vicit amentia levissimi hominis nostram prudentiam, nec tamen tantum in statuenda Lepidi statua factum est mali, quantum in evertenda boni. 10. Satis multa de honoribus: nunc de poena pauca dicenda sunt; intellexi enim ex tuis saepe litteris te in iis, quos bello devicisti, clementiam tuam velle laudari. Existimo equidem nihil a te nisi

[*familiaribus*] Probably Casca was one of these: cp. 865, 1. The separate party of adherents of Brutus is also mentioned in 915, 1.

[*quod . . . decreverim*] This is the virtual oblique subjunctive after the verb of censure.

[*ovanti*] cp. 865, 2, where Brutus says that a *triumph* was granted to Octavian, But, as Ruete (p. 99) points out, an *ovatio* was often called a triumph: cp. Mon. Ancyr. i. 21, *bis ovans triumphavi tris egi curules triumphos*; and the Greek expression for an *ovatio* is *πρὸς θρίαμβος* (Dionys. ix. 36; Marquardt iii. 671). Livy, Epit. 119, thinks that the senate showed little gratitude to Octavian in granting him only this secondary honour.

[*hoc ipsum nimium*] We venture to think that this is a gloss of a reader who wished to express the just opinion that the preceding statement of Cicero was too highly coloured. If the words were Cicero's own we should probably have some qualification added like *sed fortasse*.

[*praeclara*] Ruete supposes that this word, as well as *divina virtus* in § 7, is ironical, with which opinion we cannot agree. Cicero means that D. Brutus and

Plancus are noble souls, who are influenced by love of renown, and not by any selfish considerations: fame is that last infirmity of a noble mind. And not only are they athirst for fame, which itself is in some measure a reason why the honours should be granted them, but the senate too is acting wisely in acceding to their wishes, and adopting all honourable means whereby anyone can be induced to do good service to the state.

[*quae gloria invitantur*] cp. Lig. 12, *praemiis etiam invitabat*; 834, 2, *is autem qui vere appellari potest honos non invitamentum ad tempus sed perfectae virtutis est praemium*.

[*evertimus*] This was done by the decree of June 30, which declared Lepidus a public enemy: cp. 910, 1.

10. [*saepe*] For attributive adverbs cp. N. D. ii. 166, *deorum saepe praesentiae*, on which Professor Mayor quotes Ter. Andr. i. 2, 4, *eri semper lenitas*; Plaut. Pers. iii. 1, 57, *non tu nunc hominum mores vides*. Becher compares 864, 3, *unius vix etiam nunc viri*; 915, 3, *pro adolescentulo ac paene puero*. Add Sest. 93 and Off. ii. 20, where Dr. Holden quotes 1 Tim. v. 23, 'Use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.' We

sapienter; sed sceleris poenam praetermittere—id enim est, quod vocatur ignoscere—, etiamsi in ceteris rebus tolerabile est, in hoc bello perniciosum puto: nullum enim bellum civile fuit in nostra re publica omnium, quae memoria mea fuerunt, in quo bello non, utracumque pars vicisset, tamen aliqua forma esset futura rei publicae; hoc bello victores quam rem publicam simus habituri, non facile affirmarim, victis certe nulla umquam erit. Dixi igitur sententias in Antonium, dixi in Lepidum severas, neque tam ulciscendi causa, quam ut et in praesens sceleratos cives timore ab impugnanda patria deterrerem et in posterum documentum statuerem, ne quis talem amentiam vellet imitari. 11. Quamquam haec quidem sententia non magis mea fuit quam omnium, in qua videtur illud esse crudele, quod ad liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, poena pervenit; sed id et antiquum est et omnium civitatum, si quidem etiam Themistocli liberi eguerunt, et, si iudicio damnatos eadem poena sequitur cives, qui potuimus leniores esse in hostes? quid autem queri quisquam potest de me, qui, si vicisset, acerbior se in me futurum fuisse confiteatur necesse est? Habes rationem mearum sententiarum de hoc genere dumtaxat honoris et poenae; nam, de ceteris rebus quid senserim quidque censuerim, audisse te arbitror. 12. Sed haec quidem non ita necessaria: illud valde necessarium, Brute, te in Italiam cum exercitu venire

may also compare Shakespeare, M. for M. v. 1, 534, 'Thanks good friend Escalus for thy much goodness'; Bacon, Adv. of Learning, 274, 'By her *only* aspect she turned men into stones.'

*sapienter*] sc. *factum esse* or *feri*, a not infrequent ellipse: cp. Att. xv. 10 (743); Off. i. 82; Dräger i. p. 199.

*id enim est*] Becher (Philol. xliv. p. 496) wants to know 'what in all the world does this parenthesis mean?' It means that, though Brutus and others may be pleased to call his treatment of C. Antonius 'pardoning' his opponents, it is really 'neglecting' to visit guilt with its due punishment. Cicero uses no stronger word than *praetermittere*, because his meaning could not be mistaken, owing to the strong word *sceleris*.

*in praesens*] Cicero generally does not omit *tempus*: yet cp. the mss in Fam. ii. 10, 4 (225), *in praesenti*, generally altered to *in praesentia*, perhaps rightly. The omission is common enough in other

writers, Nep. Att. 12, 5; Sall. Cat. 16, 3; Liv. ii. 42, 7, and Müller's note.

*documentum statuerem, ne*] cp. Plaut. Capt. iii. 5, 94, *illis documentum dabo ne tale quisquam facinus incipere audeat*.

11. *qui, si vicisset*] 'who must needs confess that if he had conquered he would have himself acted with far greater cruelty against me.'

*Habes . . . poenae*] 'You have now a statement of my sentiments on this system at least of rewards and punishments': cp. Phil. xi. 3, for the sentiment.

*quid senserim quidque censuerim*] 'my opinions and motives.'

*audisse*] He would hear of them from the letters of his friends and from the Acta. Schmidt (Jährl. 1890, p. 135) thinks that we should read *admissee*, 'assented to,' an attractive, but not necessary, alteration.

12. *haec*] This refers generally to the whole discussion, which Cicero had just concluded.

quam primum. Summa est expectatio tui; quod si Italiam attigeris, ad te concursus fiet omnium: sive enim vicerimus—qui quidem pulcherrime viceramus, nisi Lepidus perdere omnia et perire ipse cum suis concupivisset—, tua nobis auctoritate opus est ad collocandum aliquem civitatis statum; sive etiam nunc certamen reliquum est, maxima spes est cum in auctoritate tua, tum in exercitus tui viribus. Sed propera, per deos! scis, quantum sit in temporibus, quantum in celeritate. 13. Sororis tuae filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te ex matris et ex sororis litteris cogniturum: qua in causa maiorem habeo rationem tuae voluntatis, quae mihi carissima est, quam, ut quibusdam videor, constantiae meae; sed ego nulla in re malo quam *in* te amando constans et esse et videri.

## DCCCCXV. CICERO TO BRUTUS (BRUT. I. 18).

ROME; JULY 27; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

Cicero scribit de exercitus in Italiam adducendi necessitate, de sollicitudine sua in retinendo Octavio pro quo spoponderat pop. Romano, de rei pecuniariae difficultate, et de Lepidi filiis.

## CICERO BRUTO SAL.

1. Cum saepe te litteris hortatus essem, ut quam primum rei publicae subvenires in Italiamque exercitum adduceres, neque id arbitrarer dubitare tuos necessarios, rogatus sum a prudentissima et diligentissima femina, matre tua, cuius omnes curae ad te referuntur et in te consumuntur, ut venirem ad se a. d. viii. Kal.

*vicerimus*] cp. 910, 3, and note.  
*in auctoritate*] *in* was added by Cobet.  
 It is also found in some mss, e.g. Dresdensis.

13. *Sororis tuae*] She was the wife of Lepidus. This connexion between the families of Brutus and Lepidus is the reason why Cicero is so anxious to justify to Brutus his treatment of Lepidus. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1890, p. 133) finally says:—‘At the end of this long letter, Cicero’s warm heart makes him forget all irritation at the “three-line-letter” of Brutus, all contention about Octavian:

the most heart-felt words spring to his lips, as if he could thereby warm the cold, calculating mind of his friend, and by the power of his strong feeling carry the other away with him.’ Schmidt has done more than anyone else to put the characters of Cicero and Brutus in the right light.

1. *saepe*] Meyer (p. 19) quotes a large number of similar exhortations, 897, 1, 4, 5; 902, 3; 909, 2, 3; 913, 2; 914, 12.  
*matre tua*] Servilia.



Sextiles: quod ego, ut debui, sine mora feci; cum autem venissem, Casca aderat et Labeo et Scaptius. At illa rettulit quaesivitque, quidnam mihi videretur, arecseremusne te atque id tibi conducere putaremus an tardare ac commorari te melius esset. 2. Respondi id, quod sentiebam, et dignitati et existimationi tuae maxime conducere te primo quoque tempore ferre praesidium labenti et inclinatae paene rei publicae; quid enim abesse censes mali in eo bello, in quo victores exercitus fugientem hostem persequi noluerint et in quo incolumis imperator, honoribus amplissimis fortunisque maximis, coniuge, liberis, vobis affinibus ornatus, bellum rei publicae indixerit? Quid dicam 'in tanto senatus populi que consensu,' cum tantum resideat intra muros mali? 3. Maximo autem, cum haec scribebam, afficiebar dolore, quod, cum me pro adolescentulo ac paene puero res publica acceperisset vadem, vix videbar, quod promiseram, praestare posse; est autem gravior et difficilior animi et sententiae, maximis praesertim in rebus, pro altero quam pecuniae obligatio: haec enim solvi potest et est rei familiaris iactura tolerabilis; rei publicae quod sponponderis, quemadmodum solvas, nisi is dependi facile patitur, pro quo sponde-

*Labeo et Scaptius*] Labeo was one of the conspirators. He died fighting bravely at Philippi (Plut. Brut. 51; App. iv. 135). Scaptius was an agent whom Brutus often employed in his affairs in Asia: cp. Att. vi. 1, 5 (252); 840, 1.

*tardare*] It is rare to find this word used intransitively: cp. Publilius Syrus, 227, *audendo erescit virtus, tardando timor*. But there is no reason why *tardare* should not = *tardus esse*, when *durare* = *durus esse*: see Furneaux on Tac. Ann. i. 6, 3.

2. *labenti et inclinatae*] 'slipping and almost falling.' For *labenti* Wesenberg wishes to read *labanti*, 'tottering.'

*honoribus . . . ornatus*] 'distinguished, as he is, by the highest honours and the best gifts of fortune, by his wife, by his children, and by his relationship with you.'

*resideat*] a favourite word with Cicero.

3. *adolescentulo ac paene puero*] cp. Phil. iii. 3, C. Caesar *adolescens, paene potius puer*. For the attributive adverb cp. note to 914, 10.

*vadem*] cp. the fine passage, Phil. v. 51, *Audebo etiam obligare fidem meam, p. e., vobis populoque Romano . . . promitto, recipio, spondeo, p. e., C. Caesarem*

*talem semper fore civem qualis hodie sit qualemque cum maxime esse velle et optare debemus*. Cp. the fragment of the letter of Cicero to Octavian ap. Nonius, 371, 7, written shortly after Jan. 1, *Tu si meam fidem praestiteris quod confido te esse facturum*.

*nisi is dependi facile patitur*] Wesenberg reads *nisi* for *si*, 'Unless he is ready to allow payment to be made.' For *dependi* cp. Fam. i. 9, 9 (153), *dependentium tibi est quod mihi pro illo spondesti*; Att. i. 8, 3 (5). It is forcing the mere words unduly when Markland and Meyer argue that *facile patitur* is not a correct expression, *facile* being superfluous; but the two words mean nothing more than 'is ready,' or 'is willing.' Becher defends the mss *si*, translating 'How can you pay your suretyship to the state when he for whom you have gone surety is quite satisfied that you should pay' (i.e. that he should not pay)? But we think that, besides the awkwardness of the expression ('How are you to pay when you have to pay?') which implies that you can by some means pay), the emphatic words *a te* should be added, in order to obtain the sense which Becher requires.



ris? 4. Quamquam et hunc, ut spero, tenebo multis repugnantibus: videtur enim esse *in eo* indoles, sed flexibilis aetas multique ad depravandum parati, qui splendore falsi honoris obiecto aciem boni ingenii praestringi posse confidunt. Itaque ad reliquos hic quoque labor mihi accessit, ut omnes adhibeam machinas ad tenendum adolescentem, ne famam subeam temeritatis: quamquam quae temeritas est? Magis enim illum, pro quo spopondi, quam me ipsum obligavi, nec vero paenitere potest rem publicam me pro eo spopondisse, qui fuit in rebus gerundis cum suo ingenio, tum mea promissione constantior. 5. Maximus autem, nisi me forte fallit, in re publica nodus est inopia rei pecuniariae: obdurescunt enim magis quotidie boni viri ad vocem tributi, quod ex centesima collatum impudenti censu locupletium in duarum legionum praemiis omne consumitur; impendent autem infiniti sumptus cum in hos exercitus, quibus nunc defendimur, tum vero in tuum—nam Cassius noster videtur posse satis ornatus venire. Sed et haec et multa alia coram cupio, idque quam primum. 6. De sororis tuae filiis non exspectavi, Brute, dum scriberes: omnino ipsa tempora—bellum enim ducetur—integram tibi causam reservant; sed ego a principio, cum divinare de belli diuturnitate non

4. *indoles*] ‘he seems to have character.’ There is no need to add an adjective, such as *bona*, or *praeclara*: cp. note to Att. x. 12 b, 7 (398); Plaut. Rud. ii. 4, 10, *quae indoles in savio*; Liv. i. 3, 1, *tanta indoles in Lavinia erat*. We have added *in eo*, with the old editors.

*aciem boni ingenii*] ‘the keen perception of his loyal nature.’

*machinas*] cp. Plaut. Mil. iii. 2, 1, *quantas moveo machinas*.

*paenitere . . . rem publicam me*] The accusative and infinitive after *paenitere* is rare. We do not know of any other example in Cicero, except Sest. 95, quoted by Meyer, who justly says that it is not an exact parallel, as the subject is *se*.

5. *obdurescunt*] ‘have grown callous to’: cp. Att. xiii. 2, 1 (602), *sed iam ad ista obduruimus*; Fam. ii. 16, 1 (394). *obduruisset animus ad dolorem novum*. But this expression is somewhat harsh with *ad vocem*; so that we feel strongly inclined to read with Manutius, *obsurdescunt*, a good Ciceronian word: cp. Lael. 88.

*quod ex centesima . . . locupletium*] In Dio Cass. xvi. 31, 3, the taxes stated to have been raised at this time were 4 p. c. income tax, and 2½ sesterces on each *tegula*. Owing to the fraudulent returns of income made by the rich, the amount of money raised sufficed only to pay the rewards promised to two legions. Madvig puts a long stop after *tributi*, and supplies *est* after *collatum*: he also suggests *consensu* for *censu*. These alterations improve the passage, but are not absolutely required.

6. *non exspectavi . . . dum scriberes*] It would appear that Cicero discharged all his vindictive feelings against the children of Lepidus by writing 909; and that before he received 908 (dated July 11) he took measures to ensure their safety, knowing, as he did, how deeply anxious their uncle, Brutus, would be that they should not suffer for the sins of their father.

*integram tibi causam reservant*] ‘the very course of events is keeping the case open for settlement by you’: cp. 893, 6.

possem, ita causam egi puerorum in senatu, ut te arbitror e matris litteris potuisse cognoscere, nec vero ulla res erit umquam, in qua ego non vel vitae periculo ea dicam eaque faciam, quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrer. VI. Kal. Sextiles.

## DCCCCXVI. PLANCUS TO CICERO (FAM. X. 24).

CAMP IN GAUL; JULY 28; A. U. C. 711; B. C. 43; AET. CIC. 63.

L. Plancus M. Ciceroni memorem se beneficiorum fore pollicetur, suas copias narrat, subsidium exercitus poscit, Octavianum carpit.

### PLANCUS IMP. COS. DES. S. D. CICERONI.

1. Facere non possum quin in singulas res meritaque tua tibi gratias agam. Sed mehercule facio cum pudore. Neque enim tanta necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, desiderare videtur gratiarum actionem neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili munere defungor orationis, et malo praesens observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate memorem me tibi probare. Quod si mihi vita contigerit, omnes gratas amicitias atque etiam pias propinquitates in tua observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate vineam. Amor enim tuus ac iudicium de me utrum mihi plus

1. *Facere non possum*] Cicero had before stated that Plancus and he were on sufficiently friendly terms to refrain from thanking one another for services: cp. 879, 1, and 848, 1.

*in singulas res meritaque tua*] The *in* is not directly governed by *gratias agam*, for that phrase would require *pro* or *ob*.

*Neque . . . vineam*] 'Nor is it my desire, in acknowledgment of your very great kindnesses, to make such a poor return as mere language can convey: I prefer in person, by respectful, courteous, and constant devotion, to show you that I am not forgetful; and if my life is spared, I shall surpass all the gratitude of your friends, and even the affection of your relations, by my respectful, courteous, and constant devotion to you.' Some editors have omitted *in tua observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate*, as having been repeated by the copyist from

the same words above; for it is unusual to say *vineere in re*, and *tua observantia* for *observantia tui* (or *in*, or *erga*, *te*). Perhaps these editors are right, for *habent* in § 6 has, undoubtedly, crept into the text from the adjacent *habent*. Klotz reads *mutua* for *in tua*, very cleverly. Gitlbauer (p. 252) thinks *in tua observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate* is a gloss on *mutuo*, which has expelled the latter from the text. But perhaps it is better to adhere to the text, as Plancus may very well have wished to lay especial stress on these words. For *amicitiae* and *propinquitates*, the abstracts for the concretes, Watson compares Q. Fr. i. 1, 12 (30), *quos vero aut ex domesticis convictionibus aut ex necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti*: cp. also Sest. 109, and Dr. Holden's note, who quotes *dignitates* = 'dignitaries,' from Liv. xxii. 40, 4.

dignitatis in perpetuum an voluptatis cotidie sit adlaturus non facile dixerim. 2. De militum commodis fuit tibi curae: quos ego non potentiae meae causa—nihil enim me non salutariter cogitare scio—ornari volui a senatu, sed primum quod ita meritis iudicabam, deinde quod ad omnes casus coniunctiores rei publicae esse volebam, novissime ut ab omni omnium sollicitatione aversos eos tales vobis praestare possem, quales adhuc fuerunt. 3. Nos adhuc hic omnia integra sustinuimus. Quod consilium nostrum etsi quanta sit aviditas hominum non sine causa fatalis victoriae scio, tamen vobis probari spero. Non enim, si quid in his exercitiis sit offensum, magna subsidia res publica habet expedita, quibus subito impetu ac latrocinio parricidarum resistat. Copias

*adlaturus*] The predicate is made to agree with *amor*, the most important word in the sentence: cp. § 6, *Quae mens eum aut quorum consilia . . . avocarit . . . transtulerit*; also 861, 5, and note; Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 66, *Ipse meique . . . vescor*.

2. *De militum commodis fuit tibi curae*] For this impersonal construction cp. Att. vii. 5, 2 (296), *De Tirone video tibi curae esse*; 787, 1, and note; 883, 4. For *commoda* = 'interests,' cp. Fam. xi. 2, 3 (740); Tac. Ann. i. 26. The *commoda* in this case were grants of land. Cicero was himself on the Commission of Ten appointed to distribute the lands: cp. 877, 3; 893, 2.

*quos . . . ornari*] 'to whom I wished this honour to be paid.'

*scio*] Nodell and Wesenberg needlessly alter to *scis*.

*novissime*] This word would not have been used by Cicero for 'lastly.' Cicero uses *novissimus* only once (Rosc. Com. 30); D. Brutus uses it often, cp. Fam. xi. 1, 3, 4, 6.

*ut . . . fuerunt*] 'that they might be preserved from being tampered with in any way by any one, and that I might be able to present them to you as loyal a body as they have been up to this.' Plancus had already said that his army was being tampered with (833, 3).

3. *Nos . . . sustinuimus*] 'Up to this we have taken no decisive step.' For *omnia integra* cp. 893, 6.

*†talis victoriae*] So the best mss. Wesenberg adds <*belli*> from some inferior mss, and understands *talis belli* to mean 'a war such as the present,' i.e.

*teterrimi periculosissimique*, 879, 2. Koch ingeniously reads *fatalis*, which must apparently mean 'such as fate may decide.' Andr. thinks the reference is to a lost letter, and proposes *ut ais*. Lehmann (p. 60) suggests *consularis* (cp. 832, 2), noticing that M<sup>1</sup> has in 908, 2, a somewhat similar error, a *consulari tali viro*. He had previously proposed *capitalis*, 'decisive,' which Mendelssohn regards with favour. Nettleship suggested *alterius* (*altis* for *talis*), and Gltlbauer (pp. 253–5) soars into the realms of fancy with *non sine causa <usa> alis Victoriae*. Rhodius (p. 38, note) thinks that we should read *non sine casu fatali*, 'how eager all are for victory, impelled by the force of fate,' and supposes that Plancus, in order not to offend Cicero, spoke of this eagerness on the part of the men at Rome, and especially Cicero, for a decisive battle (cp. Epp. 853, 858, 879, 884) as being due, not to their calm judgment, but to the force of fate.

*offensum*] 'reverse.'

*subito . . . parricidarum*] 'by which he can withstand the sudden rebellious outbreak of these traitors': *impetu* is, doubtless, the dative; indeed, the dative of the fourth declension in *-us* is mostly confined to special expressions, e.g. *receptui canere, usui, derisui esse*, &c. J. H. Schmalz, however (in a review of the 8th edition of Nägelsbach in Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, 1889, p. 1632), holds that *impetu* is ablative, and *resistat* is to be taken absolutely, 'by which, when the traitors make a sudden assault, he may be able to make resistance.'

vero nostras notas tibi esse arbitror. In castris meis legiones sunt veteranae tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex omnibus una: in castris Bruti una veterana legio, altera bima, octo tironum. Ita universus exercitus numero amplissimus est, firmitate exiguus. Quantum autem in acie tironi sit committendum nimium saepe expertum habemus. 4. Ad hoc robur nostrorum exercituum sive Africanus exercitus, qui est veteranus, sive Caesaris accessisset, aequo animo summam rem publicam in discrimen deduceremus. Aliquanto autem propius esse, quod ad Caesarem attinet, videbamus: nihil destiti eum litteris hortari, neque ille intermisit adfirmare se sine mora venire: cum interim aversum illum ab hac cogitatione ad alia consilia video se contulisse. Ego tamen ad eum Furnium nostrum cum mandatis litterisque misi, si quid forte proficere posset. 5. Scis tu, mi Cicero, quod ad Caesaris amorem attinet, societatem mihi esse tecum, vel quod in familiari-

*firmitate*] 'steadiness' (Watson).

*Quantum autem . . . committendum*] 'But the degree of trust to be placed in them.' In using *autem* the thoughts of Plancus reverted to *octo tironum*.

*expertum habemus*] For *expertus*, used previously in the Latin of the Republican time, cp. Cato, R. R. 157, 10; Attius 681; Pollio ap. Priscian, viii. p. 386 (Keil). It is common from the Augustan age.

4. *Africanus exercitus*] cp. § 8.

*summam . . . deduceremus*] 'We should have risked the fortunes of the state on a decisive engagement.'

*Aliquanto . . . videbamus*] 'But we (D. Brutus and myself) saw that what belonged to Caesar was nearer at hand.' *Quod ad Caesarem attinet* is a somewhat inelegant expression for 'Caesar's forces.' Schmalz says that *attinere ad*, in the sense of 'belonging to,' is modern Latin; this usage, if sound, approximates to it. Most editors omit *ad* and *attinet*, supposing that those words were inserted from *quod ad Caesaris amorem attinet*, § 5: cp. note to § 1 for the repetition.

*adfirmare se . . . venire*] Andr. compares Caes. B. G. vi. 29, 5, *sese confestim subsequi dicit*, for the present infinitive used vividly for the future: cp. B. G. ii. 32, 3.

*alia consilia*] i.e. seeking for the consulship.

*Furnium*] cp. introductory note to

903.

5. *Scis tu . . . possunt*] 'You know, my dear Cicero, as far as regards love for young Caesar, that I share it with you; whether because, being an intimate friend of Julius Caesar while he was alive, I was under an obligation to protect and regard the youth; or because young Caesar himself was, as far as I could judge of him, possessed of the most sensible and kindly nature; or whether it is that, in consequence of such a marked friendship as existed between me and Julius Caesar, it appears to me disgraceful to refuse to acknowledge as his son one who was adopted as such in the judgment both of him and you. But whatever I write to you I write more in sorrow than in anger. That Antony is this day alive, that Lepidus has joined forces with him, that they have armies far from despicable, that they cherish hopes, that they show boldness—all this men may put down as due to Caesar.'

*ad Caesaris amorem*] Note that in this section *Caesaris* is used three times—in the first referring to Octavian, in the second and third to Julius; while at the end *Caesari* occurs, referring again to Octavian.

*in familiaritate Caesaris*] The prep. *in* is often used in this sense; the sentence = *eum familiaris esse Caesaris*. Andr. compares Fam. xi. 28, 2 (785), *in victoria*



tate Caesaris, vivo illo, iam tueri eum et diligere fuit mihi necesse, vel quod ipse, quoad ego nosse potui, moderatissimi atque humanissimi fuit sensus, vel quod ex tam insigni amicitia mea atque Caesaris hunc filii loco et illius et vestro iudicio substitutum non proinde habere turpe mihi videtur: 6. Sed—quidquid tibi scribo, dolenter mehercule magis quam inimice facio—quod vivit Antonius hodie, quod Lepidus una est, quod exercitus [habent] non contemnendos habent, quod sperant, quod audent, omne Caesari acceptum referre possunt. Neque ego superiora repetam, sed ex eo tempore, quo ipse mihi professus est se venire, si venire voluisset, aut oppressum iam bellum esset aut in aversissimam illis Hispaniam cum detrimento eorum maximo extrusum. Quae mens eum aut quorum consilia a tanta gloria, sibi vero etiam necessaria ac salutari, avocarit et ad cogitationem consulatus bimestris summo cum terrore hominum et insulsa cum efflagitatione transtulerit exputare non possum. 7. Multum in hac re mihi videntur neces-

*hominis necessarii*; 827, 7, in *damno meae laudis* = *etsi damno meae laudis affectus ero*.

*vestro*] Octavian could not be formally and legally recognized as Caesar's son until after the curiate law of adoption had been passed; and this law was not passed until Octavian came to Rome in August. But he had been previously acknowledged as Caesar's son by Cicero (Phil. iii. 15, *C. Caesaris filio*; v. 46, *C, Caesar, Gai filius*), though at first Cicero refrained from addressing him as Caesar: cp. Att. xiv. 12, 2 (715), *Octavius, quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non item, itaque ne nos quidem*.

*proinde*] 'as such.' Andr. compares Columella xi. 2, 68, *nonnulli gustu explorare maturitatem tentaverunt, ut, sive dulcis esset sapor uvae sive acidus, proinde aestimarent*.

6. *facio*] like the auxiliary verb 'do' in English, and *ᾄδω* (Thucyd. ii. 49, 5): cp. Fin. ii. 79, *vadem te ad mortem tyranno dabis pro amico, ut Pythagoreus ille Siculo fecit tyranno*.

*Caesari acceptum referre*] The common book-keeping phrase: cp. Att. i. 14, 3 (20); xi. 1, 2 (406); xv. 19, 1 (751).

*sed ex eo tempore*] There is a slight anacoluthon in this sentence. Plancus had meant to say something like 'from the time Octavian promised to come, if only he had come, from that time we

should have commenced a successful war, which would now be finished'; but he continued the sentence from *aut oppressum*, as if he had not begun with *ex*.

*aversissimam*] 'most hostile': cp. Hor. Sat. i. 5, 29, *aversos soliti componere amicos*; Tac. Hist. iv. 80. There is no necessity to read *adversissimam* with Wesenberg.

*sibi . . . salutari*] 'which, indeed, his own life and safety also require.' Instead of *sibi*, we should have expected *ipsi*.

*avocarit*] For the singular after *mens* and *consilia*, see note to § 1.

*bimestris*] This is, of course, an exaggeration, prompted by petulance, 'a couple of months.' It was only July now, so that five months of the year would remain. Octavian was elected on August 19. Manutius proposes *quinquemestris* (= v. *mestris*), of which O. E. Schmidt (Jahrb. 1890, p. 129) approves. II. and v. are constantly interchanged in mss. Lange (R. A. iii. 543, 17) reads *seimestris* (= vi. *mestris*).

*\*summo . . . efflagitatione*] 'spreading, too, panic throughout society, and making most fatuous demands.' For the rare word *efflagitatio*, cp. Fam. v. 19, 2 (390). Mr. Jeans translates, 'with a most offensive appearance of demanding.'

*exputare*] 'fathom,' 'thoroughly probe,' a rare word: cp. Plaut. Trin. ii. 1, 12.



sarii eius et rei publicae et ipsius causa proficere posse, plurimum, ut puto, tu quoque, cuius ille tanta merita habet, quanta nemo praeter me: numquam enim obliviscar maxima ac plurima me tibi debere. De his rebus ut exigeret cum eo, Furnio mandavi. Quod si quantam debeo habuero apud eum auctoritatem, plurimum ipsum iuvero. 8. Nos interea duriore condicione bellum sustinemus, quod neque expeditissimam dimicationem putamus neque tamen refugiendo commissuri sumus, ut maius detrimentum res publica accipere possit. Quod si aut Caesar se respexerit aut Africanae legiones celeriter venerint, securos vos ab hac parte reddemus. Tu, ut instituisti, me diligas rogo proprieque tuum esse tibi persuadeas. v. Kal. Sext. ex castris.

7. *necessarii*] Probably L. Marcius Philippus, cp. Att. xiv. 12, 2 (715), who had married Octavian's mother Atia, and C. Marcellus, cp. xv. 12, 2 (745), consul in 704 (50), who had married his sister. See also Phil. iii. 17.

*eius ille tanta merita habet*] 'from whom he has received greater kindnesses than anyone except myself.' On Jan. 1 Cicero had proposed that Octavian should sit and vote in the senate among the *praetorii*, and should be allowed to stand for magistracies as if he had been quaestor the year before (Phil. v. 46); and in April, after the news of the Battle of Forum Gallorum had reached Rome, he proposed that the two consuls and Octavian should have a *supplicatio* of fifty days celebrated in their honour (Phil.

xiv. 37).

*exigeret*] 'that he should have a thorough discussion.' *Exigere* is a strengthened *agere*: cp. Plin. Epp. vi. 12, 3; Quintil. vi. 5, 5.

*iuvero*] 'he will find that I have helped him very much.'

8. *expeditissimam*] 'quite free from danger.'

*se respexerit*] 'has taken thought for himself,' 'has considered his own case': cp. Fin. ii. 79; Ter. Heaut. i. 1, 18; v. 1, 46.

*Africanae legiones*] When the two African legions (cp. § 4) did come to Italy, they almost at once deserted the senate, and went over to Octavian (App. B. C. iii. 91).

## PART XII.

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TE TOTUM IN LITTERIS VIDI.



## PART XII.

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LETTERS OF UNCERTAIN YEARS.

EPP. DCCCCXVII.-DCCCCXXI.





DCCCCXVII. CICERO TO THE QUATTUORVIRI AND  
DECURIONES (FAM. XIII. 76).

ROME ; YEAR AND MONTH UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero a quattuorviris et decurionibus petit, ut C. Valgio Hippiano immunitatem possessionis in agro Fregellano emptae concedant.

M. CICERO QUATTUORVIRIS ET DECURIONIBUS S. D.

1. Tantae mihi cum Q. Hippius causae necessitudinis sunt, ut nihil possit esse coniunctius quam nos inter nos sumus. Quod nisi ita esset, uterer mea consuetudine, ut vobis nulla in re molestus essem. Etenim vos mihi optimi testes estis, cum mihi persuasum esset nihil esse quod a vobis impetrare non possem, numquam me tamen gravem vobis esse voluisse. 2. Vehementer igitur vos etiam atque etiam rogo, ut honoris mei causa quam liberalissime C. Valgium Hippianum tractetis remque cum eo conficiatis, ut, quam possessionem habet in agro Fregellano a vobis emptam, eam liberam et immunem habere possit. Id si a vobis impetraro, summo me beneficio vestro adfectum arbitrabor.

We do not know what was the *municipium* to the magistrates and senate of which Cicero addressed this letter. It was not Fregellae, for after its capture by L. Opimius in 629 (125), it ceased to be a corporate town, and was a mere village: cp. Mommsen in C. I. L. x. p. 547. Perhaps it was Fabrateria, which was, in a measure, a restitution of Fregellae under a new name. The mention of *IIviri* shows that this town was a *municipium*: cp. vol. I<sup>2</sup>. p. 408. O. E. Schmidt (ap. Mendelssohn, p. 449) places, with hesitation, this letter in the year of Cicero's consulship, 691 (63).

1. Q. Hippius] Probably he was father

of the C. Valgius Hippianus (§ 2) in whose interest this letter was written. The younger Hippius was adopted by a C. Valgius: cp. § 2.

*gravem vobis*] 'a burden to you.'

2. *immunem*] 'clear of obligations.'

It must be confessed that this is a rather audacious request; but it is interesting, as showing the kind of pressure which was put upon the provincial towns by the magnates of the city. If the conscientious Cicero does not hesitate to make such a request, it is quite certain that the average Roman grandee made really oppressive demands.

*adfectum*] cp. Leg. Agr. i. 13.

DCCCCXVIII. CICERO TO QUINTIUS GALLUS  
(FAM. XIII. 43).

ROME; A. U. C. 696 (?); B. C. 58 (?); AET. CIC. 48 (?).

M. Cicero Quintio Gallo commendat L. Oppium L. Egnatii negotia procurantem.

M. CICERO QUINTIO GALLO.

1. Etsi plurimis rebus spero fore ut perspiciam, quod tamen iam pridem perspicio, me a te amari, tamen ea causa tibi datur, in qua facile declarare possis tuam erga me benevolentiam. L. Oppius M. F. Philomelii negotiatur, homo mihi familiaris. Eum tibi unice commendo eoque magis, quod cum ipsum diligo, tum quod negotia procurat L. Egnatii Rufi, quo ego uno equite Romano familiarissime utor et qui cum consuetudine cotidiana tum officiis plurimis maximisque mihi coniunctus est. 2. Oppium igitur praesentem ut diligas, Egnatii absentis rem ut tuere, aequae a te peto ac si mea negotia essent. Velim memoriae tuae causa des litterarum aliquid, quae tibi in provincia reddantur, sed ita conscribas, ut tum, cum eas leges, facile recordari possis huius meae commendationis diligentiam. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

*QUINTIO GALLO*] For the reading, see Adn. Crit. This and the three following letters were probably written in the same year. We have letters from Cicero recommending Egnatius and Oppius to Q. Marcius Philippus, governor of some province, probably Asia, Fam. xiii. 73, 74 (165, 128), and to his quaestor, Appuleius (920); and it is probable that Gallus was a legate of Philippus. The year in which Philippus was governor of Asia is uncertain. Schmidt (ap. Mendelssohn, p. 449) dates this letter 696 (58); Willems (Le Sénat. i. 478) seems to assign the governorship of Philippus to 639 (55) or 700 (54); Hölzl (Fast. Praet. pp. 94-5) puts it as late as 709 (45).

1. *Philomelii*] A town on the road between Synnada and Iconium. In 703 (51) it was an assize-town of the province of Cilicia: cp. Fam. iii. 8, 5, 6 (122). In the time of Pliny (H. N. v. 95) it belonged to Asia.

*negotiatur*] 'has a banking business.'

*Egnatii Rufi*] Both Marcus and Quintus Cicero had money dealings with this Egnatius, Att. vii. 18, 4 (316); x. 15, 4 (401); xi. 3, 3 (411); xii. 18, 3 (549).

2. *in provincia*] This shows that the present letter was written to Gallus before he left for his province.

*sed ita conscribas*] 'written too in such a way.' For this use of *sed* cp. note to Att. xiv. 1, 2 (703).

DCCCCXIX. CICERO TO THE SAME GALLUS  
(FAM. XIII. 44).

ROME ; A. U. C. 696 (?) ; B. C. 58 (?) ; AET. CIC. 48 (?) .

M. Cicero Gallo commendat L. Oppium una cum L. Egnatii negotiis.

## CICERO GALLO S.

Etsi ex tuis et ex L. Oppii, familiarissimi *mei*, litteris cognovi te memorem commendationis meae fuisse, idque pro tua summa erga me benevolentia proque nostra necessitudine minime sum admiratus, tamen etiam atque etiam tibi L. Oppium praesentem et L. Egnatii, mei familiarissimi, absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris ut is intellegat me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes idque ut facias vehementer te rogo.

## DCCCCXX. CICERO TO APPULEIUS (FAM. XIII. 45).

ROME ; A. U. C. 696 (?) ; B. C. 58 (?) ; AET. CIC. 48 (?) .

M. Cicero Appuleio proquaest. Asiae L. Egnatii servum et negotia commendat.

## CICERO APPULEIO PROQUAESTORI.

L. Egnatio uno equite Romano vel familiarissime utor. Eius Anchialum servum negotiaque, quae habet in Asia, tibi commendo

*commendationis*] cp. 918. This letter was written to Gallius after he had reached his province.

*si mea res esset*] cp. 918, 2. For the order cp. 929.

This Appuleius was pro-quaestor of Q. Marcius Philippus: cp. note to 918. For

pro-quaestor cp. introductory note to 882.

*uno*] 'Lucius Egnatius is the one Roman knight with whom I am on quite the most friendly relations possible.' Lehmann rightly defends *vel*, which Cratander and Wesenberg wish to eject, by showing that not only in epistolary style,

non minore studio quam si rem meam commendarem. Sic enim existimes velim, mihi cum eo non modo cotidianam consuetudinem summam intercedere, sed etiam officia magna et mutua nostra inter nos esse. Quam ob rem etiam atque etiam a te peto, ut cures ut intellegat me ad te satis diligenter scripsisse : nam de tua erga me voluntate non dubitabat. Id ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

DCCCCXXI. CICERO TO THE SAME APPULEIUS  
(FAM. XIII. 46).

ROME ; A. U. C. 696 (?) ; B. C. 58 (?) ; AET. CIC. 48 (?) .

M. Cicero eidem Appuleio L. Nostium Zoilum coheredem suum commendat.

CICERO APPULEIO S.

L. Nostius Zoilus est coheres meus, heres autem patroni sui. Ea re utrumque scripsi, ut et mihi cum illo causam amicitiae scires esse et hominem probum existimares, qui patroni iudicio ornatus esset. Eum tibi igitur sic commendo, ut unum ex nostra domo. Valde mihi gratum erit, si curaris ut intellegat hanc commendationem sibi apud te magno adiumento fuisse.

but even in more studied works, excessive emphasis is laid on a point by an accumulation of words, e.g. Planc. 95, *quocum me uno vel maxime cum vetustas tum amicitia . . . tum respublica sociarat*.

*rem meam commendarem*] So M Pal. Wesenberg needlessly alters to *meam rem*, comparing for the order Fam. xiii. 23, 2 (518), *meus libertus* ; 918, 2, *mea negotia* ; 919, *mea negotia*.

*Sic enim existimes*] 'For I would have you consider that we have not only the closest daily intercourse, but also important reciprocal services have been done

by each to the other.' Wesenberg (E. A. 45) reads *mutua* for *mutua* of the mss, comparing for the confusion 808, 4, where M has *multo*, whereas H Pal have *mutuo* : if *mutua* is read he considers that *nostra* is superfluous ; but it is a pardonable pleonasm, cp. 876, 3.

*L. Nostius Zoilus*] Zoilus was a freedman of L. Nostius. For names of freedmen, cp. Fam. xiii. 21, 2 (516).

*ornatus esset*] 'has received a marked compliment.'

## DCCCCXXII. CICERO TO P. CAESIUS (FAM. XIII. 51).

ROME ; YEAR QUITE UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero P. Caesio P. Messienum commendat.

CICERO P. CAESIO S. D.

P. Messienum, equitem Romanum, omnibus rebus ornatum meumque perfamiliarem, tibi commendo ea commendatione, quae potest esse diligentissima. Peto a te et pro nostra et pro paterna amicitia, ut eum in tuam fidem recipias eiusque rem famamque tueare. Virum bonum tuaque amicitia dignum tibi adiunxeris mihiq̃ue gratissimum feceris.

## DCCCCXXIII. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 13).

CUMAE ; APRIL 10 ; A. U. C. 700 OR 701 ; B. C. 54 OR 53 ; AET. CIC. 52 OR 53.

M. Cicero cohortatur Tironem ad valetudinem curandam.

TULLIUS TIRONI SALUT.

Omnia a te data mihi putabo, si te valentem videro. Summa cura exspectabam adventum Menandri, quem ad te miseram. Cura, si me diligis, ut valeas et, cum te bene confirmaris, ad nos venias. Vale. iv. Idus April.

Schmidt (ap. Mendelssohn, p. 449) assigns, with hesitation, this letter (922) to 698 (56). It appears to be addressed to P. Caesius (or his son) of Ravenna, who is mentioned in Balb. 50 as having been made a Roman citizen by Pompey's father in 664 (90). Schütz says the addressee is the Caesius who was made aedile at Arpinum, Fam. xiii. 11, 3 (452), but the prenomen of the latter was Marcus.

*Menandri*] Some editors alter this to *Andrici* (924, 1); others alter *Andrici* there to *Menandri*.

It has been long agreed that Fam. xvi. 13, 14, 15, 10, 16 (923 to 927) form a definite group of letters, and belong to the same year, treating, as they do, of the manumission of Tiro. The month in which the first four letters were written was April (923 fin.). The day of the



## DCCCCXXIV. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 14).

CUMAE; APRIL 11; A. U. C. 700 OR 701; B. C. 54 OR 53;

AET. CIC. 52 OR 53.

M. Cicero de Tironis valetudine ob serum adventum Andrici, se sollicitum fuisse scribit, hortaturque Tironem ut valetudini operam det.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

1. Andricus postridie ad me venit quam expectaram. Itaque habui noctem plenam timoris ac miseriae. Tuis litteris nihilo sum factus certior quo modo te haberes, sed tamen sum recreatus.

month on which Tiro was manumitted was probably April 28, for Cicero says he would be at Formiae on that day, and hoped to find Tiro there in good health (926, 1). The question is, to what year do these letters belong? The generally accepted year is 700 (54); but Körner, in a fine discussion (Jahrb. 1891, pp. 130-132), argues that it was in 701 (53). He lays down the following facts to guide us:—1°. Quintus was probably absent from Italy; his letter (927) reads as if he longed to see his kindred. 2°. Cicero was in Cumae on April 18 (926, 2). 3°. Pompey was there also on the same day. 4°. The manumission of Tiro was subsequent to that of Statius by Quintus, and, accordingly, after 695 (59), cp. Att. ii. 18, 4 (45) with 927, 2, and prior to 705 (49), for in the March of that year Pompey left Italy for ever. Now examine the intervening years. In April, 696, 697 (58, 57), Cicero was in exile; in April, 698 (56), Pompey was in Africa, Sardinia, perhaps Luca, certainly not in Campania: cp. Fam. i. 9, 9 (153); Q. Fr. ii. 5, 3 (106). In April, 699 (55), Pompey did not come to Cumae till the Parilia (Apr. 21): cp. Att. iv. 10, 2 (121). Early in May, 700 (54), about the 5th, Quintus left for Gaul (cp. Q. Fr. ii. 13, 1 (141), where Cicero states that he received a letter from Quintus, from Placentia, early in June), and, accordingly, was probably with his brother in April. In April, 702 (52), Cicero was busy at Rome defending Milo and Saufeius, and Pompey, *consul*

*sine collega*, had too much work as president of the state to spend his time rusticating in Campania. Early in May, 703 (51), Quintus and Tiro accompanied Marcus Cicero to Cilicia; and in April, 704 (50), they were in that province. Accordingly, 701 (53) alone remains the possible year for the manumission of Tiro. As a confirmation, we have a letter of April 8, 701 (53), addressed *ex Pomptino* to Trebatius, viz. Fam. vii. 18 (173). Cicero, doubtless, wrote that letter on his journey south. Tiro probably started with him from Rome, but could not proceed beyond Formiae.

Except for one point, all the above reasoning is conclusive. Might not the year be 700 (54)? Quintus, no doubt, left for Gaul early in May, as Körner elsewhere (Quaest. Chron., p. 40) satisfactorily establishes; but there does not appear to be any conclusive evidence that he was with Marcus up to the very moment of starting on his journey. Accordingly, he may not have heard of the manumission of Tiro in Formianum until the very eve of departure from Rome, or even until he was on the road: the opening words of 927 may well have been dictated by sadness when on the point of leaving home for a long period.

For date see introductory note to 923.

1. *Andricus*] cp. note to 923. Klotz thinks that Menander was the man's real name, and that Andricus (ἀνδρικός) was a nickname.

Ego omni delectatione litterisque omnibus careo : quas ante quam te videro attingere non possum. Medico mercedis quantum poscet promitti iubeto : id scripsi ad Ummium. 2. Audio te animo angī et medicum dicere ex eo te laborare. Si me diligis, excita ex somno tuas litteras humanitatemque, propter quam mihi es carissimus. Nunc opus est te animo valere, ut corpore possis. Id cum tua tum mea causa facias a te peto. Acastum retine, quo commodius tibi ministretur. Conserva te mihi : dies promissorum adest : quem etiam repraesentabo, si adveneris. Etiam atque etiam vale. III. Idus hora VI.

## DCCCCXXV. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 15).

CUMAE ; APRIL 12 ; A. U. C. 700 OR 701 ; B. C. 54 OR 53 ; AET. CIC.  
52 OR 53.

M, Cicero suam de Tironis valetudine sollicitudinem significat.

TULLIUS TIRONI SAL.

1. Aegypta ad me venit pridie Idus Apriles. Is etsi mihi nuntiavit te plane febri carere et belle habere, tamen, quod negavit te potuisse ad me scribere, curam mihi attulit, et eo magis, quod Hermia, quem eodem die venire oportuerat, non venerat. Incredibili sum sollicitudine de tua valetudine, qua si me liberaris, ego te omni cura liberabo. Plura scriberem, si iam putarem

*Medico*] Probably Metrodorus : cp. Fam. xvi. 20 (693). Ummius was, perhaps, Cicero's household steward (*dispensator*) at Tusculum.

2. *ex eo*] 'from that,' i.e. from distress of mind.

*excita ex somno*] cp. a very similar metaphor; cp. 926, 2, *Litterulae meae sive nostrae tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Hae tamen epistola quam Acastus attulit oculos paullum sustulerunt.*

*dies promissorum*] i.e. the day on which I promised to manumit you.

*quem . . . repraesentabo*] 'which I shall discount.' For *repraesentare* = 'to do at once,' cp. Phil. ii. 118, *Quin etiam*

*corpus libenter obtulerim si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest*; Fam. v. 16, 6 (529), *non debemus expectare temporis medicinam quam repraesentare ratione possimus*; Att. xvi. 2, 3 (772); Caes. B. G. i. 40, 14. It is frequently used in the mercantile sense of 'paying down ready money,' e.g. Att. xii. 25, 1 (561).

For date see 923.

1. *Aegypta*] formerly a slave, afterwards a freedman, of Cicero : cp. Att. viii. 15, 1 (350) ; xii. 37, 1 (657).

*belle habere*] 'and were doing nicely': cp. *belle fuisse*, Att. xiv. 16, 4 (721).

lubenter te legere posse. Ingenium tuum, quod ego maximi facio, confer ad te mihi tibiue conservandum. Cura te etiam atque etiam diligenter. Vale.

2. Scripta iam epistola Hermia venit. Accepit tuam epistolam vacillantibus litterulis, nec mirum tam gravi morbo. Ego ad te Aegyptam misi, quod nec inhumanus est et te visus est mihi diligere, ut is tecum esset, et cum eo cocum, quo uterere. Vale.

### DCCCCXXVI. CICERO TO TIRO (FAM. XVI. 10).

CUMAE; APRIL 17; A. U. C. 700 OR 701; B. C. 54 OR 53; AET. CIC.  
52 OR 53.

M. Cicero Tironem ad se venire cupit, sed viam timet, ne valetudini eius noccat. Operam Tironis in studiis laudat et exigit.

#### TULLIUS TIRONI S.

1. Ego vero cupio te ad me venire, sed viam timeo. Gravisime aegrotasti, inedia et purgationibus et vi ipsius morbi consumptus es. Graves solent offensiones esse ex gravibus morbis, si quae culpa commissa est. Iam ad id biduum, quod fueris in via, dum in Cumanum venis, accedent continuo ad reditum dies quinque. Ego in Formiano a. d. III. Kal. esse volo. Ibi te ut firmum offendam, mi Tiro, effice. 2. Litterulae meae sive nostrae tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Hae tamen epistola, quam Acastus attulit, oculos paullum sustulerunt. Pompeius erat apud me, cum

*Ingenium*] 'apply all that intelligence of yours, which I value so highly, to keeping yourself well, both for your own sake and my sake.'

2. *Scripta . . . Vale*] a postscript: cp. Fam. viii. 6, 5 (242).

*Hermia*] cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 12 (53).  
*vacillantibus litterulis*] 'in small writing, quite shaky,' ablative of quality, Roby, § 1232. Tiro was suffering from fever: *tam gravi morbo*, ablative of attendant circumstances, Roby, § 1242, 'with such a severe attack.'

*inhumanus*] 'uncultivated,' as we might expect a slave to be.

*ut is tecum esset*] This goes with *misi*.  
1. *offensiones*] 'disorders,' 'complications.'

*accedent . . . quinque*] 'you will require the five succeeding days for your return.'  
*iii. Kal.*] sc. *Maias*. On this day Cicero probably intended to manumit Tiro: cp. 923.

2. *oblanguerunt*] 'have become relaxed,' 'have collapsed.' For the metaphor cp. 924, 2.

*Pompeius*] No doubt Pompey the Great. Editors who alter to *Pomponius* do so not only without mss authority, but needlessly.

haec scribebam, hilare et lubenter. Ei cupienti audire nostra dixi sine te omnia mea muta esse. Tu Musis nostris para ut operas reddas: nostra ad diem dictam fient. Docui enim te, fides *ἔτυμον* quod haberet. Fac, plane ut valeas. Nos adsumus. Vale.  
XIII. Kal.

# DCCCCXXVII. QUINTUS CICERO TO MARCUS CICERO (FAM. XVI. 16).

ROME, OR ON HIS JOURNEY, OR TRANSALPINE GAUL; MAY (BEGINNING OR END);

A. U. C. 700 OR 701; B. C. 54 OR 53; AET. CIC. 52 OR 53.

Q. Cicero M. fratri de Tirone manu misso et gratias agit et gratulatur.

Q. M. FRATRI SAL.

1. De Tirone, mi Marce, ita te meumque Ciceronem et meam Tulliolam tuumque filium videam, ut mihi gratissimum fecisti, cum eum indignum illa fortuna ac nobis amicum quam servum esse maluisti. Mihi crede, tuis et illius litteris perlectis, exsilii gaudio et tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. 2. Si enim mihi Statii fidelitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto haec eadem bona

*audire*] We should say 'read,' not 'hear'; but the Romans, for the most part, judged of literary works by the effect which they produced when read: cp. Fam. vi. 7, 3 (532), and note.

*operas reddas*] 'pay your service due.' The plural marks the various cases in which the service will be rendered. *Nos- tra*, i.e. my promise to manumit you.

*fides ἔτυμον quod haberet*] 'the derivation of *fides*': cp. Rep. iv. 21, *Fides enim nomen ipsum mihi videtur habere cum fit quod dicitur*. But, in Off. i. 21, he seems to think that this derivation may appear 'strained' (*durius*) to many.

*Nos adsumus*] 'We are ready here' (to fulfil our part), a phrase belonging to the law-courts.

xiii. Kal.] sc. *Maia*: cp. § 1.

For date cp. 923.

1. *meam*] Wesenberg (E. A. 56) reads

*tuam* for *meam* of the mss. It is, undoubtedly, harsh to have *meum*, 'my own,' immediately followed by *meam*, 'my dear'; but it is safer to adhere to the mss. Everyone loved Tullia.

*fortuna ac nobis*] So the mss, 'you preferred that he should be undeserving of that condition, and should be our friend rather than our slave.' The inelegance, if any, is trifling. Wesenberg (E. A. 57) wishes to read *fortuna ac <condicione>*: cp. Mil. 92; Off. i. 41; Lehmann, *fortuna ac <nomine>*, comparing for *nomine* Har. Resp. 29, Verr. iii. 159. Bücheler (Q. Cic. reliq. p. 64) reads *<indicasti> ac nobis*, omitting *eum*.

*exsilii gaudio*] 'I jumped for joy.' Without this evidence, we should hardly have considered that the English expression could be rendered literally into Latin.

2. *fidelitas*] Lambinus adds *atque frugalitas*; Boot (Obs. Crit. 27), *et utilitas*,

debent, additis litteris, sermonibus, humanitate, quae sunt his ipsis commodis potiora! Amo te omnibus equidem de maximis causis, verum etiam propter hanc, vel quod mihi sic, ut debuisti, nuntiasti. Te totum in litteris vidi. Sabini pueris et promisi omnia et faciam.

# DCCCCXXVIII. CICERO TO SILIUS (FAM. XIII. 47).

ROME; A. U. C. 703 (?); B. C. 51 (?); AET. CIC. 55 (?).

M. Cicero P. Silio propr. Bithyniae L. Egnatium, communem amicum, commendat.

## CICERO SILIO S.

Quid ego tibi commendem eum, quem tu ipse diligis? Sed tamen, ut scires eum a me non diligere solum, verum etiam amari, ob eam rem tibi haec scribo. Omnium tuorum officiorum, quae et multa et magna sunt, mihi gratissimum fuerit, si ita tractaris Egnatium, ut sentiat et se a me et me a te amari. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Illa nostra scilicet ceciderunt. Utamur igitur vulgari consolatione: 'Quid, si hoc melius?' Sed haec coram. Tu fac, quod facis, ut me ames teque amari a me scias.

because they consider that the plural *his ipsis commodis* shows that at least two characteristics of Stilius must have been mentioned, and the corruption could easily have occurred *ex homocoteleuto*. But cp. note to 929, *quae*.

*litteris, sermonibus*] The mss add a superfluous *et*. Retaining this, Lehmann (p. 61) reads *humanitateque*, noticing many examples of *-que* after *et*, 886, 2, *Caesareque*; Fam. xiii. 19, 1 (514), *commendationeque*.

*vel*] 'I mean,' an extension of the use of *vel*, 'for instance.'

*Te totum in litteris vidi*] 'I saw your whole self in your letter.' The criticism is strictly true. M. Cicero lives before us still in his correspondence.

This was probably P. Silius Nerva, who was praetor of Bithynia and Pontus in 703 (51): cp. Fam. xiii. 61 (233). The business affairs of Egnatius probably extended from Asia into Bithynia.

*diligi . . . amari*] cp. note to 873, 1. *Illam nostram*] It is hard to know what this can refer to. Some commentators place this letter in 709 (45), and suppose it addressed to the Silii mentioned in Att. xii. 22, 3 (558), and, accordingly, think the reference is to the negotiations to buy the gardens of Silii. But it is quite possible that Cicero is alluding to some futile efforts he made to escape from having to go to his province: cp. *sed haec coram*.

*Quid . . . melius?*] cp. Att. vii. 3, 2 (294).



DCCCCXXIX. CICERO TO SEXTILIUS RUFUS  
(FAM. XIII. 48).

ROME ; BETWEEN A. U. C. 704 AND 707 ; B. C. 50-47 ; AET. CIC. 56-59.

M. Cicero C. Sextilio quaestori Ciliciae omnes Cyprios et in primis Paphios commendat.

CICERO C. SEXTILIO RUFO QUAEST. S. D.

Omnes tibi commendo Cyprios, sed magis Paphios, quibus tu quaecumque commodaris erunt mihi gratissima, eoque facio libentius, ut eos tibi commendem, quod et tuae laudi, cuius ego fautor sum, conducere arbitror, cum primus in eam insulam quaestor veneris, ea te instituere, quae sequantur alii: quae, ut spero, facilius consequere, si et P. Lentuli, necessarii tui, legem et ea, quae a me constituta sunt, sequi volueris. Quam rem tibi confido magnae laudi fore.

This letter must have been written before 707 (47), for in that year Cyprus was separated from Cilicia, and handed over to Arsinoe and Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Auletes (Dio Cass. xlii. 35, 5): and after Cicero's return from Cilicia at the end of 704 (50). Rufus was, perhaps, sent out to Cyprus as proquaestor by Caesar in 705 (49). He appears as commander of the fleet of Cassius in 711 (43): cp. 901, 4.

*ea te instituere*] 'that you should adopt a course of action.' These words read like an injunction to a young governor on his first essay at administering a province.

*quae, ut*] Wessenberg (E. A. 45) alters to *quod*, apparently on the ground that the antecedent is *ea te instituere quae sequantur alii*, not simply *ea*. But Lehmann (p. 78) conclusively shows that the plural is quite allowable, though in strictness it refers only to one fact: cp. 876, 3, where *quae . . . gratissima* refer to the one fact, *ea te moderate accepisse neque temere credendum iudicasse*; Att. viii. 12, 3 (345), *haec extrema* refers only to *quod mare non transierim*.

*P. Lentuli*] P. Lentulus Spinther, who was governor of Cilicia 698 to 701 (56 to 53).

## DCCCCXXX. CICERO TO CORNIFICIUS (FAM. XII. 20).

ROME ; SPRING (?) ; A. U. C. 708 (?) ; B. C. 46 (?) ; AET. CIC. 60 (?) .

M. Cicero iocatus de Sinuessanae villae hospitio crebras litteras a Q. Cornificio poscit.

## CICERO CORNIFICIO.

Gratae mihi tuae litterae, nisi quod Sinuessanum deversorium contempsisti. Quam quidem contumeliam villa pusilla iniquo animo feret, nisi in Cumano et Pompeiano reddideris *πάντα περὶ πάντων*. Sic igitur facies meque amabis et scripto aliquo lacesses. Ego enim respondere facilius possum quam provocare. Quod si, ut es, cessabis, lacessam, nec tua ignavia etiam *mihi* inertiam adferet. Plura otiosus : haec, cum essem in senatu, exaravi.

O. E. Schmidt (Briefwechsel, p. 252) supposes that this letter was written to Cornificius shortly after his departure for the east, whither he was sent by Caesar about the spring or early summer of 708 (46) : cp. introductory note to Fam. xii. 17 (493).

*Sinuessanum deversorium*] ‘my little lodging-house at Sinuessa.’ Besides his larger villas, “Cicero had also several houses at which he could lodge for the night in travelling from one estate to another (*deversoria*), e.g. Tarracina, Fam. vii. 23, 3 ; perhaps Sinuessa, xii. 20 ; Cales, Att. viii. 3, 7 ; Anagnia, xii 1, 1.” —Watson.

*Quam . . . πάντων*] ‘and, indeed, my little villa will be very much insulted unless (by staying) in my houses at Cumae and Puteoli you make an *amende honorable*.’

*lacesses*] ‘stimulate’; *provocare*, ‘challenge.’

*ut es*] ‘true to your character’: cp. Att. xiii. 10 fin. (624), *ut erat, constantius respondisse*, cp. a very fine note of Lehmann, p. 83. Pal reads *ut es <delicatus>*, which is possible, but, as being the easier reading and redolent of the glossator, it is to be rejected.

*nec . . . adferet*] ‘and your sloth will not induce indolence in me also,’ i.e. in me as well as in you. There is no marked difference between *ignavia* and *inertia*. We have added *mihi* with Lambinus.

*Plura otiosus*] sc. *scribam* : cp. Att. xiv. 6, 2 (708), and often : cp. Heide-  
mann, p. 67.

*exaravi*] ‘I am jotting down.’ This word seems to show that the letter was written on *codicilli* : cp. note to Fam. ix. 26, 1 (479).

DCCCCXXXI. CICERO TO Q. MARCIUS REX  
(FAM. XIII. 52).

ROME; A. U. C. 708; B. C. 46; AET. CIC. 60.

M. Cicero Q. Marcio Regi A. Licinium Aristotelem, hospitem suum, commendat.

CICERO REGI S.

A. Licinius Aristoteles Melitensis antiquissimus est hospes meus et praeterea coniunctus magno usu familiaritatis. Haec cum ita sint, non dubito quin tibi satis commendatus sit. Etenim ex multis cognosco meam commendationem plurimum apud te valere. Hunc ego a Caesare liberavi. Frequens enim fuerat nobiscum, atque etiam diutius in causa est quam nos commoratus: quo melius te de eo existimaturum arbitror. Fac igitur, mi Rex, ut intellegat has sibi litteras plurimum profuisse.

Rex is said to have been propraetor of Sicily in 708 (46). Schmidt (Briefwechsel, p. 255) thinks that this letter belongs to the autumn of that year, when Cicero entertained high hopes that Caesar would restore the constitution: cp. vol. iv., p. liii.

*A. Licinius Aristoteles*] Dr. Reid (on Arch., p. 9) notices as strange that Archias should have assumed a prenomen Aulus, which is never found among the Luculli, and refers to Aristoteles here as an example of another Greek who took the names of Aulus Licinius. Aristoteles may have been manumitted by one of the Murena family, and Archias may have taken the name of Aulus, in compliment to some other Roman who interested himself in his advancement; just as Cicero's

slave Dionysius, in whom Atticus took an interest, assumed the prenomen of Cicero, and the nomen and cognomen of Atticus, and thus appeared as Marcus Pomponius Atticus: cp. Att. iv. 15, 1 (143), and note to Fam. xiii. 35, 1 (687).

*coniunctus*] 'an association of long and friendly intercourse.' Lambinus and Wesenberg add *mihi* after *coniunctus*; but Mendelssohn aptly compares Nep. Att. 7, 1, *ipsum Pompeium coniunctum offendit*; also Quintil. vii. 4, 21, *alicuius an coniunctus*.

*a Caesare liberavi*] 'I secured his freedom from Caesar': *liberavi* probably = *liberatum effeci* (or *accepi*).

*in causa*] 'in the cause,' i.e. the cause of Pompey.

## PSEUDO-CICERO TO OCTAVIANUS.

PLACE UNCERTAIN ; SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BETWEEN  
AUGUST 19 AND DECEMBER 7 ; A. U. C. 711 ; B. C. 43 ; AET. CIC. 63.

Gravis et vehemens invectiva in Octavianum qui, subito commutata voluntate, optimatum et senatus partes reliquerat et urbem militibus suis tenebat.

CICERO OCTAVIANO SAL.

1. Si per tuas legiones mihi licitum fuisset, quae nomini meo populoque Romano sunt inimicissimae, venire in senatum coramque de re publica disputare, fecissem, neque tam libenter quam necessario, nulla enim remedia, quae vulneribus adhibentur, tam faciunt dolorem, quam quae sunt salutaria. Sed, quoniam cohortibus armatis circumsaepus senatus nihil aliud vere potest decernere nisi se timere—in Capitolio signa sunt, in urbe milites vagantur, in Campo castra ponuntur, Italia tota legionibus ad libertatem nostram conscriptis ad servitutem adductis equitatuque exterarum nationum distinetur—, cedam tibi in praesentia foro et curia et sanctissimis deorum immortalium templis, in quibus reviviscente iam libertate deinde rursus oppressus senatus nihil consulitur, timet multa, adsentatur omnia. 2. Post etiam paullo temporibus ita postulantibus cedam urbe, quam per me conservatam, ut esset libera, in servitute videre non potero ; cedam vita, quae quamquam sollicita est, tamen, si profutura est rei publicae,

That this letter is the work of a rhetorician, and a very foolish one too, is evident. The complete lack of dignity, the feeble impotent abuse, and the utter aimlessness of the whole production stamp it at once as entirely alien from Cicero's style. It is quite needless to argue against its genuineness, which no one would think of defending. The sole interest of the document consists in the fact that it is found in most mss of Cicero's Epistles, and affords some important indications of the value of certain German mss. Our notes are almost entirely confined to these points.

1. *tam faciunt . . . salutaria*] A codex of Turnebus (see his *Adversaria*, xvi. 8),

which we shall call T, reads *non faciunt dolorem quamvis sint salutaria*. So also the Dresdensis Dc. 112 (D), H (= Harl. 2682), and Erf. It is possible that T may be one of the Memmiani codices (cp. Turnebus, *Adversaria*, xxiii. 29, xxx. 13).

*se*] H ; om. M.

2. *cedam vita . . . me consolatur*] 'I shall depart from life, which, although fraught with anxiety, yet if it is likely to benefit the state, affords me consolation by the fair hope of future fame.' For *posteritas* in this sense cp. Tusc. i. 35, *veri simile est, cum optimus quisque maxime posteritati serviat, esse aliquid, cuius is post mortem sensum sit habiturus*.

bona spe posteritatis me consolatur, qua sublata non dubitanter occidam atque ita cedam, ut fortuna iudicio meo, non animus mihi defuisse videatur. Illud vero, quod et recentis doloris habet indicium et praeteritae iniuriae testimonium et absentium sensus significationem, non praetermittam, quin, quoniam coram id facere prohibeor, absens pro me reque p. expostulem tecum—atque ita dico ‘pro me,’ si quidem mea salus aut utilis rei publicae est aut coniuncta certe publicae saluti—; nam, per deum immortalium fidem—nisi forte frustra eos appello, quorum aures atque animus a nobis abhorrent—perque Fortunam populi Romani—quae, quamquam nobis infesta est, fuit aliquando propitia et, ut spero, futura est—, quis tam expers humanitatis, quis huius urbis nomini ac sedibus usque adeo est inimicus, ut ista aut dissimulare possit aut non dolere aut, si nulla ratione publicis incommodis mederi queat, non morte proprium periculum vitet? 3. Nam, ut ordiar ab initio et perducam ad extremum et novissima conferam primis, quae non posterior dies acerbior priore et quae non insequens hora antecedente calamitosior populo Romano illuxit? M. Antonius, vir animi maximi—utinam etiam sapientis consilii fuisset!—, C. Caesare fortissime, sed parum feliciter a rei publicae dominatione semoto concupierat magis regium, quam quem libera civitas pati posset, principatum: publicam dilapidabat pecuniam, aerarium exhauriebat, minuebat vectigalia, donabat civitates immunitate et nationes ex commentario; dictaturam gerebat, leges imponebat, prohibebat dictatorem creari, plebiscita contemnebat, ipse regnabat in consulatu, unus provincias omnes concupierat: cui

*absens . . . . me, si*] So H Erf. D except for *reque p.*, it has *et p.*; T (except that it omits *reque p.*). Omitting the intervening words, M reads *absens proxim si*. The reading of these mss is obviously right, and not at all of the nature of an interpolation. What M gives is an emendation after the words from the one *pro me* to the other dropped out. For the words which follow H Erf. gives *si salus mea utilis est rei p. aut coniuncta publicae saluti*. From a critical point of view the importance of this passage is very great.

*a nobis abhorrent*] We do not know of any other passage in which *abhorre* is used in the sense of ‘being averse from’ a person. It is generally used of ‘being averse from’ a thing.

3. *dilapidabat pecuniam*] ‘made ducks and drakes of the money.’ This is a good classical word: cp. Ter. Phorm. v. 8, 4, *priusquam dilapidat nostras triginta minas*—but it is a comic one. For the squandering of money by Antony, cp. Phil. ii. 93 ff.

*immunitate et nationes*] omitted in M; added from T D H Erf. and Cratander’s ed. (but D H Erf. omits *et*).

*creari . . . concupierat*] So T D, except that the former, after *creari*, omits *plebiscita contemnebat*, and D apparently omits *omnes*: cp. O. E. Schmidt, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung*, &c., p. 98. M reads *creari legibus, senatus consulti* (consulto R: *consultis* Ald.) *ipse regnabat* (*repugnabat* R) *in senatu*,



sordebat Macedonia provincia, quam victor sibi sumpserat Caesar, quid de hoc sperare aut exspectare nos oportebat? 4. Exstitisti tu vindex nostrae libertatis, ut tunc quidem, optimus—quod utinam neque nostra nos opinio neque tua fides fefellisset!—et veteranis in unum conductis et duabus legionibus a perniciē patriae ad salutem advocatis subito prope iam desperatam et afflictam ac prostratam rem publicam tuis opibus extulisti. Quae tibi non ante, quam postulares, maiora, quam velles, plura, quam sperares, detulit senatus? dedit fasces, ut cum auctoritate defensorem haberet, non ut imperio se adversum armaret; appellavit imperatorem hostium exercitu pulso tribuens honorem, non ut tua caede caesus ille fugiens exercitus te nominaret imperatorem; decrevit in foro statuam, locum in senatu, summum honorem ante tempus. 5. Si quid aliud est, quod dari possit, addet: quid aliud est maius, quod velis sumere? sin autem supra aetatem, supra consuetudinem, supra etiam mortalitatem tuam tibi sunt omnia tributa, cur aut ut ingratum crudeliter aut ut immemorem beneficii tui seclerate circumscribis senatum? Quo te misimus? a quibus reverteris? Contra quos armavimus? quibus arma cogitas inferre? A quibus exercitum abducis? quos adversus aciem struis? Cur hostis relinquitur, civis hostis loco petitur? Cur castra medio itinere longius *ab* adversariorum castris et propius urbem moventur? Cogit illorum spes aliquid nos timere. 6. O me numquam sapientem et aliquando id, quod non eram, frustra existimatum! quantum te, popule Romane, de me fefellit opinio! O meam calamitosam ac praecipitem senectutem! o turpem exacta dementique aetate cani-

*provincias omnes unus concupiscat.* The divergences between these German mss and M are of a very remarkable nature, and until some intermediate ms is discovered baffle explanation. That deliberate emendation has been at work is probable from *prosim* (§ 2) in M, and from the variant *conabitur* M, *poterit* H Erf. Crat. in § 7. Wunder makes the interesting remark that the divergences of the mss of the spurious works attributed to Cicero are much greater than those of his genuine writings.

4. *desperatam . . . prostratam*] So Baier. T D H Erf. Crat. have *desperatam et afflictam*; M has *iam affectam ac prostratam*.

*non ut imperio se adversum armaret*]

‘not that it should arm one with supreme authority against itself.’ It is unusual, and un-Ciceronian, to find *adversum* placed after the word it governs. Perhaps we should read *te*. Two lines below the mss give *sua* for *tua*.

*tua caede caesus*] So RI (except that they have *sua*), ‘defeated by the defeat you caused.’ M has *sua caede ausus*, which Baier adopts. Is it ironical, ‘emboldened by its own defeat’? H Erf. are corrupt, *sua caede rursus*.

*decrevit*] cp. Phil. v. 46.

5. *Cogit . . . timere*] So H Erf.; om. M.

6. *o turpem . . . canitiem*] ‘O the disgrace to my grey hairs, now that my

tiem! ego patres conscriptos ad parricidium induxi, ego rem publicam fefelli, ego ipsum senatum sibi manus adferre coëgi, cum te Iunonium puerum et matris tuæ partum aureum esse dixi; at te fata patriæ Paridem futurum prædicebant, qui vastares urbem incendio, Italiam bello, qui castra in templis deorum immortalium, senatum in castris habiturus esses. 7. O miseram et in brevi tam celerem et tam variam rei publicæ commutationem! quisnam tali futurus ingenio est, qui possit hæc ita mandare litteris, ut facta, non ficta videantur esse? quis erit tanta animi facilitate, qui, quæ verissime memoria propagata fuerint, non fabulæ similia sit existimaturus? cogita enim Antonium hostem iudicatum, ab eo circumsessum consulem designatum eundemque rei publicæ parentem, te profectum ad consulem liberandum et hostem opprimendum hostemque a te fugatum et consulem obsidione liberatum, deinde paullo post fugatum illum hostem arcessitum tamquam coheredem mortua re publica ad bona populi Romani capienda, consulem designatum rursus inclusum eo, ubi se non moenibus, sed fluminibus et montibus tueretur: hæc quis poterit exponere? quis credere audebit? Liceat semel impune peccare, sit erranti medicina confessio. 8. Verum enim dicam: utinam te potius, Antoni, dominum non expulsemus, quam hunc reciperemus! non quo ulla sit optanda servitus, sed quia dignitate domini minus turpis est fortuna servi, in duobus autem malis, cum fugiendum maius sit, levius est eligendum. Ille ea tamen exorabat, quæ volebat auferre: tu extorques. Ille consul provinciam petebat: tu privatus concupiscis. Ille ad malorum salutem iudicia constituebat et leges ferebat: tu ad perniciem optimorum. Ille a sanguine et incendio servorum Capitolium tuebatur: tu cruore et flamma cuncta delere vis. Si, qui

life is finished, and become crazed.' This is too unnatural even for the rhetorician. We should probably alter, with Wesenberg, to *labentique*.

[*Iunonium puerum*] If Cicero ever applied to Octavian these affected titles, they may possibly have reference to the dream he is related to have had about that young man, Plut. Cic. 44. The dream is related differently in Dio Cass. xlv. 2 and Suet. Oct. 94.

7. *fluminibus et montibus*] cp. the conclusion of the life of D. Brutus

sketched in the Introduction.

[*poterit*] H Erf. Crat.; *conabitur* M.

8. *provinciam*] Gallia Cisalpina, which Antony obtained in exchange for Macedonia by the *Lex Antonia de permutatione provinciarum*.

[*iudicia constituebat*] The *Lex Antonia iudiciaria* added a third class of jurymen to the senators and equites. This third class was to consist of centurions and soldiers of the legion Alauda, Phil. i. 19; v. 12.

dabat provincias Cassio et Brutis et illis custodibus nominis nostri, regnabat, quid faciet, qui vitam adimit? si, qui ex urbe eiciebat, tyrannus erat, quem hunc appellemus, qui ne locum quidem relinquit exsilio? 9. Itaque, si quid illae maiorum nostrorum sepultae reliquiae sapiunt, si non una cum corpore sensus omnis uno atque eodem consumptus est igni, quid illis interrogantibus, quid agat nunc populus Romanus, respondebit aliquis nostrum, qui proximus in illam aeternam domum discesserit? aut quem accipient de suis posteris nuntium illi veteres Africani, Maximi, Paulli, Scipiones? quid de sua patria audient, quam spoliis triumphisque decorarunt? an esse quendam annos XVIII. natum, cuius avus fuerit argentarius, adstipulator pater, uterque vero precarium quaestum fecerit, sed alter usque ad senectutem, ut non negaret, alter a pueritia, ut non posset non confiteri: eum agere, rapere rem publicam, cui nulla virtus, nullae bello subactae et ad imperium adiunctae provinciae, nulla dignitas maiorum conciliasset eam potentiam, sed forma per dedecus pecuniam et nomen nobile consceleratum impudicitia dedisset, *qui* veteres vulneribus et aetate confectos Iulianos gladiatores, egentes reliquias Caesaris ludi, ad rudem compulisset, quibus ille saeptus omnia misceret, nullis parceret, sibi viveret, qui tamquam in dotali matrimonio rem publicam testamento legatam sibi obtineret? 10. Audient duo Decii servire eos cives, qui ut hostibus imperarent, victoriae se devoverunt; audiet C. Marius impudico domino parere nos, qui ne militem quidem habere voluit nisi pudicum; audiet Brutus eum populum, quem ipse primo, post progenies eius a regibus liberavit, pro turpi stupro datum in servitutem: quae quidem, si nullo alio, me tamen internuntio celeriter ad illos deferentur; nam, si vivus ista subterfugere non potero, una cum istis vitam simul fugere decrevi.

*appellemus*] H Erf.; *vocemus* M.

9. *aeternam domum*] cp. Accius, quoted in N. D. iii. 41.

*adstipulator*] 'Designari videntur hoc loco ii qui in foro ad argentariorum tabernas adsistebant et mercede aliqua accepta aliorum contractus sua adstipulatione et fide firmabant.'—Forcellini.

*ad rudem compulisset*] 'forced back to the ring.' *Rudis* was the wooden sword, used for practice in the gladiatorial

schools, and such a sword was given to gladiators on their discharge. As far as we know, the phrase does not occur elsewhere. A modern would probably use an expression taken from the prize-ring. We find, in inscriptions, a gladiator called *prima rudis*, and another *secunda rudis*. Such were discharged gladiators who taught in the schools: cp. 'first violin,' 'second violin.'

10. *C. Marius*] cp. Mil. 9.

## FRAGMENTA EPISTOLARUM.

## I. AD M. TITINNIUM.

L. Plotius Gallus. De hoc Cicero in epistola ad M. Titinnium sic refert :

Equidem memoria teneo pueris nobis primum Latine docere coepisse L. Plotium quendam : ad quem cum fieret concursus, quod studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere : continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui existimabant Graecis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse. (Suetonius de rhet. c. 2.)

## II. AD CORNELIUM NEPOTEM LIB. II.

1. Cicero in libro epistolarum ad Cornelium Nepotem secundo sic ait :

Itaque nostri, cum omnia, quae dixissemus, dicta essent, quae facete et breviter et acute locuti essemus, ea proprio nomine appellari dicta voluerunt. (Macrobius, Saturn. ii. 1, 14.)

## AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

2. Cicero ad Nepotem :

Hoc restiterat etiam, ut a te fictis adgrederer donis [‘adgrederer’ passive dixit, ἐνεδρευσθῶ. in eodem] qui habet, ultro ad-

I. *TITINNIUM*] Nothing is known of him.

*L. Plotium*] Eusebius’ Chronicon places him in Ol. 171, 3 = 88 B.C. This suits the date as given by Suetonius, Seneca, who says (Controv. ii. Praef.) that he taught Latin rhetoric at Rome *Cicerone puero*, and Quintilian (ii. 4, 42), who places him *extremis L. Crassi temporibus*. He wrote a treatise *De Gestu* (Quintil. xi. 3, 143). Varro scoffs at him as teaching his pupils to be bumpkins, and to bawl like cattle-drovers : cp. Varro ap. Non. 79, 29, *Automedo meus quod apud Plotium rhetorem bubulcitare <instituerat>*, ‘*lateralis dolor*’ (cp. Ennius, Annal. 601 (Vahlen), *Tum lateralis dolor certissimus nuntius mortis*) non defuit, according to

the reading of L. Müller. The Schol. Bob. on Arch. 20 is certainly wrong in giving *L. Clodium* as lemma to the comment *Hic primus Romae studia Latina docuisse <fertur>*. It should have been *L. Plotium*, as in the text of Cicero.

The passage in Suetonius given above proceeds thus : *Hunc eundem (nam diutissime vixit) M. Caclius in oratione quam pro se de vi habuit, significabat dictasse Atratio accusatori suo actionem, subtractoque nomine ordinarium eum rhetorem appellat, deridens ut inflatum ac levem ac sordidum*—for we are told a barley diet makes one swell.

II. 1. *quae . . . essemus*] ‘our witty, terse, and pointed remarks are specially called “sayings”.’



petitur; qui est pauper, aspernatur, [passive, ἐξουθενεῖται]. (Priseianus viii. 4, 17 = 2, 383, 1 Keil.)

3. Cicero ad Cornelium Nepotem de eodem (Caesare) ita scripsit :

Quid ? oratorum quem huic antepones eorum, qui nihil aliud egerunt ? quis sententiis aut acutior aut crebrior ? quis verbis aut ornatior aut elegantior ? (Suetonius, Iul. c. 55.)

4. Ut Tullius quoque docet crudelitatis increpans Caesarem in quadam ad Nepotem epistola :

Neque enim quidquam aliud est felicitas nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas vel, ut alio modo definiam, felicitas est fortuna, adiutrix consiliorum bonorum, quibus qui non utitur felix esse nullo pacto potest. Ergo in perditis impiisque consiliis, quibus Caesar usus erat, nulla potuit esse felicitas, feliciorque meo iudicio Camillus exsulans quam temporibus isdem Manlius, etiam si, id quod cupierat, regnare potuisset. (Ammianus, Marcell. xxi. 16, 13.)

5. Haec quidam veterum formidantes cognitiones actuum variorum stilis uberioribus explicatas non edidere superstites, ut in quadam ad Cornelium Nepotem epistola Tullius quoque testis reverendus adfirmat.—Idem xxvi. 1, 2.

### III. AD C. CAESAREM EPIST. LIB. I.

1. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Tum, cum ea, quae es ab senatu summo cum honore tuo consecutus. (Nonius v. consequi p. 270, 15, v. honor p. 319 sq.)

2. ἐξουθενεῖται] 'is set at nought': cp. Luke xxiii. 11; Romans xiv. 10.

3. ornatior aut elegantior] 'more dignified and refined.'

4. Manlius] He saved the Capitol from the Gauls in 390; but six years later was accused of aiming at royal power, and put to death (Cic. Phil. i. 32; ii. 114; Liv. vi. 20).

5. haec] When in the course of his history Ammianus reaches his own time he notices two reasons for which he might avoid writing of that period—(1) the danger of telling the truth (*pericula veritatis contigua*); (2) the minuteness and detail which critics require. Haec refers to the censures of such critics.

cognitiones] 'did not publish for posterity their knowledge of multifarious events written in a fuller manner' (than

is done by most historians), i.e. did not write lengthy histories of their own times.

III. C. CAESAREM] L. Gurlitt, in an acute and learned pamphlet (*Nonius Marcellus und die Cicero-Briefe*, Steglitz, 1888), holds that these letters 'to C. Caesar' were addressed, not to Julius Caesar, but to Octavian; for (1) the quotations from letters 'to Caesar' and 'to Caesar junior' mostly come from the alphabetically arranged Book iv. of Nonius, and generally as the principal illustration of the word treated. They were, accordingly, in all probability, taken straight from a special glossary of words occurring in a definite body of correspondence. (2) The quotations from the letters 'to Caesar junior' and 'to Caesar' occur in and out of one another, e.g. under



## 2. M. Tullius in epistola ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Balbus quanti faciam quamque ei me totum dicaverim, ex ipso scies. (Idem v. dicare p. 287, 25.)

## 3. Epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Debes odisse improbitatem eius, quia impudentissimum nomen delegerit. (Idem v. improbum p. 327, 5.)

## 4. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Ut sciret tuenda maiore cura esse quam parta sunt. (Idem v. tueri p. 413, 29.)

## 5. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. I. :

Itaque vereor ne ferociorem eum faciant tua tam praeclara iudicia de eo. (Idem v. ferox p. 305, 5.)

letter *d*, Non. 283, 33, to C. j.; 286, 12, to C.; 287, 25, to C.; 288, 25, to C. j. (3) None of the letters 'to Caesar' need necessarily be letters addressed to Julius, and all would fit more appropriately into a correspondence with Octavian. This is allowed by L. Müller in the case of Non. 32, 16, and 436, 22. (4) It is unlikely that Tiro, at the end of 710 (44), would have been able to collect a large body of correspondence between Cicero and Caesar when Caesar's papers were in the hands of Antony, unless we suppose that Cicero kept copies of all the letters he despatched, which is improbable. (5) The three commendatory letters in Fam. addressed to the dictator (Fam. xiii. 15, 16; vii. 5) were probably recovered by Tiro from the men who were recommended therein to Caesar, viz. from Precillius, Crassus, and Trebatius.

The chief objection that may be urged against this theory is that we must suppose either—(1) that the volume of correspondence was called 'ad Caesarem,' and Nonius himself added in the greater number of cases 'iuniorem,' which we should hardly expect from the foolish, but mechanical, Nonius; or (2) that in a dozen cases 'iuniorem' fell out for some reason or another, perhaps because it was written *ivn*, and the copyist did not understand it, or took it for the number of a book. Still, notwithstanding this grave objection, we are of opinion that the balance of argument lies decidedly in favour of Gurlitt's theory.

1. *ea quae . . . consecutus*] These words refer to the honours bestowed on Octavian by the senate on Dec. 20 (Phil. iii. 38, 39; iv. 2, 4) and Jan. 2 (Phil. v., vi.) viz. propraetorian rank, seat in the senate among the consulares, permission to stand for the consulship ten years sooner than the normal time, a statue, &c. (App. B. C. iii. 64).

2. *Balbus*] This fragment is probably taken from a letter in which Cicero introduced Balbus to Octavian. It is impossible to fix the date. We know that Balbus met Octavian at Naples on April 19, 44: cp. Att. xiv. 10, 3 (713).

3. *eius*] probably Antony, who assumed the title of Imperator (cp. Phil. xiii. 22) when he blockaded Decimus Brutus in Mutina at the end of December, 710 (44).

*quia*] So the mss of Nonius; *qui* old edd.; *quei* L. Müller.

4. *ut sciret . . . sunt*] Gurlitt (p. 7) supposes that this refers to Dec. Brutus: cp. Fam. xi. 5, 2 (809), written Dec. 9, 44, *tu si dies noctesque memineris . . . quantam rem gesseris, non oblivescere profecto, quanta tibi etiam nunc gerendae sint*. L. Müller compares the proverbial verse, *Nec minor est virtus quam quaerere parta tueri*.

5. *tua tam . . . eo*] For *tua tam* the mss of Nonius give *tutam* and *telo* for *de eo*; Quicherat suggests *de illo*. The reference is in either case to Antony. The passage refers to the speech delivered by Octavian in November, 710 (44): cp.

6. M. Tullius in epistolis ad Caesarem lib. I.:

Quod sapientes homines ac boni putant. (Idem v. putare p. 369, 30.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. II.

1. Monumenti proprietatem a monendo M. Tullius exprimendam putavit ad Caesarem epistolarum lib. II.:

Sed ego, quae monumenti ratio sit, nomine ipso admoneor: ad memoriam magis spectare debet posteritatis quam ad praesentis temporis gratiam. (Nonius p. 32, 16.)

2. Locandi significatio manifesta est, ut aut operis locandi aut fundi. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem lib. II.:

Vel quod locatio ipsa pretiosa. (Idem p. 340, 15.)

AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. III.

1. Dimittere est derelinquere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem lib. III.:

Quae si videres, non te exercitu retinendo tuereris, sed eo radito aut dimisso. (Idem p. 286, 12.)

2. Contemnere et despiciere eo distant, quod est despiciere gravius quam contemnere M. Tullius ad Caesarem lib. III.:

Amici non nulli a te contemni et despici ac pro nihilo haberi senatum volunt. (Idem p. 436, 22.)

Att. xvi. 15, 3 (807). It probably does not refer to the speech delivered in May (cp. Att. xiv. 21, 4 (728); xv. 2, 3 (732)), as it cannot be proved, and is unlikely, that Cicero was in correspondence with Octavian before the autumn of 710 (44), when he exchanged many letters with him: cp. Att. xvi. 8, 1 (797); 9, 1 (798); 11, 6 (799).

6. *putant*] Gurlitt (p. 8) refers this fragment to the attempt by Octavian on Antony's life in October, 710 (44): cp. Fam. xii. 23, 3 (792), *prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant*.

II. 1. *Caesarem*] L. Müller adds *iunio-rem*.

*monumenti*] The reference is to the statue granted to Octavian on January 2: cp. App. iii. 64, *ἐνεθυμείτο δὲ* (sc. Octavian thought of the way in which the senate had tried to cajole him) *καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὥς μειράκιον τέχνης εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν παρασχόντων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων*.

*memoriam*] cp. Phil. v. 17, *an illa non gravissimis ignominiosis monumentisque huius ordinis ad posteritatis memoriam sunt notanda*.

2. *locatio*] This probably refers to the contract for the honours which were granted to the consuls who fell in the war at Mutina (Phil. xiv. 38).

III. 1. *derelinquere*] 'surrender.' *te*] Nipperdey; *de* mss of Nonius. *tuereris*] So Madvig, A. C. ii. 245, and L. Müller for *tueri* of the mss. Hirtius, about the end of January, took command, as consul, of all the forces in North Italy, among which were the Fourth and Martian legions, who had deserted Antony, and attached themselves to Octavian: cp. Phil. xiv. 27; Fam. x. 30, 1 (841); xi. 14, 2 (886); Appian, iii. 75 (Pansa to Octavian), *συστρατηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν ἵνα σοῦ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτικώτερα ἀποσπῶμεν*. Cicero here seems to urge Octavian to hand over his legions to the consul.

2. *Caesarem*] L. Müller adds *iunio-rem*.

*a*] added by Lipsius. Patricius reads *te . . . a senatu*.

*senatum*] This refers probably to the claims for the consulship laid by Octavian before the senate in July, 711 (43), as Gurlitt (p. 10) has pointed out.

## AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. Consequi, exprimere, definire. M. Tullius ad Caesarem :

Extrema vero nec quanta nec qualia sint, verbis consequi possum. (Idem p. 270, 19.)

2. M. Tullius epistolarum ad Caesarem :

Iam amplitudinem gloriamque tuam magno mihi ornamento esse et fore existimo, †quid me levas cura. (Idem v. levare p. 336, 22.)

## IV. FRAGMENTUM EPIST. CAESARIS AD CICERONEM.

Verrius Flaccus, inquit Plinius, eorum nominum, quae nō finiuntur casu nominativo, ablativus in e dirigendus est. Itaque Caesar epistularum ad Ciceronem

Neque (inquit) pro cauto ac diligente se castris continuit. (Charisius i. 21, 66 (= 1, 126, 9 K).)

## V. AD CAESAREM IUNIOREM EPIST. LIB. I.

1. Aditus, adventus. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Et aut ad consules aut ad te aut ad Brutum adissent, his fraudi ne esset, quod cum Antonio fuissent. (Nonius p. 238, 2.)

2. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Roga ipsum, quem ad modum ego eum Arimini acceperim. (Idem v. accipere p. 239, 22. v. rogare p. 383, 7.)

EX LIB. INCERT. 1. *consequi*] It is impossible to say in what connexion this fragment occurred.

2. *mihi ornamento*] Cicero, in a glowing passage (Phil. v. 51), went surety for Octavian that he would be loyal to the state : cp. note to Brut. i. 18, 3 (915).

†*quid*] *qui* (abl.) L. Müller ; *quod me levat cura* (Mercer).

IV. *neque . . . continuit*] For this use of *pro* with an adjective in an adverbial sense, cp. Plaut. Men. ii. 2, 24, *pro sano loqueris* ; Sall. Jug. 22, *neque recte neque pro bono facturum*. The reference is possibly to some neglect on the part of Hirtius in the skirmishes before Mutina, perhaps to the desertion of the Gallic cavalry (Dio Cass. xlv. 37).

V. i. 1. *adissent*] This fragment is part of the same letter as that from which frag. 16 is taken. The decree was passed on February 3 : cp. Phil. viii. 33, *Eorum,*

*qui cum M. Antonio sunt, qui ab armis discesserint et aut ad C. Pansam aut ad C. Hirtium consules aut ad Decimum Brutum imperatorem, consulem designatum, aut ad C. Caesarem pro praetore ante Idus Martias primas adierint, iis fraudi ne sit, quod cum M. Antonio fuerint.*

2. *ad Caesarem*] This letter is really from Octavian. The title of the book of letters was 'M. Tullius ad Caesarem,' just as Fam. ix. 20 is called 'Cicero ad Varronem epistula Paeti' (to Paetus) by Non. 83, 28. In the titles and endings of the books ad Fam. in the mss the book bears the name of the correspondent to whom the first letter is addressed.

*roga . . . acceperim*] *rogo . . . acceperit*. So the mss Lugd. Harl. Guelf. Genev. at Non. 239, 22 ; but at 383, 7, all the mss have *roga . . . acceperim* (or -em). L. Müller reads as in the text.

Hirtius left Rome on January 5, and

3. Cunctari est dubitare, dissipare.—M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Sed cito paenituit domumque rediit, ceteri cunctabantur. (Idem p. 52, 17.)

4. Comparare, adaequare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Neminem tibi profecto hominem ex omnibus aut anteposuissem umquam aut etiam comparassem. (Nonius p. 255 sq.)

5. Conficere, colligere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

In singulas tegulas impositis [sescentis] sescenties confici posse. (Idem p. 268 sq.)

6. Conficere, consumere, finire. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Bellum, ut opinio mea fert, consensu civitatis confectum iam haberemus. (Nonius p. 269, 16.)

7. Ducere, trahere, differre. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Ne res duceretur, fecimus ut Hercules Antonianus in alium locum transferretur. (Idem p. 283 sq.)

8. Expedire, colligere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Ex ceteris autem generibus tunc pecunia expeditur, cum legionibus victricibus erunt, quae spopondimus, persolvenda. (Idem p. 298, 20).

probably met Octavian at Ariminum about the middle of the month: cp. App. iii. 46, ὁ μὲν δὴ (Καῖσαρ) λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον προεπέμπετο ὅθεν ἐστὶ ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀρχή.

3. *paenituit*] We are unable to offer any opinion as to the reference in this fragment.

4. *neminem*] Gurlitt (p. 18) thinks that perhaps this is a fragment of a letter from Octavian. Certainly the young man flattered Cicero as long as he required his assistance: cp. Att. xvi. 8, 9, 10 (797-9).

5. *sescentis*] This word is omitted by several mss. L. Müller supposes a lacuna before *in singulas*. Ruete (p. 44) suggests *tribus sestertiis* (= 4 obols): cp. Dio. xlvii. 31, 3, where it is stated that, in addition to an income tax of 4 per cent. paid by all citizens, the senators were required to pay τέσσαρας δβολοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην κεραμίδα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οἰκίῳν ὅσας ἡ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτυντο ἢ ἄλλας οὕσας γκουν.

6. *bellum . . . haberemus*] Ruete (p. 45) sees a reference to D. Brutus: cp. Fam. xii. 5, 2 (821), *qui si, ut sperabamus, erupisset Mutina, nihil belli reliqui fore videbatur*. § 3. *Populi vero Romani totiusque Italiae mira consensio*.

7. *Antonianus*] This is the brilliant emendation of Hirschfeld for *Antianus*. There is no evidence that Hercules was worshipped at Antium, and even if there was, the adjective would be *Antiatinus*. On the other hand, Antony claimed descent from Ἀντων, a son of Hercules (Plut. Ant. 4, 36), and, like that hero, used to ride in a chariot drawn by lions (Plin. H. N. viii. 55). As Antony found statues to Hercules which bore the titles *Hercules Sullanus*, *Hercules Pompeianus* (Vitruv. iii. 5), he, doubtless, saw no reason why he should not erect a statue to Hercules Antonianus.

8. *pecunia*] probably comes from the same letter as Frag. 5: cp. Phil. v. 53, for the rewards which Cicero voted to be given to the veterans.

9. Involvere, implicare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Sed quod viderem nomine pacis bellum involutum fore. (Idem p. 328, 19.)

10. Opinio est fama. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Erat opinio bona de Planco, bona de Lepido. (Idem p. 156, 13.)

11. Praestare, exhibere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Tu si meam fidem praestiteris, quod confido te esse facturum. (Idem p. 371, 7.)

12. Relatum [dicitur] perlatum, dictum a M. Tullio ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Sed haec videbimus, cum legati responsa retulerint. (Idem p. 380, 29.)

13. Spurcum, vehemens, asperum. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Cum iter facerem ad Aquilam Claternam tempestate spurcissima. (Idem p. 394, 7.)

14. Vindicare, revocare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Qui si nihil ad id beneficium adderes, quo per te me una cum re publica in libertatem vindicavissem. (Idem p. 419, 13.)

15. Ignoscere et concedere quemadmodum inter se distent, aperit M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I. :

Quod mihi et Philippo vacationem das, bis gaudeo: nam et praeteritis ignoscis et concedis futura. (Idem p. 436, 17.)

9. *involutum*] Ruete (p. 42) compares Phil. vii. 19, *nec ego pacem volo sed pacis nomine bellum involutum reformido*.

10. *Lepido*] The good opinion which the senatorial party entertained of Lepidus at the beginning of 711 (43), cp. Dio. xli. 29; Fam. x. 33, 1 (890), was impaired in March: cp. Fam. x. 27 (827); Phil. xiii. 13-15.

11. *fidem praestiteris*] cp. note to Frag. III. 2 (ex libro incerto).

12. *dicitur*] om. Quicherat.

*legati*] The ambassadors, sent by the senate to Antony, were absent from January 5 to February 2.

13. *facerem*] This word shows that the fragment belongs to a letter from Octavian.

*Aquilam*] So Gurlitt (p. 12) for *hiquiam* of the mss. We adopt this correction

as almost certain. For Aquila, cp. Brut. i. 15, 8 (914); Fam. xi. 13, 1 (859), and Phil. xi. 14, xiii. 27.

*Claternam*] cp. Fam. xii. 5, 2 (821), *erat autem Claternae noster Hirtilius, ad Forum Cornelium Caesar*. It was on the Via Aemilia, between Forum Cornelium and Bononia.

*spurcissima*] 'most foul weather.' *Foedus* is often used in this connexion, Liv. xxv. 7, 7.

14. *vindicavissem*] -*cassent* or -*cavissent* is given by the mss. This letter was probably written after December 20: cp. Phil. iii. 28, *in possessionem libertatis pedem ponimus*; Fam. xii. 24, 2 (817), *in spem libertatis ingressus sum* . . . *fundamenta ieci rei p.*

15. *Quod mihi*] So ed. 1476 of Nonius. The mss give *quo*: Halm and L. Müller



16. Sagum, vestimentum militare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. I.:

Pridie Nonas Februarias cum ad te litteras maue dedissem, descendi ad forum sagatus, cum reliqui consulares togati vellent descendere. (Idem p. 538, 20.)

#### AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. II.

1. Insulsum proprie fatuum, quasi sine sale. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem Epistolarum secundo:

Sed ita locutus insulse est, ut mirum senatus convicium exceperit. (Nonius p. 33, 13.)

2. Ignavum et segne, torpidum, feriatum, et sine igni. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem II. libro:

In quo tua me provocavit oratio, mea consecuta est segnis. (Idem p. 33, 18.)

3. Constat, convenit, manifestum est. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Cum constaret Caesarem Lupercis id vectigal dedisse: qui autem poterat id constare? (Idem p. 273, 3.)

4. Deicere, elidere. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Ad statuum nescio cuius Clodi, quam cum restitui iussisset Ancone, cum hero deiectam esse ex senatus consulto . . . (Idem p. 288, 25.)

read *quom*, 'touching your grant of leave of absence to Philippus and myself, I feel a twofold pleasure; for it implies pardon for the past, and indulgence for the future.' These are the last words of Cicero which remain to us. They were written in August, after Octavian's election to the consulship. Ruete (p. 4) compares Appian iii. 92, Κικέρων δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν πυθομενος ἐπράξε διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐντυχῶν ἀπελογεῖτο.

16. *sagatus*] So Abeken rightly, for *togatus* of the mss: cp. Phil. viii. 6 (delivered February 2), *saga cras sumentur*, and O. E. Schmidt (Cass. pp. 25, 26).

11. 1. *exceperit*] We do not know to whom reference is here made—perhaps Servilius: cp. Brut. ii. 2, 3 (839); or possibly Calenus.

2. *feriatum*] 'idle,' 'lazy.' Gurlitt (p. 19) thinks that perhaps here we have

a fragment of a letter from Octavian.

3. *constaret*] Halm, L. Müller; *constat* (-et) codd. Nonii.

*Lupercis*] There was a debate in January, 711 (43), with reference to certain revenues which had been granted by Julius Caesar to the Luperci (Phil. vii. 1), 'probably as an endowment for the third class of Juliani, which he added to the Luperci in his own honour, and of which he made Antony high priest' (King). Before the middle of March these revenues had been taken from the Luperci (Phil. xiii. 31).

4. *Ad statuum*] Baiter; *ad est atba*, or *adba*, or *adab*, codd. Nonii; *de statua* (Mercer, L. Müller).

*cum*] ed. princeps; *tu* codd.

*Ancone*] For Clodii at Ancona, cp. Clu. 40.

*cum hero*] Hirschfeld ingeniously suggests *comperio*; Gurlitt, less probably, *cum heroo*, 'with the hero's shrine,' or

5. Insolens, impudens et audax dicitur consuetudine. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Insolens, arrogans, iactans. (Idem p. 322, 11.)

6. Meret, meretur. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Quem perisse ita de re publica merentem consulem doleo. (Idem p. 344, 19.)

7. Secundum, prosperum. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Scriptum erat equestre proelium valde secundum, in his autem potius adversum. (Idem p. 389, 23.)

8. Locupletis non magnarum opum tantummodo, sed et ad quamlibet rem firmos et certos M. Tullius dici voluit ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Nihil omnino certi, nec locupletem ad hoc auctorem habebamus. (Idem p. 462, 10.)

9. Paludamentum est vestis, quae nunc chlamys dicitur. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. II.:

Antonius demens ante lucem paludatus. (Idem p. 538 sq.)

#### AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. III.

1. Invehi, adgredi, increpare. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. III.:

Itaque in eam Pansa vehementer est invectus. (Nonius p. 329, 26.)

*cum hero*, 'with the hero himself.' For *Anconae cum hero*, L. Müller reads *An-tonius iterum*, but this is far too daring. We venture to suggest that the whole fragment should be read thus: *At est (= e) statua nescio cuius Clodi quam cum restitui iussisset Anconae cum hero deiec-tam esse ex senatus consulto* (sc. scito, or same such word); and understand the reference to be to Dolabella, who may have erected, at Ancona, a statue to a protégé of his called Clodius, as he appears to have erected a statue of the notorious Clodius at Rome: cp. note to Att. xi. 23, 3 (437). When Dolabella was declared a public enemy his statues, and those of his protégés, were probably pulled down. This was a common proceeding when a great man fell: cp. Mayor on Juv. x. 58. *Cum hero* will then mean 'with the master.'

6. *Quem . . . doleo*] This fragment is taken from a letter written by Octavian. Cicero learned of the deaths of both consuls at the same time. As Pansa did not die until the day after the battle, Octavian is

probably here speaking of Hirtius: cp. Fam. xi. 13, 1, 2 (869).

7. *Scriptum erat*] L. Müller supposes a lacuna before *scriptum*, and thinks *in illis* has fallen out. Madvig (A. C. ii. 245) wishes to read *peditis*, or *militis*, for *in his*. Some cavalry engagements took place in March between the forces of Antony and those of Octavian and Hirtius (Dio Cass. xlv. 37).

8. *ad hoc*] *adhuc* L. Müller. It is uncertain to what rumours Cicero is referring—possibly he is complaining of the lack of definite news about Cassius: cp. Fam. xii. 5, 1 (821).

9. *Antonius*] Antony left Rome November 28 or 29, 710 (44). Cicero was then in the country, while Octavian had been in Rome since November 10. Octavian is, accordingly, the informant here. The date of the letter seems to show that *lib. ii.* must be wrong, since *lib. i.* contained letters of February, 711 (43): cp. Frag. 16 above.

iii. 1. *eam*] sc. *sententiam*. Ruete (p. 46) refers to Fam. xii. 7, 1 (823),

2. Anticus et antiquior ut gradu, ita et intellectu distant: nam anticus significat vetus, antiquior melior. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem lib. III.:

Ego autem antiquissimum, oriundum Scythiis, quibus antiquior laetitia est quam lucrum. (Idem p. 426, 12.)

#### AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. Opinio, spes, opinatio. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem:

Posthac quod voles a me fieri scribito: vincam opinionem tuam. (Nonius p. 356, 22.)

2. Promittere est polliceri. M. Tullius ad Caesarem iuniorem:

Promissa tua memoria teneas. (Idem p. 362, 24.)

#### VI. AD C. PANSAM EPIST. LIB. I.

1. Humaniter. M. Tullius ad Pansam lib. I.:

De Antiocho fecisti humaniter, quem quidem ego semper dilexi meque ab eo diligere sensi. (Nonius p. 509, 17, cf. Priscianum xv. 3, 13 (= 3, 70, 13 K).)

2. Inaudire, audire. M. Tullius ad Pansam lib. I.:

Quorum erupit illa vox, de qua ego ex te primum quiddam inaudieram. (Nonius p. 126, 18.)

#### AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. III.

Concalfacere, exercitare vel incendere vel hortari. Cicero ad Pansam lib. III.:

Nos Ventidianis rumoribus calfacimur. (Nonius p. 92, 18.)

*quae mea sententia in senatu facile valuisset nisi Pansa vehementer obstitisset.* There is no necessity to alter *eam* to *eum* with Junius.

2. *anticus*] *anticus* and *antiquior* differ in meaning; the former means 'ancient,' the latter not 'more ancient,' but 'more important.'

*antiquissimum*] 'I consider him a man of the old times, sprung from the Scythians, to whom cheerfulness was preferable to gold.' We do not know to whom Cicero is referring. Madvig, A. C. ii. 245, proposes *antiquus sum, oriundum*; Lucian Müller, *ego autem* (sc. *contendo*) *antiquissimis oriundum Scythiis quibus antiquior institia est quam lucrum*, comparing Hom. II. xiii. 8.

EX LIB. INCERT. 1. *vincam opinionem tuam*] ep. Fam. v. 12, 1 (109), *genus enim scriptorum tuorum, etsi erat semper a me vehementer expectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam.*

VI. i. 1. *Antiocho*] So Priscian; *de Antio* (codd. Nonii); *de anno* (ed. princ. Nonii); *de Antistio* (Quicherat), of which L. Müller approves: ep. Q. Fr. ii. 1, 3 (93).

2. *inaudieram*] ep. Plaut. Mil. ii. 2, 27; Aul. ii. 2, 88. The word means to overhear by chance, or catch part of a discourse: ep. Fam. ix. 24, 1 (820). In Plautus the form *indaudire* is found.

iii. *Ventidianis rumoribus*] O. E. Schmidt (in Philologus, li., 1892, pp. 200-204) refers this to rumours that Ven-

## AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

## Barones

dicendum, sicut Cicero ad Pansam. (Gramm. inc. de generibus nominum n. 19 ed. Otto.)

## VII. AD A. HIRTIUM EPIST. LIB. II.

Error masculini est generis. . . . neutri M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. II. :

Qua in re si mediocriter lapsus sum, defendes meum tolerabile erratum. (Nonius p. 204, 10.)

## AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. V.

Impertire est participare et partem dare. M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. V. :

Et quoniam, ut hoc tempus est, nihil habeo patriæ quod impertiam. (Idem p. 37, 21.)

## AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. VII.

Vetustiscere et veterascere quid intersit, Nigidius commentator grammaticus lib. X. deplavit : dicemus, quæ vetustate deteriora fiunt, vetustiscere, veterascere, quæ meliora. M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. VII. :

Cum enim nobilitas nihil aliud sit quam cognita virtus, quis in eo, quem veterascentem videat ad gloriam, generis antiquitatem desideret ? (Idem p. 437, 24.)

tidius was raising forces in Apulia and Lucania in the summer of 710 (44), when Cicero was desirous of escaping from Italy. Hence, he thinks, arose the absurd rumour that Cicero fled from Rome in 711 (43) before an attack by Ventidius (Appian iii. 66).

*calfacimur*] cp. Q. Fr. iii. 2, 1 (150), *Gabinium ad populum luculente calefecerat Memmius*. There is no need to read *concalfacimur*, with L. Müller : cp. De Orat. ii. 316.

*barones*] cp. Fam. ix. 26, 3 (479); Att. v. 11, 6 (200); Fin. ii. 77; De Div. ii. 144.

vii. ii. *erratum*] cp. Att. vi. 1, 18 (252); Fam. v. 20, 8 (302).

vii. *veterascere*] So cod. Harl. Nonii (m. 1), ed. princ., L. Müller; *vetustascere* Harl. (m. 2), and all other mss.

*Nigidius*] cp. vol. iv., p. lxxvi. *commentator grammaticus*] Quicherat proposes *Commentariorum grammaticorum*.

*dicemus*] Nigidius uses the future, as the distinction which he points out is not usually observed.

*veterascere*] ed. princ.; *inveterascere* Harl., Guelf.

*Tullius*] add. ed. princ.

*veterascentem . . . ad gloriam*] 'ripening with age in renown.' There is no need to alter to *veterascente videat gloriâ*, with L. Müller.

## AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. IX.

Interfici et occidi et inanimalia veteres posse vehementi auctoritate posuerunt. M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. VIII.:

Dicis quasi istuc intereat? nescio, nisi tamen erat mihi iucundum; sed veritus ne qui casus perimeret superioris. . . . (Nonius p. 450, 2.)

## AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

Lutum genere neutro; et apud Ciceronem in epistolis ad Hirtium lectum est plurali numero:

Luta et limum adgerebant.

(Idem p. 212, 14, cf. Caprum p. 2244 P. (= 7, 101, 46 K.); Hoc lutum atque macellum ἐνικῶς [singulariter] exire memento | Memmius ista macella licet, Caesar luta dicat.)

## VIII. AD M. BRUTUM EPIST. LIB. I.

Ex alto; . . . argumentatione longe repetita. Est autem de usu dictum, Cicero primo libro ad Brutum:

Si Pompeius non ex alto peteret et multis verbis me iam hortaretur. (Servius ad Virg. Aen. viii. 395.)

ix. lib. viii.] Gurlitt (p. 23, note 1) cannot believe in *nine* books of correspondence with Hirtius, which appears to have begun in 708 (46)—cp. Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472); 20, 2 (475)—and ended in 711 (43), when Hirtius was killed; especially when we consider that for a considerable portion of that time Cicero and Hirtius were in the same place.

*Dicis . . . . intereat*] We have retained the reading of the mss, though we do not know to what Cicero is referring, perhaps some generality like 'life' (*ævum*). 'You speak as if that is all passing away; perhaps so, but it was, nevertheless, very pleasant to me.' Just before this passage Nonius had quoted a line of Lucilius in which *interire* is used as the passive of *interficere*. The ed. princ. of Nonius altered *intereat* to *intererat*, and L. Müller reads *Dices: quaeso istuc <tua> intererat?* *Nescio: nisi tamen erat mihi iucundum.*

*sed veritus . . . casus*] So L. Müller. The mss give *severitus nequi casum*.

*superioris . . . .*] Some words are lost.

*luta et limum*] This fragment was probably written by Hirtius, and refers to the siege of Mutina in the foul weather noticed in v. 13.

viii. i. *Si Pompeius*] O. E. Schmidt, in a most ingenious reconstruction of the first book of Cicero's Epistles to Brutus (in *Philologus*, 1890, p. 47), quotes Att. vi. 2, 10 (256), *pro Appio nos hic omnia facimus, honeste tamen, sed plane libenter: nec enim ipsum odimus et Brutum amamus, et Pompeius mirifice a me contendit, quem mehercule plus plusque in dies diligo*. The fragment there means, ['I should have done everything possible for Appius even] if Pompey had not urged his request on most fundamental grounds, and with many words exhorted me to that course.'



## AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. VII.

Experiri, scire. M. Tullius *epistolarum* ad Brutum lib. VII.:

His contraria atque *disparata*, ut esse solet, expertus sum. (Nonius p. 296, 8.)

## AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. VIII.

Vel pro etiam est. M. Tullius *epistolarum* ad Brutum lib. VIII.:

Et quod te tantum amat, ut *vel* me audeat provocare. (Nonius p. 527, 25.)

## AD EUNDEM EPIST. LIB. IX.

Inter amare et diligere hoc interest, quod amare vim habet maiorem, diligere autem est levius amare. Cicero ad Brutum:

Sic igitur facies et me aut amabis aut, quo contentus sum, diliges.

Et libro VIII.:

Lucius Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me diligit, vel, ut *ἐμφατικώτερον* dicam, valde me amat. (Nonius p. 421, 27.)

## AD EUNDEM EX LIBRIS INCERTIS.

1. Contentus dicitur, cui res etiam parva abunde est. M. Tullius ad Brutum:

Sic igitur facies et me aut amabis aut, quo contentus sum, diliges. (Nonius p. 264, 5: cf. p. 421, 27.)

2. Aliquando bonis suadentur parum decora, dantur parum bonis consilia, in quibus ipsorum qui consulunt spectatur utilitas. Nec me fallit, quae statim cogitatio

vii. *disparata*] Orelli; *parata* mss. ut *esse solet*] cod. Bern. alter, L. Müller; ut *esse soleat*, all other mss; ut *asoleat*, Bardili, comparing Phil. ii. 82. Orelli reads the whole fragment thus, *his contraria ac disparata ut esse soleant expertus sum*.

viii. *vel me*] The mss omit *vel*; it is added in ed. of 1476.

ix. *Sic . . . diliges*] ep. § 2, below.

*libro viiii.*] The numeral viiii. is suspicious, as no note of the book had gone before. L. Müller thinks that *Lucius*, written as a correction over *Lucilius*,

gradually became corrupted into *Lib. viiii. Lucius Clodius . . . amat*] = Brut. i. 1, 1 (873). The same distinction is noticed in Isidore, Diff. 17. L. Müller notes that *diligere* is sometimes stronger than *amare*, as the former is based on reason, the latter on appetite. He refers to St. Augustin, Civ. Dei, xiv. 7, on the distinction generally.

EX LIBRIS INCERTIS. 1. *quo*] ed. of 1476; *quod* (codd. Non. 421); *quid* (codd. 264). At 264 L. Müller reads *qui* (abl.), at 421 *quod*, referring to Kühner, Lat. Gramm. ii. 212.

subire possit legentem: hoc ergo praecipis? et hoc fas putas? poterat me liberare Cicero, qui ita scribit ad Brutum, praepositis plurimis, quae honeste suaderi Caesari possint:

Simne bonus vir, si haec suadeam? minime; suasoris enim finis est utilitas eius, cui quisque suadet. At recta sunt: quis negat? sed non est semper rectis in suadendo locus. (Quintilianus iii. 8, 42.)

3. Argumentum plura significat. Nam et fabulae ad actum scenarum compositae argumenta dicuntur et orationum Ciceronis velut thema exponens Pedianus 'argumentum' inquit 'tale est'; et ipse Cicero ad Brutum ita scribit:

Veritus fortasse ne nos in Catonem nostrum transferremus illum mali quid, etsi argumentum simile non erat. (Quintilianus v. 10, 9.)

4. Recte Cicero his ipsis ad Brutum verbis quadam in epistola scribit:

Nam eloquentiam, quae admirationem non habet, nullam indico. (Idem viii. 3, 6.)

5. Et quae vetera nunc sunt, fuerunt olim nova, et quaedam sunt in usu perquam recentia. 'Favorem' et 'urbanum' Cicero nova credit. Nam et in epistola ad Brutum

Eum (inquit) amorem et eum, ut hoc verbo utar, favorem in consilium advocabo. (Idem viii. 3, 34.)

6. Maxime in orando valebit numerorum illa libertas; nam et Livius saepe sic dicit 'Romanus prelio victor,' cum Romanos vicisse significat, et contra Cicero ad Brutum

Populo (inquit) imposuimus et oratores visi sumus,  
eum de se tantum loqueretur. (Idem viii. 6, 20: cf. § 55.)

2. *si haec suadeam*] In 709 (45) Cicero wrote a letter on public affairs to Caesar, of which mention is made in his letters to Atticus, e.g. xiii. 31, 3 (607). Cicero, in this fragment, implies that in practical matters one must often diverge from ideal morality. Harm would be done by urging Caesar to adopt a thoroughly republican position: it must be sufficient if he be urged to pursue a course which, in the eyes of the constitutionalists, is the least of evils. *Bonus vir* is the ideally moral man.

3. *Catonem*] cp. vol. iv. p. 1.

4. *admirationem*] Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 2, 1, urges a diction that is sometimes out of the common, for men are θαυμασταὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, ἡδὺ δὲ τὸ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν.

5. *favorem*] cp. Sest. 115, *qui rumore et ut ipsi loquuntur favore* ('applause') *populi tenetur*. With regard to this criticism of Quintilian's, Dr. Reid (in Dr. Holden's Sestius, l. c.) says, 'As *urbanus* is old enough, and *favor* is used by Sallust, it is clear that Cicero can only have referred to special meanings of the words. In the case of *favor* this passage of the Sestius gives the clue. The new sense of *urbanus* was probably that of 'witty,' ἀστεῖος.'

*in consilium advocabo*] 'call to my support.'

6. *orando*] 'rhetorical style.'

*imposuimus*] For this sense, cp. Q. Fr. ii. 6, 5 (117), *cui tamen egregie imposuit Milo noster*.

7. Hanc frequentiore repetitionem *πλοκήν* vocant, quae fit ex permixtis figuris, utque se habet epistola ad Brutum :

Ego cum in gratiam redierim cum Ap. Claudio, et redierim per Cn. Pompeium,

et

ego ergo cum redierim. (Idem ix. 3, 41.)

8. Quae per detractorem fiunt figurae brevitatis novitatisque maxime gratiam petunt, quarum una est, cum subtractum verbum aliquod satis ex ceteris intellegitur, ut Cicero ad Brutum :

Sermo nullus scilicet nisi de te; quid enim potius? tum Flavius 'cras' inquit 'tabellarii, et ego ibidem has inter cenam exaravi.' (Idem ibid. § 58.)

9. Videndum ne syllabae verbi prioris ultimae sint, primae sequentis. Id ne quis praecipi miretur, Ciceroni in epistolis excidit :

Res mihi invisae visae sunt, Brute. (Idem ix. 4, 41.)

10. Quod si ea in quoque animalium est virtus, qua praestat cetera vel pleraque, ut in leone impetus, in equo velocitas, hominem porro ratione atque oratione excellere certum est, cur non tam in eloquentia quam in ratione virtutem eius esse credamus, recteque hoc apud Ciceronem dixerit Crassus 'est enim eloquentia una quaedam de summis virtutibus,' et ipse Cicero sua persona cum ad Brutum in epistolis tum aliis etiam locis virtutem eam appellet? (Idem ii. 20, 9 sq.)

11. Tres libros [epistolarum Ciceronis excerptarum a Frontone], duos ad Brutum, unum ad Axiu, describi iubebis, si quid rei esse videbitur, et remittes mihi; nam exemplares eorum excerptorum nullos feci. (Fronto p. 107 Naber.)

## IX. FRAGMENTA EPIST. BRUTI AD CICERONEM.

1. Composita ab eo (status) varie vetustissimi protulerunt, praesto, praestitum et praestatum. Brutus in epistolis :

Occiso C. Caesare, postquam mare transierat, praestatum est. (Priscianus ix. 7, 38 = 2, 474, 3 K.)

7. *πλοκήν*] cp. xvi. 8, below.

*figuris*] For the very extended use of this word in Quintilian, cp. ix. 1, 4, *figura*, sicut nomine ipso patet, conformatio quaedam orationis remota a communi et primum se offerente ratione.

*ergo*] For this resumptive use cp. note to Att. i. 10, 1 (6).

8. *Flavius*] Possibly the man mentioned in Att. xii. 17 (550).

'*cras*,' inquit, 'tabellarii'] sc. *proficiscuntur*: cp. Att. v. 21, 9 (250), ex *Idibus Maiis in Ciliciam* (sc. *proficiscar*).

10. *Crassus*] cp. De Orat. iii. 55.

11. *Tres libros*] The preceding words of Fronto are worth quoting—*Memini me excerpisse ex Ciceronis epistolis ea dum-*

*taxat, quibus inesset aliqua de eloquentia vel philosophia vel de re p. disputatio: praeterea siquid eleganti aut verbo notabili dictum videretur, excerpsti. Quae in usu meo ad manum erant excerpta misi tibi.*

*Axiu*] see below, xii.

*si quid rei esse videbitur*] 'if anything seems to be of importance.' *Rei* is predicative dative, like *usui*, 'of use': cp. Roby ii., p. xxxvi.

*feci*] After this follows the words we have quoted as introductory to the whole correspondence—*Omnes autem Ciceronis epistolas legendas censo mea sententia, vel magis quam omnes eius orationes. Epistolis Ciceronis nihil est perfectius.*

ix. 1. *praestatum*] This form is found

2. Peius cludit finis hexametri, ut Brutus in epistolis :

Neque illi malunt habere tutores aut defensores, quamquam sciunt placuisse Catoni. (Quintilianus ix. 4, 75.)

3. Brutus de dictatura Cn. Pompeii :

Praestat enim nemini imperare quam alicui servire ; sine illo enim vivere honeste licet, cum hoc vivendi nulla condicio est. (Quintilianus ix. 3, 95.)

## X. AD M. FILIUM LIB. I.

Sunt quaedam verba, quae, quamvis eandem significationem servant, diversae tamen sunt coniugationis in usu, ut excello excellis et excelleo excelles. Cicero in I. epistolarum ad filium :

Qua re effice et elabora, ut excelleas. (Priscianus viii. 17, 96 = 2, 445, 1 K. : cf. x. 6, 36 = 2, 527, 8 K.)

## AD EUNDEM LIB. II.

Commodare, cum commodo dare. M. Tullius ad filium lib. II. :

Cui ego, quibuscumque rebus potero, libentissime commodabo. (Nonius p. 275, 16.)

## AD EUNDEM EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. Deleor, delitus et deletus. Cicero ad filium :

Ceris delitis. (Diomedes p. 372 P. 1, 375, 27 K.)

in Pomponius Digest, 18, 1, 66 (some mss have *praestitum*) ; *praestatus* occurs in Plin. H. N. xxv. 25 : cp. Neue-Wagener iii<sup>3</sup>. 575.

2. *illi*] These are probably the Salaminians in Cyprus, of whom Brutus and Cato were patrons : cp. Att. v. 1, 5 (252). Cicero appears to have written to Brutus that he could not tolerate that the Salaminians should be utterly ruined ; and that they would be ruined if the demands of Brutus were enforced. He confidently stated to Atticus that the course which he adopted would commend itself to Cato : cp. Att. v. 21, 13 (250), *avunculo eius certe probabitur* ; vi. 2, 8 (256), *Catonem certe probabo*. Brutus, in his

usual arrogant manner, replied, Att. vi. 2, 9 (256), *Volunt principes, sc. Scaptium praefectum esse*, and probably in the same letter this fragment occurred. This is the admirably ingenious view of O. E. Schmidt in *Philologus*, 1890, p. 46.

3. *servire*] This fragment is quite in accordance with the ultra-republican sentiments of Brutus ; cp. such passages as Brut. i. 16, 8 (864).

x. i. *excelleas*] Except in this passage, Cicero always uses *excellere*. Neue-Wagener, iii<sup>3</sup>. 280, quote 34 certain passages. In Balb. 15, Pis. 94, the balance of evidence is much in favour of the third conjugation.

1. *delitis*] cp. xi. i. below.

2. Quam confessus fueris philosophiae veritatem, docent ad filium composita praecepta, quibus mones

Philosophiae quidem praecepta noscenda, vivendum autem civiliter. (Lactantius Inst. iii. 14, 17.)

3. Cicero per epistolam culpat filium dicens male eum dixisse

Direxi litteras duas,

eum litterae, quotiens epistolam significant, numeri tantum pluralis sint. (Servius ad Virg. Aen. viii. 168.)

4. Nihil ex grammatica nocuerit nisi quod supervacuum est: an ideo minor est M. Tullius orator, quod idem artis huius (grammaticae) diligentissimus fuit et in filio, ut epistolis apparet, recte loquendi asper quoque exactor? (Quintilianus i. 7, 34.)

5. ἐπιστολαὶ παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰς τὸν υἱόν, ἐγκελευομένου συμφιλοσοφεῖν Κρατίππῳ. (Plutarchus Cic. c. 24.)

## XI. AD C. LICINIUM CALVUM LIB. I.

A deleo deletum, a delino delitum nascitur. Cicero epistularum ad Calvum primo :

Tuli moleste, quod litterae delitae mihi a te redditae sunt. (Priscianus ix. 10, 54 = 2, 490, 8 K.)

Deleor, delitus et deletus. Cicero ad Calvum :

Delitae litterae. (Diomedes 1, 376, 1 K.)

### EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. Nunc ad epistolam venio, cui copiose et suaviter scriptae nihil est quod multa respondeam: primum enim ego illas Calvo litteras misi, non plus quam has, quas nunc legis, existimans exituras; aliter enim scribimus, quod eos solos, quibus mittimus, aliter, quod multos lecturos putamus. Deinde ingenium eius maioribus extuli laudibus, quam tu id vere potuisses fieri putas. Primum, quod ita iudicabam; acute movebatur, genus quoddam sequebatur, in quo iudicio lapsus, quo valebat, tamen adsequebatur, quod probarat. Multae erant et reconditae litterae; vis non erat. Ad eam igitur adhortabar. In excitando autem et in acuendo plurimum valet, si laudes eum, quem cohortere. (Cicero C. Trebonio ad famil. xv. 21, 4, Ep. 450.)

2. *Philosophiae*] The practical Roman view of the place of philosophy in ordinary life is well expressed in this passage: ep. Ennius 340 Ribb., *Philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis, nam omnino haud placet. [Degustandum ex ea non in eam ingurgitandum censeo]*.

3. *litteras duas*] ep. vol. v., p. lx. note.

6. Κρατίππῳ] ep. note to Fam. xii. 16, 5 (736).

xi. 1. The passage in Diomedes (i.

375, 27, Keil) runs thus, *deleor, delitus et deletus: Cicero ad filium 'ceris delitis,' Varro in praetoriana 'delitae litterae': Calvus alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistola videtur in via delita.'* Oehler and Ritschl refer the Praetoriana to Varro's '*Flaxtabula* περὶ ἐπαρχιῶν.' Keil thinks that we should read *Plutotoryne*. Owing to Priscian's quotation, Keil thinks that the quotation from Varro is lost, and that we should read the whole passage as follows: *Cicero ad filium 'ceris delitis,' item ad*



2. Auguro. Cicero ad Calvum :

Praesentit animus et augurat quodam modo, quae futura sit suavitas. (Nonius 469, 10.)

## XII. AD. Q. AXIUM.

In familiaribus litteris primo brevitās observanda : ipsarum quoque sententiarum ne diu circumferatur, quod Cato ait, ambitio, sed ita recidantur, ut numquam verbi aliquid deesse videatur : unum TE scilicet, quod intellegentia suppleatur, in epistolis Tullianis ad Atticum et Axium frequentissimum est. (C. Iulius Victor, c. 27, p. 448; 5 ed. Halm.)

### EX LIBRO I.

1. Adit ad illum. Cicero ad Axium :

Ad M. Bibulum adierunt. (Arusianus Messius 7, 453, 13 K.)

2. Adiuta hoc illos. Cicero ad Axium I. : "

Si tu nos aliquid adiutare potes. (Idem 7, 453, 23 K.)

### EX LIBRO II.

Humaniter. M. Tullius ad Axium lib. II. :

Invitus litteras tuas scinderem ; ita sunt humaniter scriptae. (Nonius p. 509, 20.)

### EX LIBRO INCERTO.

1. De hac (coniuratione) significare videtur et Cicero in quadam ad Axium epistula referens, Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo aedilis cogitavit. (Suetonius Iul. c. 9.)

*Calvum 'delitae litterae,' alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistola videtur in via delita,' Varro in Plutotoryne . . .* Priscian's view, that *delitus* comes from *delino* is, of course, right : cp. Neue-Wagener iii<sup>3</sup>. 526.

2. *augurat*] Nonius also quotes for the active form Ennius 245, Pacuvius 78. Neue-Wagener, iii<sup>3</sup>. 26, add Plaut. Cist. iv. 2, 26 ; Cic. Rep. iv. 8 ; Leg. ii. 21 ; Virg. Aen. vii. 273.

xii. *ipsarum . . . ambitio*] 'that the sentences may not for a long time, as Cato says, continue to display themselves before the public.'

*Axium*] Q. Axius was a Roman banker with whom Cicero was on intimate terms. He appears as an interlocutor in Varro, R. R. iii. 2. He had a villa at Reate (Varro, l. c. § 10), at which he entertained Cicero in 700 (54) : cp. Att. iv.

15, 5 (143). In 705 (49) he appears to have owed Cicero some money, Att. x. 11, 2 (396). In 708 (46) Cicero paid another visit to Axius, Att. xii. 1, 2 (505).

i. 1. *Ad . . . adierunt*] cp. Ter. Andr. iv. 1, 15, *adeamne ad eam*.

2. *adiutare*] cp. Ter. Eun. i. 2, 70, *id adiuta me*. Also with the dative, *adiuta hoc illis*, Ter. Hec. iii. 2, 24.

ii. *Axium*] So cod. Lugdunensis (m. 1) ; *attium* (Lugd. m. 2, H. G.) ; *auxilium* (Bamb.). In Fronto 107 Nab. (see above, viii. ii.) there is the same corruption. In Non. 137, 4, where he quotes Varro (453 Büch), *noster Atticus rivalis, homo item lectus in curiam | cum macescebat* ; H (m. 1) has *Attius* ; the other mss *Atticus*. L. Müller corrects to *Axius*, comparing Varro, R. R. iii. 2.

EX LIBRO INCERTO. 1. *coniuratione*]

2. Quam flebiles voces exprimit (Cicero) in quadam ad Axium epistola iam victo patre Pompeio, adhuc filio in Hispania fracta arma refovente.

Quid agam (inquit) hic, quaeris? moror in Tusculano meo semiliber. (Seneca de brev. vit. c. 5.)

### XIII. AD CATONEM.

Plus, sicut in plerisque, [quae] maioris modi [est] quam necessarium est; atque ideo M. Tullius [maius] discrevit epistola ad Catonem:

Nec ideo mihi deserendam esse dignitatem meam, quod eam multi impugnarint, sed eo magis recolendam, quod plures desiderarint. (Nonius p. 438 sq.)

### XIV. AD CAERELLIAM.

1. Etiam illud (potest inter ridicula numerari), quod Cicero Caerelliae scripsit reddens rationem, cur illa C. Caesaris tempora tam patienter toleraret:

Haec aut animo Catonis ferenda sunt aut Ciceronis stomacho;

Stomachus enim ille habet aliquid ioco simile. (Quintilianus vi. 3, 112.)

2. Meminerint eruditi in praeceptis Ciceronis extare severitatem, in epistulis ad Caerelliam subesse petulantiam. (Ausonius in Centonis nuptialis epilogo, p. 218 ed. Peiper.)

### XV. AD HOSTILIUM.

Requies accusativo non facit requietem, sed requiem, quamvis Cicero requietem dixerit ad Hostilium. (Charisius p. 85 et 114, P. 1, p. 110, 1 et 142, 7 K.)

The first Catilinarian conspiracy, in 688 (66).

2. *Axium*] So Lipsius; the mss give *ad Actium* and *ad Atticum*. Haase reads the latter: cp. note to ii. above.

*semiliber*] cp. Att. xiii. 31, 3 (607), written about the same time, in 709 (45), *Obscuro abiciamus ista et semiliberi saltem simus, quod adsequemur et tacendo et latendo*.

xiii. *plus*] If we omit the words in brackets, with L. Müller, a tolerable sense can be imported into this fragment. He supposes *maius* arose from dittography of *Marcus* (so Lugd.), or *M. Tullius*.

*deserendam*] So Madv. A. C. ii. 245, for *desiderandam* of the mss.

*multi*] The mss give *multum*; but *multi* forms a better balance to *plures*.

*recolendam*] 'recovered.' Possibly this fragment is from a letter asking Cato to

use his good offices to secure Cicero a triumph, and thus firmly re-establish his dignity.

xiv. 1. *Caerelliae*] see vol. iv. p. lxxi. *stomacho*] 'irritability': cp. Att. xiv. 21, 3 (728), *stomachor omnia*.

2. *subesse petulantiam*] 'there is a lurking wantonness.'

xv. *ad Hostilium*] We do not know anything about this Hostilius. Martyni-Laguna thinks that we should read *ad Metellum*, and refer it to Fam. v. 14, 1 (585)—Fam. v. being called *ad Metellum*, because the first letter of that book is addressed to Metellus: cp. note to Fragment v. 2, above—a letter from Lucceius to Cicero; but there M has *requiem*, HP *requiem*. Cicero, however, often uses *requietem*, De Sen. 52, Fin. v. 54, Leg. ii. 2, 29; *requiete* De Div. i. 22 (verse): cp. Neue i<sup>2</sup>. 568.

## XVI. EX EPISTOLIS INCERTIS.

1. Nec ego illud quidem aposiopesin semper voco, in quo res quaecunque relinquitur intellegenda, ut aequè in epistolis Cicero

Data Lupercalibus, quo die Antonius Caesari;

Non enim obtinuit aut luit, quia nihil hic aliud intellegi poterat quam hoc: 'diadema imposuit.' (Quintilianus ix. 3, 61.)

2. In epistolis Cicero haec Bruti refert verba:

Ne illi sunt pedes faceti ac deliciis ingredienti molles. (Idem vi. 3, 20.)

## 3. Piissimus

vituperat Cicero in Philippicis (xiii. 43); tamen Caper ille magister Augusti Caesaris laboravit vehementissime et de epistolis Ciceronis collegit haec verba, ubi dixerat ipse Cicero piissimus. (Pompeius p. 132, Lindem = 5, 154 K.)

4. καίτοι τινὲς τῶν προσποιουμένων δημοσθενίζειν ἐπιφύονται φωνῇ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἣν πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ γράψας, ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπονυστάζειν τὸν Δημοσθένη. (Plutarchus Cic. c. 24.)

Et labuntur aliquando (optimi auctores) et oneri cedunt et indulgent ingeniorum suorum voluptati nec semper intendunt animum, non numquam fatigantur, cum Ciceroni dormire inter Demosthenes, Horatio vero etiam Homerus ipse videatur. (Quintilianus x. 1, 24.)

5. Cicero non contentus in quibusdam epistolis scripsisse, a satellitibus cum (Caesarem) in cubiculum regium eductum in aureo lecto veste purpurea decubuisse floremque aetatis a Venere orti in Bithynia contaminatum, quondam etiam in senatu

xvi. 1. *Antonius Caesari*] Such ellipses are frequent in the letters, e.g. Att. xii. 5, 3 (681), *Tubulus quo crimine* (sc. *condemnatus sit*).

2. *faceti*] The words in Quintilian which precede this quotation are worth quoting—*facetum quoque non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere: neque enim diceret Horatius* [Sat. i. 10, 44], *facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Vergilio. Decoris hanc magis et exultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto: ideoque in epistolis, &c.*

*molles*] So Badius and Halm, for *mollius* of the mss., 'his feet are charming and move softly as he walks daintily along.'

3. *Philippicis*] xiii. 43, *Tu porro ne pios quidem sed piissimos quaeris, et, quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina*

*est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis.* Pompeius quotes differently—*et hoc piissimis vituperavit Cicero in Philippicis: dicit 'non potest piissimus dici per rerum naturam.' Insultabat Antonio 'Tu' ait 'utere semper hoc verbo piissimus.'* It does not appear in any of the Ciceronian writings which we possess. It is introduced by Haupt into Catull. xxix. 23 (Qu. read there *putissimi*). It is common in post-Augustan writers, e.g. Senec. Controv. ix. 27, 14; Consol. ad Polyb. 7 (26), 4; Tac. Agr. 43: cp. Neue-Wagener ii<sup>2</sup>. 204–5.

4. *ἐπιφύονται*] 'fasten upon,' 'attack.' For copious examples of the use of this word in Plutarch, see Dr. Holden's note to Plut. Nicias, 10, 3. Horatio] A. P. 359.

defendenti ei Nysae causam, filiae Nicomedis, beneficiaque regis in se commemoranti 'Remove' inquit 'istaec, oro te, quando notum est et quid ille tibi et quid illi tute dederis.' (Suetonius Iul. c. 49.)

6. P. Ventidium Cicero (auctor est) mulionem castrensis furnariae fuisse. (Plinius N. H. vii. 135.)

7. Parum fortis (Cicero) videtur quibusdam, quibus optime respondit ipse, non se timidum in suscipiendis, sed in providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipsa, quam praestantissimo suscepit animo. (Quintilianus xii. 1, 17.)

8. *πλοκή*, copulatio, ea figura elocutionis, in qua idem verbum aut nomen, bis continuo positum, diversa significat, ut est illud:

Sed tamen ad illum diem Memmius erat Memmius.

(Aquila Rom. § 28, p. 31, 8 ed. Halm. Martianus Capella de rhet. c. 40, p. 481, 10 ed. Halm.)

## XVII. AD CN. POMPEIUM.

1. Hic tu epistolam meam saepe recitas, quam ego ad Cn. Pompeium de meis rebus gestis et de summa re publica misi, et ex ea crimen aliquod in P. Sullam quaeris, et, si furorem incredibilem biennio ante conceptum erupisse in meo consulatu scripsi, me hoc demonstrasse dicis, Sullam in illa fuisse superiore coniuratione. (Cicero pro Sulla, § 67.)

2. Te aiebas de tuis rebus gestis nullas litteras misisse, quod mihi meae, quas ad aliquem misissem, obfuisent: quas ego mihi obfuisse non intellego, rei publicae video prodesse potuisse. (Cicero pro Plancio, § 85.) Significat epistolam non mediocrem ad instar voluminis scriptam, quam Pompeio in Asiam de rebus suis in consulatu gestis miserat Cicero, aliquanto, ut videbatur, insolentius scriptam, ut Pompei stomachum non mediocriter commoveret, quod quadam superbiore iactantia omnibus se gloriosis ducibus anteponeret. Obfuerunt autem revera: nam sic effectum est, ut ei Pompeius contra Clodianam vim non patrocineretur. (Schol. Bob. in orat. p. Plancio p. 270 sq. ed. Or.)

3. Excipit, opprimit vel circumvenit. M. Tullius ad Pompeium lib. IIII.:

Quod si est, non modo iter meum interclusum, sed me ipsum plane exceptum putabat.

5. *Nysae*] Nysa was a common name of princesses in Asia Minor. A sister and a daughter of Mithridates the Great, the wives of Nicomedes II. and III. of Bithynia, also bore this name.

*Nicomedis*] the Third, who reigned 91 to 74 B.C.

6. *furnariae*] 'of the camp bakery.' So Turnebus, Adv. 29, 18, for *fufinariae*, or *fusinariae* of the mss.

7. *timidum*] Baiter refers to Fam. vi. 21, 1 (573), *me timidum esse dicebant—eram plane: timebam enim ne evenirent ea quae acciderunt.*

8. *πλοκή*] cp. viii. 7, above.

*Memmius*] cp. vol. iii., p. lxxvi. We can form no conjecture as to the day referred to.

xvii. 1, 2. *epistolam*] Cicero doubtless did write a rather arrogant and self-laudatory letter to Pompey concerning his services to the state in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy. The cold tone of Pompey's reply may be gathered from Cicero's answer to that reply, Fam. v. 7, 2, 3 (13).

3. *Quod si*] These two quotations are found in Att. viii. 11 D, 2, 3 (343), except that for *est* M has *ita esset*, and for *putabat* it has *putabam*.

Et rursum :

Admoniti sumus ut caveremus ne exciperemur a Caesare.  
(Nonius p. 293, 19.)

### XVIII. EPISTOLARUM ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ.

Mearum epistolarum nulla est συναγωγή, sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta et quidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae: eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam; tum denique edentur. (Cicero ad Att. xvi. 5, 5, Ep. 770.)

### XIX. AD ATTICUM.

1. Vid. supra, p. 47, xii. lib. inc. n. 2.

2. Vectigaliorum

Cicero ad Atticum. (Charisius p. 118, P. 1, p. 146, 31, Keil.)

3. Sed et dativo casu idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum :

Propius grammatico accessi. (Diomedes, p. 405, P. = 1, 410, 8, K.)

### XX. AD GORGIAM. AD HERODEM. AD PELOPEM.

ἐπιστολαὶ παρὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος εἰσὶ πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ἕτεροι δὲ πρὸς τὸν νῖδον, . . .  
Γοργίαν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα αἰτιώμενος εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους προάγειν τὸ μείρακιον

xix. 2. *Vectigaliorum*] Cicero usually adopts the form *vectigalium*, Rull. ii. 15. The form *vectigaliorum* is, however, used by Varro and Asinius Pollio, Suet. Aug. 101; Cal. 16; C. I. L. iii. 249: cp. Neue i<sup>2</sup>. 287.

3. *Sed et*] The whole passage in Diomedes is given as follows in Keil's text: *Prope, prope me est, ut dicit Cicero in Pisonem dixit. Item 'proximus Pompeium sedebam': sed et dativo casui idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum 'propius grammatico accessi.'* Halm (p. 1067 of Orelli's Cicero) thinks that *prope me est* occurred in a lost portion of the *in Pisonem*: he reads *ut dicit Cicero in Pisonem: dixit idem 'Proximus, &c.'* In Att. i. 14, 3 (20) M has *Pompeio*, but Z (= the Tornesianus), on the evidence of Lambinus, has *Pompeium*. Cicero, in his speeches and philosophical works, always uses *propius*, Phil. vi. 5, vii. 26; *proxime*, Mil. 59, Phil. x. 26, with the accusative, but never *propior*, *proximus* with a simple accusative. However, that construction is found in the Ciceronian and Augustan ages: cp. *propior*, Hirtius, B. G. viii. 9; Sall. Jug. 49; *proximus*, Caes. B. G. iii. 7, 2; Liv. viii. 32, 12. For other examples see Dräger i. 589. Keil suggests the following re-

storation of the passage of Diomedes—*prope, 'prope me' ut dicit Cicero (omitting in Pisonem): sed et dativo casu idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum 'Proximus Pompeio sedebam': item 'propius grammatico accessi'; or as follows—prope, 'prope me est' ut dicit Cicero . . .; item 'Proximus Pompeium sedebam' idem Cicero dixit ad Atticum: sed et dativo casui iungitur 'propius grammatico accessi.'* The first example he thinks may be Fam. vii. 23, 4 (126), or Mil. 59. Possibly *propius grammatico accessi* is due to some grammarian.

There can be no question but that *Pompeium* was the reading of the archetype, as it is found both in the Tornesianus and in Diomedes. Lehmann (De epistulis ad Att. recensendis, pp. 163-4) rightly points to this passage as showing that an excessive respect must not be paid to M.

xx. Ἡρώδην] He appears to have been one of the authorities at the University of Athens, with whom Cicero has correspondence about his son's conduct, Att. xiv. 16, 3 (721); xv. 16a (746). Cicero does not appear to have thought much of him as an author, cp. Att. ii. 2, 2 (28).



ἀπελαύνει τῆς συνουσίας αὐτοῦ. καὶ σχεδὸν αὕτη τε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μία καὶ δευτέρα πρὸς Πέλοπα τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν ὀργῇ τινι γέγραπται, τὸν μὲν Γοργίαν αὐτοῦ προσηκόντως ἐπικόπτοντος, εἵπερ ἦν φαῦλος καὶ ἀκόλαστος, ἥπερ ἐδόκει, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πέλοπα μικρολογουμένου καὶ μεμψιμοιροῦντος ὥσπερ ἀμελήσαντα τιμὰς τινὰς αὐτῷ καὶ ψηφίσματα παρὰ Βυζαντίων γενέσθαι. (Plutarchus, Cic. c. 24.)

## [XXI. AD MARCELLUM.]

Cicero ad Marcellum

Simiolum

deminutive dixit. (Charisius, p. 84, P. = 1, 108, 26, K.)]

Γοργίαν] cp. note to Fam. xvi. 21, 6 (786).

Πέλοπα] cp. note to Att. xiv. 8, 1 (710).

ἥπερ ἐδόκει] 'as he was considered to be.'

μικρολογουμένου καὶ μεμψι-

μοιροῦντος] 'written in a small-minded and querulous manner.'

xxi. ad Marcellum] Fabricius suggests ad Marium: cp. Fam. vii. 2, 3 (182), *hic simiolus animi causa me in quem inveheretur delegerat.*

## ADDENDA TO THE COMMENTARY.

## I.—OCTAVIUS, OCTAVIANUS, CAESAR.

(FAM. XVI. 24, 2, EP. DCCCVI.)

IN a learned and careful discussion on the use of these names, as applied to Julius Caesar's nephew, Dr. O. E. Schmidt, in the *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1884, p. 631, has arrived at the following results:—

1. Up to May, 710 (44), 'young Octavius' had not gone through the formalities of adoption (cp. Lange, R. A. iii. 507), and, accordingly, is called by Cicero *Octavius*, Att. xiv. 5, 3 (707); 6, 1 (708); 10, 3 (713); 11, 2 (714); 12, 2 (715); 20, 5 (727); 21, 4 (728); xv. 2, 3 (732). And though his friends called him *Caesar*, his step-father, Philippus, called him *Octavius*.

2. On June 9th we find Cicero calling him *Octavianus*, as all the recognized formalities of adoption had been completed, and the adoption approved by the people, Att. xv. 12, 2 (745): also in the letters of the autumn he calls him *Octavianus*: cp. 797, 1; 799, 6; 805, 1; 806, 2 (where H Erf. rightly have *Octavianus*, while M Pal have *Octavius*). So, too, Pollio in 711 (43); 890, 3, 4.

3. In consequence of the cordial relations which subsisted between Cicero and Octavian after their union against Antony, in November, 710 (44), Cicero calls him *Caesar*: cp. 811, 2; 816, 2; 819, 3; 821, 2; 886, 2; 893, 1, 2; as did Matius, in August of the same year, Fam. xi. 28, 6 (785). Similarly D. Brutus, 854, 4; 859, 1; 877, 14; Galba, 841, 4; Plancus, 916, 4, 5, 6, 8.

4. In the correspondence with Brutus Cicero calls him *Caesar Octavianus* in 842, 2, and *Caesar*, 844, 1; 846, 4; 897, 4; 913, 2; 914, 6, 9. So does Brutus, 866, 4, 5. Yet suddenly *Octavius* re-appears in the two manifestoes, 864, 1, 2, 7, 8, 11; 865, 5, 6: cp. note to 864, 1.

## II.—THE LEGIONS ENGAGED IN THE CAMPAIGN NEAR MUTINA.

(FAM. x. 33, 4, EP. DCCCXC.)

‘*HIRTINO autem proelio et quartam legionem et omnes peraeque Antonii caesas, item Hirtii: quartam vero, cum castra quoque Antonii cepisset, a quinta legione concisam esse; ibi Hirtium quoque perisse et Pontium Aquilam.*’

Antony had the 2nd, 5th, and 35th legions, besides two praetorian cohorts (841, 1); Hirtius had the 4th and 7th legions (Phil. xiv. 27) and two praetorian cohorts (841, 1).

As the 4th legion was under the command of Hirtius, it was argued by Mendelssohn (Jahrbücher für Philologie, 1891, pp. 343–4), that the first sentence above cannot be right. Manutius had altered *quartam* (IV.) to *secundam* (II.), a very slight change. But Mendelssohn asks, how could Pollio, who is at least a tolerable writer, use such an expression as *omnes peraeque Antonii* for *two* legions only (viz. 5 and 35)? He considers *peraeque* stands for *pr a e t.* (= *praetorias*); and that we should read—(a) if Pollio first speaks of the Republican forces, *Hirtino autem proelio et IV. (or VII.) legionem et omnes praet. Antonii caesas, item Hirtii: VII. (or IV.) vero*, &c.; or (b) if he speaks of the forces of Antony, *Hirtino autem proelio et II. legionem et omnes praet. Antonii caesas, item Hirtii: IV. (or VII.) vero*, &c. He also thinks that probably *omnes* stands for *cortes* (= *cohortes*).

We venture to suggest another interpretation with some diffidence. Possibly *item Hirtii* was originally *i. Hirtii* (= *id est Hirtii*), and was a gloss either on *peraeque* (‘as much as those of Hirtius’), or on *quartam legionem*, in order to signify to whom it belonged. Then, if we bear in mind the distinction between *caesas* and *concisas*, we may translate, ‘In the battle which Hirtius fought one of his legions, the 4th, sustained severe loss, as did all those of Antony to an equal extent; the 4th indeed, when it took the camp of Antony also (as well as winning the battle), was cut to pieces by the 5th, and on that occasion Hirtius and Pontius Aquila lost their lives.’ There is no difficulty in using *omnes* of *three* legions, just as in English we can say ‘all the three,’ but not ‘all the two.’ *Peraeque* is a word used by Cicero, Att. ii. 8, 1 (35); 19, 2 (46); Verr. iv. 46.

‘*Ventidium quoque se cum legione VII., VIII., VIIII. coniunxisse.*’ Manutius feels a difficulty in these numbers, for the 7th legion was with Hirtius, and the 8th took no part in the war (Phil. xi. 37). Furthermore, as Ventidius, on his own responsibility, had enrolled three legions from the veterans of Caesar (App. B. C. iii. 66), it is difficult to suppose that regular official numbers would have been attached to the legions formed by such irregularly raised forces; or, even if Ventidius had given them such numbers, that Pollio would have known and recognized them. Mendelssohn, accordingly, writes *Ventidium quoque se cum leg* (= *legionibus*) *III. (= tribus) veteranorum coniunxisse*; he considers that the words *III. veteranorum* were corrupted into *VII., VIII., VIIII.* With respect to the forces of Ventidius he compares D. Brutus, 854, 3, *Hoc accessit manus Ventidii quae . . . se cum Antonio*

*coniunxit. Est numerus veteranorum et armatorum satis frequens cum Ventidio : 869, 1, P. Ventidius suas legiones tres coniunxit cum eo (i.e. Antonio).*

This is a brilliant emendation ; but, as Mendelssohn himself was willing to allow, perhaps the view of O. E. Schmidt is preferable. That scholar holds (Philologus, li. p. 186, note 3) that in all probability the six Macedonian legions, which Julius Caesar had intended for the Parthian war, bore officially the numbers I. to VI., and that when the Caesarians proceeded to enrol additional legions they designated them by the succeeding numbers. These may be considered to have acquired an official character, as being additions to a regularly recognized series of legions ; and thus being officially numbered, Pollio would naturally speak of them by these numbers, especially as we may suppose that Pollio's informant spoke of them in the same way. Of the six legions, Schmidt thinks that Antony had II., III., V. (= Alauda), in addition to XXXV. ; that Octavian had IV. and Martia (= I. ?) ; and that VI. went with Dolabella to Asia.

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.





## ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

[Ut saepe diximus quaecunque ex Pal. allata sunt omnia Mendelssohnio debemus.]

### EP. DCCLXXXVII. (FAM. X. 1).

1. medio] Man. vulg.; *meo* libri.  
factis] Pal<sup>2</sup>; *facetiis* Pal<sup>1</sup> M (*ex fa-*  
*cetis*); *facetus* H.  
mi] H Pal; *me* M.  
tempus] om. H Pal.  
impotentissimi] libri; *imprudenter*  
alii.

2. cum] om. H.  
tuaque curae] H; om. M Pal.  
3. etiam] Wes.; *tamen* libri, quod  
vix retineri posse in Comm. docuimus.  
4. iudicii] libri, recte, vide Comm.;  
*studii* Pluygers, Lehmann.

### EP. DCCLXXXVIII. (FAM. X. 2).

2. neque officium] Pal<sup>2</sup>; *eque off.* Pal<sup>1</sup>;  
*aeque off.* MH.  
necesse sit] H Pal; *necessit* M.  
poterunt] H, Dresd. tertius; *potestur*  
M; *possunt* Pal<sup>1</sup> Harl. 2591.

### EP. DCCLXXXIX. (FAM. X. 3).

1. ignotam] Harl. 2591 et alii codd.;  
*ignatam* M; *ignaram* H Pal, fort. recte;  
nam etsi *ignarus* non invenitur apud  
Ciceronem sensu passivo, tamen nonnun-  
quam ita verbo utuntur et Sallustius et  
Tacitus, cf. Kritz. ad Jug. 18, 6; Cat.  
10, 4.

2. tuo constitutam] om. *constitutam*  
codd. aliquot; fort. ex *consociatam* Or.  
debere esse] Vict., Btr., Wes.; *habere*

*esse* M; *habere et esse* H Pal; *habere* Ern.  
Pro statuo *habere esse* luculenter coni. C. F.  
W. Müller *statutum habeo esse*, coll. Fam.  
iv. 2, 4 (389); vi. 2, 1 (575); xii. 25, 5  
(825).

3. te arbitrabar] M; *prudenter* (*pru-*  
*dentem* H) *te arbitrabar* H Pal, quod legere  
debuimus.

in] add. Ern.  
orbitate] *orbitata* M.  
devexata] *divexata* Lamb., Wes.

### EP. DCCXC. (FAM. XII. 2).

1. in me] H Pal; *inter me* M.  
modo] M; *quomodo* H Pal.  
commentatus] M; *commendatus* H Pal,  
idemque mox *commendatio*.

vomere suo more] H Pal; *vomeres*  
*vomere* M.

2. qui quia] *qui quia* <*quae*> Crat. Btr.  
Wes. C. F. W. Müller conicit *libereque*.  
senserint] *senserint* <*quaeque senserint*>  
Lehmann, haud necessario; vid. Comm.

3. dignum] om. H.  
sin id] M; *si id* H Pal.

qui si quae ad me referent] H Pal;  
*qui sive ad me referent* M (cum rasura dua-  
rum litterarum post me); *qui sive ad me*  
*referent* <*sive non referent*> Orelli, Men-  
delss.; *qui si quidem ad me referent* Rühl.  
mea tibi tamen] *mea tibi tamen* in M;  
*mea tibi* H Pal, fort. recte; sed *tamen*  
elliptice usurpari videtur hoc sensu,—  
(etsi auxilium vel parvum vel nullum  
adferre potero) tamen benevolentia prae-  
stabitur; Anglice 'at any rate.'

EP. DCCXCI. (FAM. XII. 3).

1. OPTIME] M; *optimo* H Pal.  
<sup>ui</sup>  
 vi] *ser* H, vid. Comm.  
 2. Cannutio] libri; *a fratre Lucio*  
 Cobet.

EP. DCCXCII. (FAM. XII. 23).

1. dignitas] *dignitas <est>* Lamb.  
 eo, quae] H Pal; *coque* M.  
 et animi et ingenii] Mendelssohn; *et*  
*animi ingenii* MH; *et animi ingenii* Pal;  
*animi et ingenii* Frag. Heilbronnense.  
 fers a te] H Pal Frag. Heilbr. (sed id  
*ferre*); *ferstea* M; *fers ea* Vict.  
 2. Antonius autem] om. *autem* H.  
 A. d.] *itaque a. d.* H Pal.  
 3. in quo] Ern.; *in qua* libri.

EP. DCCXCIII. (FAM. XVI. 25).

- intermissionis] Crat.; *iutermisione*  
 libri; *de intermissione* alii.  
 nuntiis certior fio] M Pal; *nuntiis* H;  
*nuncius* Erf.  
 perscribit] M Pal; *perscribis* H Erf.  
 minima] M Pal; *minime* H Erf.  
 desiderem] M Pal Erf.; *desiderarem*  
 H.

EP. DCCXCIV. (ATT. XV. 13).

1. tu edendum] Vict.; *tucnda* M.  
 2. quod scribis] *quo scribis* M.  
 legiones] C; *legationes* M.  
 3. iam proba] Man.; *improbo* M.  
 Ἡρακλειδεῖον] k; ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΕΡΟΝΙ  
 M.  
 mavis] *maius* M.  
 licet enim] ins. Lehm.; *ad scribendum*  
*tibi, vere dicam* Or.  
 acriorem] *alacriorem* Lamb.  
 ad tuum] *ut tuum* M.  
 quod egerit] M, quam lect. bene vin-  
 dicavit Lehm.; *quid egerit* Man.; *quid-*  
*quid egerit* Peerlk. Vid. ad Ep. 754, 1.  
 Gallo Caninio] Corrad.; *Gallo animo*  
 M.  
 O hominem] *O om.* M.  
 4. Selicia] M; *Servilia* Man. Corrad.;  
 fort. *Cilicia*.  
 † non qua pompa] *adsuevisset* ins. edd.  
 nonnulli; *nunc ad Pompeium con.* Boot.;  
*non magna pompa* Fr. Schmidt.

EP. DCCXCV. (ATT. XV. 13a).

5. est. Etsi] Or.; *sed si* M.  
 monetalis] Schütz; *homo talis* M.  
 quivis] Mal.; *quis* M.  
 scribes] *scribis* M.  
 commovebit] *me* ins. Boot. et Wes.,  
 frustra, ut docet Lehm.  
 6. φιλοσοφοῦμεν] R; *philosophimena*  
 M.  
 καθήκοντος] ΚΑΘΟΝΤΟΣ M.  
 pateat] *pateat* M; *parcat* Wes.  
 7. perlatam. Hui] C; *praebuit* M.  
 quid ad me] M, quod iure vindicat  
 Lehm.; *quid id ad me* Wes.

EP. DCCXCVI. (FAM. XI. 4).

2. bellicosissimis] H Pal; *bellicosus* M.

EP. DCCXCVII. (ATT. XVI. 8).

1. quiqui] M; *qui quidem* Boot., fort.  
 recte; *qui* Or. Wes.  
 2. quendam] *quondam* M.  
 sub signis] Man.; *suis signis* M.  
 εὐκαίριαν] ΕΥΚΑΙΡΑΝ M.  
 venio . . . maneo . . . fugiam] M;  
*veniam . . . maneam . . . fugiam* Wes.

EP. DCCXCVIII. (ATT. XVI. 9).

- uno die] *in die* M.  
 addit] Man.; *adiit* M.  
 ille] *illa* M.  
 σκήπτομαι] Mal.; ΣΚΕΠΤΟΜΑΙ M.  
 mihi non sic] Boot.; *mihi non* M;  
*mihi non si* Zb et Crat.

EP. DCCXCIX. (ATT. XVI. 11).

1. Nonis] *non hiis* M.  
 ἄνθη] Lamb.; *ante* M.  
 florentiora] C; *florentia* M.  
 † Asta ea] M; *ast* Vict.; *at st!* Bos.;  
*ab ista* Boot; *a Septimia* nos; *heus tu alii*.  
 aut] *ut* M.  
 sciant] Vict.; *sciam* M.  
 † sine vallo Luciliano] *sine felle con.*  
 Or.; *sine φραγμαῶ* nos.  
 ex Galli Fadri filia] marg. ed. Lamb.  
 1584; *ex galifa di filia* M.  
 quod fuit illis IIIviris] M; *quo fuerint*  
*illi IIIviri* Gron.  
 nisi facete] I; *facete nisi* M.  
 Caleni] *talem* M.

2. ἀδόλεσχος] Vict.; ΔΙΔΟΕΔΕΣΧΟΣ  
M.

esset] Kl.; et M; sit Corrad.  
ac tamen] Wes.; attamen M.  
isto] ista M.  
bella] MC; Dolabella c.  
ter contra] Corrad.; per contra M.  
indignissimum est hunc] Bos.; in-  
dignius esse hunc M; nil indignius esse  
quam hunc coni. Btr. Kl.

3. Ἡρακλείδειον] ΗΡΑΚΔΕΙΑΕΙΟΝ M.  
O TITE] M; librum meum illum O  
Tite Zl.

4. absolvi] Man.; absolvit M.  
κατὰ] KA M.  
5. Di istis] Bos.; de istis M.  
6. ob hoc] ab hoc M.  
7. interpre] Vict.; in tres M.  
eis Valerius] Vict.; ei Valerium M.  
8. feriis] Corrad.; feris M.  
negotio scitutum] negotio lositurum  
M.

des volo] des volo. Oppii Z; de sua-  
loppi M.

EP. DCCC. (ATT. XVI. 12).

epistolae] epistolam M.  
Bonum animum. De] Vict.; bonam  
enim unde M.

EP. DCCCI. (ATT. XVI. 10).

1. VII. Id.] Lallemand.; CN M.  
Caesariana] R; Caesarina M.  
v] Mongault.; y M.  
2. Attice, tota mente] ΑΠΙΕΤΟ tamen  
te M.  
Sinuessano] suasseno M.

EP. DCCCII. (ATT. XVI. 13a).

1. ad eas] Man.; ad has M.  
2. altera] alteras M.  
Μίμνῃτα] MIMA M.  
ἐπ'] ἐν MC.  
mala] Popma; inata M; matta Z.

EP. DCCCIII. (ATT. XVI. 13 b).

1. an etiam] ante tam M.  
putes] Corrad.; putas M.  
manabit] manebit M.

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EP. DCCCIV. (ATT. XVI. 13 c).

1. temere] Lamb.; timere M<sup>1</sup>; del.  
M<sup>2</sup>.  
2. censoribus] ins. Crat.

EP. DCCCv. (ATT. XVI. 14).

2. in Tusculano] in Tusculanum M.  
idne] marg. ed. Lamb.; ne id M, k,  
Wes., fort. recte.  
an hic] Or.; an hoc M.  
3. quadret] C. F. W. Müller; caderet  
M.  
consulum] consultum M.  
imperatoris officium] Crat.; om. M.  
4. omni] omnia M.  
avi tui] Mur.; qui tui M; Quintus  
tui alii: Quintus avi tui Ursin.  
explicaturum] explicatorem MC.  
scribes] scribis M.

EP. DCCCVI. (FAM. XVI. 24).

1. darem] da M.  
de] om. M.  
saepius] M Pal; om. H Erf.  
Ian] libri recte, ut demonstrat Rueticus  
vid. Comm.; Iun edd. nonnulli.  
conficies] MH Erf.; conficias Pal.  
rebus] vulg. Wes.; eius M; om. H.  
Pal Erf.  
2. Octavianus] H Erf. recte ut O. E.  
Schmidtus aliis rationibus enucleavit;  
Octavius M Pal. Vid. Addenda ad Comm.  
Sed st! Man.; sed si M; sed (om. si)  
H Pal Erf. fort. recte, de quo in Comm.  
disputavimus.  
Hirtium] H Pal; hyium Erf.; om. H  
(spatio relicto).  
quod egerint] Hanc librorum lectionem  
praeclare vindicavit Lehmann; vid.  
Comm. tam ad hunc locum quam ad Fam.  
xvi. 23, 1 (754).

EP. DCCCvII. (ATT. XVI. 15).

1. quod dicam] quid dicam M.  
ut illum] R, Or.; cui illum M; cur  
illum Man.; qui illum Boot.; me ante  
mea om. M.  
deseruerit . . . fuit] R; deseruit . . .  
fuerit M.  
2. δυνωπιαν] ΔΥΩΠΙΑΝ M.  
appellentur] Bos. et Lamb.; appelle-  
mur M; non appellemus Or.; non appel-  
lentur cum Ursin. k.

Y

proc. introd.] *procuratorem interducere* M.

nec dubito] C; *et dubito* M.

3. potest et] Gron.; *postea* M; *post principia* (coll. Sest. 118) Or.; edd. ali *postea* delent, alii *retundere* legunt; *multum potest* Wes.; sed *posse* absolute positum pro *pollere* recto se habere docet Lehm.

Oppio] *Appio* M.

nullo] *ullo* M.

ni mihi] *ni* om. M.

perspicimus] Vict.; *persciemus* MC. reliquum est] *reliquo inest = reliquom est* M.

tabellarios] *tabellarius* M.

quod scribas] Lamb.; *quid scribas* M.

στρατάλαξ] Bos.; *stratillax* M.

delectus] *dilectus* M.

gradu] *gradus* M.

4. priores] *etsi res* malit Boot.

commota] *commoda* MR.

5. aut sit] Vict.; *ausit* M<sup>1</sup>; *ca sit* M<sup>2</sup>.

rem] *res* Boot.; recte, ut videtur.

solvam] Man.; *solum* M.

Terentiae] Lamb.; *Terentiam* M.

pudentissime] *prudentissime* solito errore M.

uti de suo] Vict.; *inde* (vel *vide*) suo

M; *fide sua* Z.

Erotique] *pro teque* M.

ut sepositum] *ut se positum* M.

Non modo sed] M; *non modico sed* Btr.; *non modo versurum facere sed* cum Pio Wes.

Cocceii responsum] *Coccei rusum* M.

si quisquam male intellegit] *si quicumque male intellegit* Boot.; sed vid. Comm.

6. consenti . . . sum] nos; *consenti in hac cura vixi sum* M; *necum pro ubi sum* Boot.; *contende pro consenti* Wes.; *contendi* Kl.; *consenui* Madv. (Adv. Crit. iii. 192).

venit quidem] *veni quidem* M.

certi] Or.; *certe* M.

EP. DCCCVIII. (FAM. X. 4).

1. scii] *scii* M; *scivi* H Pal.

3. committam] *omitam* libri.

4. ut sciam] Vid. Comm.

mutuo] H Pal; *nullo* M.

EP. DCCCIX. (FAM. XI. 5).

1. Idus] libri; *Kal Ruete*; vid. Comm. optabam] H Pal; *ortabam* M<sup>1</sup>; *ortabar* M<sup>2</sup>; *optaram* Wes.

2. certo] *certe* H.

spem] om. H Pal.

3. ea] vel del. Boot. (Obs. Crit. 22), 'ut faciamus Ciceronem de more scribentem,' vel in *iam* mutat.

mea] om. H.

ipsi] codd. aliquot; *ipse* M Pal; om. H.

tuis] *me tuis* libri.

EP. DCCCX. (FAM. X. 5).

1. attulerunt] MH; *protulerunt* Pal. Vid. Comm.

3. quod sentiam] libri; *quid sentiam* Wes.

non potuisses] M<sup>2</sup> Btr. Wes.; *non potuisset* M<sup>1</sup>; *feri non potuisset* H Pal, quod legere debuimus.

proprie] Lamb., coll. Fam. ix. 15, 1 (481); *proprium* libri.

faveo] *suadeo* L. Müller, Wes., haud necessario.

EP. DCCCXI. (FAM. XI. 7).

2. volo] Wes.; *volam* libri; *volumus* et *velim* alii; *velim* C. F. W. Müller. Vid. Comm.

est res] *et res* libri.

civesque] *cuiusque* H.

dementes] *clementes* H: cf. 825, 1.

legionem quartam] M Pal; om. *legionem* H.

3. proxime] *proximo* H: cf. M in Att. iv. 18, 5 (154), ubi *proximo* a plerisque edd. et a nobis ipsis in *proximis* mutatur: sed dubitamus an recte.

ita animatus] Pal; *sit an.* M<sup>1</sup>; *seu an.* M<sup>2</sup>; *et an.* H.

non ut nihil] *ut non nihil* H.

EP. DCCCXII. (FAM. XI. 6).

1. dignitatem] del. Ern. sine causa: cf. Lehmann, p. 42.

2. non venire] om. non H.

3. contione] M; *conventionem* H (*te a man. prima*); *contentione* Pal.

EP. DCCCXIII. (FAM. XII. 22).

Ganter (Philologus, 1894, p. 140) in libello de Q. Cornificio putat §§ 1-2 unam esse epistolam, circiter idem tempus ac x. 1, 2 (787, 788) scriptam. §§ 3-4 alteram esse epistolam ad finem anni pertinentem.



1. nos] H Pal; non M.  
nostro] vestro libri.  
arbitror] M; arbitrabor H Pal.
2. tyrannoctoni] M; tyranni octoni H Pal.
3. senatus frequens] senatus aut frequens libri. Vid. Comm.
4. adeptus] MH; consecutus Pal.

EP. DCCCXIV. (FAM. XVI. 26).

1. poenam] ponam M.  
commentata] M: commendata H Pal Erf.
2. lagonas] M; lagoenas H Pal; laogenas Erf.

EP. DCCCXV. (FAM. XVI. 27).

1. tua] add. Wes.  
de consulibus] Pal; de cos. M; quos H Erf.  
animi] om. Pal Ern.
2. sciam] Wes.; scio M Pal; om. H Erf. Vid. Comm.  
Cossutianarum] M; quos sutianarum H Erf. Pal.  
feram in oculis] Ern. C. F. W. Müller;  
om. in libri.

EP. DCCCXVI. (FAM. XI. 8).

1. qui quid] M<sup>2</sup> Pal; quidquid M<sup>1</sup>;  
qui quid H.
2. meus] om. H.

EP. DCCCXVII. (FAM. XII. 24).

1. laudandi . . . ornandi] ornandi . . . laudandi Gronov. Vid. Comm.  
hoc est animi] om. H Pal.
2. defendi] libri; defendendi Ern. Btr., praeter necessitatem.
3. procurat] procurata M.  
plurimum . . . facies] plurimum ea tibi commendo tamen sed non debco commendare facies H.

EP. DCCCXVIII. (FAM. XII. 4).

1. reliquiarum nihil fuisset] M; om. H; Pal supra lineam a man. sec.  
me] M; mehercule H Pal, fort. recte.  
infimo] M; infimum H Pal.

- Philippo] M; ni lippo H; Nilippo Pal.  
legatis nihil] om. H.  
nuntiant] libri; denuntiarent Gronov.  
vix recte; vid. Comm.
2. te esse in Syria] Kl.: cf. verba proxime sequentia et S21, 1, 'loquebantur omnes in Syria te esse'; isse in Syria M; isse in Syriam H Pal, Crat. marg. haud bene.
- cito] om. H.

EP. DCCCXIX. (FAM. X. 20).

1. epulas] M Pal<sup>2</sup>; epistulas (eplas) H Pal<sup>1</sup>.  
in] om. libri.
  2. egique] eique H.  
animi . . . viribus] M, marg. habet sile obsecro manu recentiori; vid. Comm.
- Servio] servitio H Pal.

EP. DCCCXX. (FAM. IX. 24).

1. Rufum] rursum H.  
possem] possum H.  
me virum] Wes.; meum MH; me mecum Pal; me unum Btr.; meum <animum> Kl., C. F. W. Müller.
2. itare desisse] M Pal<sup>1</sup>; ita resedisse H Pal<sup>2</sup>.  
exposuissem . . . superiorem] om. H<sup>1</sup>;  
add H<sup>2</sup> in summa pagina.
3. sed] M; et H Pal.  
iocum] Pal; locum MH.  
id est . . . concenationes] del. Boot (Obs. Crit. 20).
4. mecum] meum H.

EP. DCCCXXI. (FAM. XII. 5).

1. simile veri] Pal; simile vere (vel vero) M; veri simile H.
2. reliquum] Lamb.; reliqui libri.  
Claternae] M; datne H; daternae Pal.  
Forum Cornelium] M, cf. Strabo 216;  
forum Cornelii H Pal, Dio Cass. xlvii. 35,  
7; forum Corneli Plin. H. N. iii. 116.  
compararat] Pal Mendels.; comparat MH; comparabat Ern. Andr.

EP. DCCCXXII. (FAM. XII. 11).

1. fortissimo animo] M; fortissime (om. animo) H Pal.  
eduxit] duxit H.  
quattuorque . . . scito] om. Pal.

2. quantum est in te] Pal; *quantum in te est* H; om. *in te* M.  
 non deesse] Pal; om. *non* MH; *adesse* Btr.; vid. Comm.  
 optima spe et maximo animo] M; *optimo et maximo animo* Pal; *optimo maximoque animo* H.  
 aget] *agat* H.  
 vale] *valde* M.  
 d] *dilecte* H Pal.

Ep. DCCCXXIII. (FAM. XII. 7).

1. a tribuno] Pal; *ad tr.* MH. De *ab et ad* inter se confusis vide C. F. W. Müller.  
 nihil unquam] *nunquam* H.  
 malebam] *valebant* Krause, Wes., C. F. W. Müller; *movebant* Orelli.  
 2. ct] om. libri.  
 istis] M; *his* M Pal.  
 ipse vincas] Ern.; *ipsuincas* M; *ipsum vincas* H Pal, quod fortasse legere debui-  
 mus.

Ep. DCCCXXIV. (FAM. X. 31).

1. scrutantur] *scrutatur* M.  
 2. movear] *moveare* libri.  
 nihil non] del. *non* Cobet, male; vid. Comm.  
 utrubique] M; *utrobique* H Pal, quam formam Schmalz praefert (Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Pollio, p. 9) ut ab antiquis Varrone (L. L. 190, 248 m.) Plauto (Mil. 466), ab Horatio poeta (Ep. i. 6, 10) usurpatam.  
 plane] om. Wes.; *essem plane, pericula* Lehmann.  
 3. probarit] *probant* H.  
 atque ita] M; *atqui ita* H; *atque vi ita* Pal.  
 4. senatui] M<sup>2</sup> H Pal; *senatu* M<sup>1</sup>.  
 quod . . . fuit] om. H.  
 5. nemo] cf. Bücheler Rhein. Mus. xi. 519; *ne* libri.  
 traditurum] *tradituram* M.  
 tricensima] M; *tricesima* H Pal: cf. Schmalz, p. 12.  
 contentiones] *contiones* libri.  
 6. numero] *<in>* numero Lamb. Btr. De hoc loco docte disputavit C. F. W. Müller.  
 id] om. libri.  
 provincia an ducendo] *provincia manducendo* M; *provinciam an ducendo* H.  
 possunt] *possint* Wes., vix necessario; vid. Comm.  
 misi] *mih* M.

Ep. DCCCXXV. (FAM. XII. 25, 1-5).

1. altero vicensimo] *altero vicem sum hodie* M; *altera vice summo die* H.  
 meo] vel simile quod ut *omnium, nostro* addendum est.  
 ut] *aut* M.  
 clementior] *dementior* H, cf. 811, 2.  
 3. graecum tempus] M; *caccum tempus* H Pal; *δοῦλιον ἡμαρ* Cobet. Vid. Comm. dignitatisque] Pal Wes.; *dignitatieque* MH.  
 rettulit] MH; *attulit* H Pal.  
 4. conieci] *confeeci* libri.  
 5. et quidem] M; *equidem* H Pal.

Ep. DCCCXXVI. (FAM. X. 6).

1. tuae] om. M.  
 litterae sunt] M; *sunt litterae* H Pal, rectius ut nunc putamus.  
 aut positis armis] *aut possit eis armis* M; *haud possint* (*possunt* Pal) *armis* H Pal; *positis* Mendelssohn.  
 2. es . . . amplissimos] om. H.  
 3. consulares] Kleyn Btr.; *consules* libri.  
 rem p. consularis] libri; *rem p. consulari* alii, Mendelssohn, C. F. W. Müller. Vid. Comm.  
 tum] *tu* M.  
 ea ratione] *in ea ratione* libri; *inita ratione* Kleyn quem Boot (Obs. Crit. 21) sequitur, coll. Fam. v. 20, 4 (302); Verr. iii. 110; Leg. Agr. ii. 67.

Ep. DCCCXXVII. (FAM. X. 27).

1. summa] *summa <mea>* Or. Wes.  
 seiungis] Pal; *se iungis* M; *se iungis* corr. ex *se iungis* H; *seiunges* Ern. Wes.  
 restitutura est] M; *restitura est* Pal; *restituta est* H.  
 sanos] *<esse>* *sanos* Or. Wes.  
 2. facies] M; *faceres* H Pal.  
 interpones] *interponeres* libri.

Ep. DCCCXXVIII. (FAM. XII. 28).

1. ne nimis fortis ne nimis te] *ne minus fortis ne minus te* libri.  
 2. appellaretur] H Pal; *appellaret* M. XX] [XX] Mendelssohn, C. F. W. Müller.  
 mutuumve] Or.; *mutuumque* libri.  
 3. afuisset] M; *fuisse* H Pal.

EP. DCCCXXIX. (FAM. XII. 26).

1. Saturninum] M; *Saturnium* H Pal.  
*Rubellium*] *Rubellinum* libri.  
 liberalitate se] *liberalitate* M; *liberalitate esse* H Pal.
2. usus es] H Pal; *usus est* M.  
 a me] om. H Pal.  
 quod . . . rogo] om. H Pal.

EP. DCCCXXX. (FAM. XII. 27).

- splendorem] H Pal; *splendere* M.  
 equiti Romano] *equitis Romani* libri.

EP. DCCCXXXI. (FAM. XII. 29).

Alterum exemplum huius epistolae invenitur in MH post xiii. 77 (μh).

1. consule relegatus] M; *consulare legatus* H Pal.  
 delector] *delectetur* H.  
 Non puto te iam] libri; *nonto iam te* μ; *non dubito iam te* h.  
 commendem] μh Lehmann p. 92;  
*commendarim* M Pal; *commendaverim* H.
2. hominibus] *omnibus* H Pal.  
 quanquam] *et quanquam* H.  
 fieret] Pal μh; *fleret* MH.  
 omnia] Ab hoc verbo incipit Erf.  
 tum] *tam* H.  
 me censes] MH Pal μ; *metenses* Erf.;  
*me tenses* h.  
 fui] *tum fui* Erf. μh.  
 re recenti] om. *re* H Erf.

EP. DCCCXXXII. (FAM. X. 7).

1. exhortatione] H; *ethortatione* M<sup>1</sup>;  
*et exhortatione* Pal.

EP. DCCCXXXIII. (FAM. X. 8).

2. mihi ipse] *Rutilius*; *in spe* libri;  
*ipse Mendelssohn*, Landgraf.  
 salutis] H Pal; *satis* M.
3. eliciendae] *alliciendae* Wes.  
 exercitibusque] om. -*que* H Pal.  
 praefuerunt] *praesunt* Man. Wes. Rhodius; sed vide Comm.
- partiremur] *patiremur* M.
4. invitis] *invictis* libri.
- denuntiatio] M; *enuntiatio* H Pal.
6. liberalitate] *libertate* H Pal.

- ut vel provinciam] H Pal, C. F. W. Müller; om. *ut* M; vide Corrigenda.  
 7. rebus] om. H.  
 accedam] H Pal; *aeceadam ad* M.

EP. DCCCXXXIV. (FAM. X. 10).

1. disceptatur] Wes.; *disceptat* libri.  
 Vid. Comm.  
 modo non] om. H.  
 quidem] om. H.  
 et datur] del. Kleyn.
2. adiuvā] H; *adlūa* M Pal, cf. 845, 2.

EP. DCCCXXXV. (FAM. XII. 6).

1. Titio] *tidio* libri.  
 commendabit] *commendavit* M.
2. si] H Pal; *sin* M.  
 est] *erit* Ern.

EP. DCCCXXXVI. (BRUT. II. 1).

De his litteris, quae a codice Cratandri iam amisso veniunt, vide quae in Comm. et in initio libri disputavimus.

1. publicam] add. Lamb.; om. Crat.  
 ut agerentur] om. Streng, iniuria.
2. in eo] Lamb. Wes.; *eo* Crat. Btr.
3. Ex me autem] *extremum* Madvig.  
 in aciem] Crat.; *in acie* Lamb. Wes.  
 Btr. Vide Comm.

Maioris autem partis animi] Madvig, Ruete, Streng; *maiores autem partes animi* vulg.

EP. DCCCXXXVII. (BRUT. II. 3 = 3 et 5).

De ordine epistolarum Brut. ii. qui in codice invenitur vide Comm. ad 839, 3.

1. erit post recuperari] Crat.; *erit si potest non recuperari* alii.
5. ab ipso senatu] nos addidimus; vid. Comm.

altera . . . doleo] *altera quo magis . . . reliquorum, hoc magis doleo* Streng.

EP. DCCCXXXVIII. (FAM. X. 12).

1. complectar] *amplectar* H.  
 adfert] M<sup>1</sup> Pal; *adferat* M<sup>2</sup> H.  
 gratiores] *graviore*s libri.  
 expectata] *spectata* libri.  
 quoad] *quod* M; *quo* H Pal.
2. de domo] om. *de* H Pal.

at ego ei] M; *at ego et* H Pal; *lego ei* Boot (Obs. Crit. 21), Mendelssohn, fort. recte; sed *dedi* subaudiri posset, vid. Comm.

nihildum] *nihil* H Pal.

sibi a te] Pal; *tibi a se* MH.

4. gravior] M; *gratior* H Pal.

quam tum] Pal; *quantum* MH.

5. fucata] H Pal; *fugatia* (ia in ras.)

M: *fugacia* alii, C. F. W. Müller, vide Comm.

existima. Verum] *existimaverim* M.

es et tences] H Pal; *es, tene* M. Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCXXXIX. (BRUT. II. 2.)

2. expediendo] *expedienda* Crat.

3. sed quo] Vide Comm.

EP. DCCCXL. (BRUT. II. 4 = 4 et 6).

1. III.] Wes.; VI. Crat.

3. erit] Vict.; *esset* Id. April. Crat.; sed vide Comm.

4. quod ne] om. *quod* Crat.

5. et matrem] add. Wes.

quomodo etiam nunc] *quoniam etiam nunc* Or. Btr. Streng.

6. debeo] *debet* Ern.

EP. DCCCXLI. (FAM. X. 30).

1. XVIII.] XVII. libri. Vide Comm. millia passus] libri, recte, cf. 872, 1; *millia passuum* alii.

potuissemus] H Pal; *posuissemus* M; *potis essemus* Hellmuth, Mendelssohn; *possemus* vulg. C. F. W. Müller.

2. equitatum et] om. H Pal.

3. passus D] H Pal; om. D M.

et ante et post utitur Galba; vide Comm. me insequi] H Pal; *anime insequi* M.

4. venit] *venisset* Wes.

amisit] H Pal; *amici sit* M: cf. 851, 6.

fugavit eodemque] *fugavit eodem die eodemque* Wes.; *fugavitque eodem* Btr.; aut sic aut *delevit, fugavit eodem loco* scripsisse Galbam arbitratur C. F. W. Müller.

5. redit] *rediit* alii.

Nec id tamen sine] M; *nec id tamen ne* Pal<sup>2</sup>; *nec tamen ipsi ne* H Pal<sup>1</sup>.

praetorianum] *praetorianarum* MH; *praetorianorum* Pal.

Res] H Pal; *re* M.

XVII.] XII. libri. Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCXLII. (BRUT. II. 5 = 7).

1. sint] *sunt* Crat.

poterat] *poterant* Crat.

2. fuerit] *fuit* Crat.

3. Celer Pilius] Ruete, egregie; *celer Pilus* vulg. Vide Comm.

4. duceret] *diceret* Crat.

tamen] add. nos.

5. agitur] *agatur* Crat.

XVIII.] Gurlitt; XIII. Crat.; XVI. O. E. Schmidt. Vide Comm.

EP. DCCCXLIII. (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 3-6).

De huius et sequentium epistolarum ad Brutum turbato ordine vide Comm.

4. pertinuit] *pertinuit* M.

ut nunc iudico] om. *ut et supra iudico* habet 'al. video' M; *ut nunc video* h (= Harl. 2491).

5. otio] M; *animo* Man.; *odio* Lamb.; *negotio* Ruete; sed *otio* bene a Gurlitto defenditur. Vide Comm.

6. provideritis] m (= Med. 49, 24) Ern.; *providetis* Mh: cf. O. E. Schmidt in Comm. laudatum.

XV.] Gurlitt; XII. M; XIII. h; XIV. RI.

EP. DCCCXLIV. (BRUT. I. 3, §§ 1-3).

1. esse] add. nos.

virtutis] M<sup>2</sup>; *virtutis est* Bücheler, cf. Wes. Em. p. 18, fort. recte; *virtutis et* M<sup>1</sup>.

tenere] *cernere* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. a qua] Crat. marg., Btr.; *ea cum* Mh; *ab ea cum* Lamb.

deductus] Forte *deductus* <et postea reductus>.

3. facias] *faciamus* M<sup>1</sup>.

hostes digniores] *hostis dignioris* Mh.

EP. DCCCXLV. (FAM. X. 9).

1. de] om. M.

2. adjuvante] *adluante* libri: cf. 834, 2.

suspicio] *suseipio* H Pal.

3. equites mille] *equitum* III. millia Wes. propter 848, 2, ut adnotat Mendelssohn.

via] *uta* M.

is] KI.; *in* MH; om. Pal.

opposuerit] Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCXVI. (BRUT. I. 3, § 4).

bonos] I vulg.; *bonos consules* CMh.  
idque] Wes.; *itaque cum id super-*  
scripto M; *Itaque id h.*  
v.] x. MCh, sed vide Comm.

EP. DCCCXLVII. (FAM. XI. 9).

1. elabatur] H manu prima ut nobis  
quidem videtur: *elaboratur* M; *clabora-*  
*retur* Pal.

persuasissimum] Pal; *p. et* M; *p. sit*  
H.

id] om. Ern.

III.] libri, O. E. Schmidt; VI. vel  
VII. Schelle.

EP. DCCCXLVIII. (FAM. X. 11).

1. cognoscis] *cognosces* H.

2. copias] M; *copias omnes* H Pal.

tribus milibus] *tria millia* M.

in his partibus] libri; *in has partes*  
Wes. Vid. Comm.

spes] om. H.

constiti] *constituti* M.

hoc] M; *huc* H Pal; cf. Neue ii<sup>3</sup>.  
613.

confert] vid. Comm.

secum] M; *huc* Pal; om. H.

3. Furtio] *furtio* M.

vobis] om. H.

EP. DCCCXLIX. (FAM. XI. 13 a).

Parmenses miseros] Haec verba tantum  
in Indice M servata sunt.

EP. DCCCL. (BRUT. I. 11).

1. in] add. Wes.

cum] add. Wes.

[XX.] = vicies (centena millia) Meyer;  
cf. 854, 5; xx. libri.

2. cupimus] Vict.; *cupimus* M Crat.  
marg.; *cepimus* M<sup>2</sup>; *capimus* hRI.

sed] add. nos.

eundum domum] nos; *eundum* Pal<sup>3</sup>,  
R; *id* M; *statuit id sibi corrupta esse et*  
*negavit id fieri posse* supplenda putat O. E.  
Schmidt.

esse debere] cod. Dresdensis; *esse debet*  
M<sup>1</sup>; *esse* (om. *debere*) CM<sup>2</sup>h: cf. O. E.  
Schmidt, Jahrb. 1889, p. 183.

detereri] *detineri* Cod. Guelferby-  
tanus.

EP. DCCCLI. (FAM. XII. 25, §§ 6, 7).

6. Luceium] *luccium* M; *luctium* H;  
*lutium* Pal.

amisimus] *amici simus* M, cf. 841, 4;  
*amicissimos* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLII. (BRUT. I. 5).

1. consistat] M<sup>2</sup>h; *constat* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. ante] *in te* Mh.

3. cooptari] *coaptari* Mh.

indicatum] O. E. Schmidt, bene, vid.  
Comm.; *indicat* libri; *indicat* C.

non petentis] *<etiam> non petentis* M<sup>2</sup>  
(sc. Coluccio).

de Catone] *<et> de Catone* I Kl.

EP. DCCCLIII. (FAM. X. 14).

1. Atqui] Man. Wes.; *atque* libri.

2. expectabam] *spectabam* libri.

et cum re p. esse] Orelli; *et rei p. esse*  
M Pal<sup>1</sup>; *et re p. esse* H; *et rei p. satis*  
*esse* Pal<sup>2</sup>; *esse* (om. *et cum re p.*) Graevius,  
Mendelssohn; *tecum e re p. esse* Bücheler,  
Btr. Gitlbauer, C. F. W. Müller.

EP. DCCCLIV. (FAM. XI. 10).

1. posse] *nosces* Madvig.

sint] *sunt* H Wes.

si tamen . . . tuum] Vict.; *sit an hoc*  
*tempore is videantur dici causa malle me-*  
*tuum* M; *sit an hoc tempore is dici videatur*  
*causa malle me tuum* H; *sit an hoc temporis*  
*videatur dici causa malle me tuum* Pal;  
*Exploratum habe etsi forsitan hoc tibi*  
*temporis videatur dici causa malle me tuum*  
Kl. (ed. 2); *Exploratum habes vita (ne*  
*hac temporis videantur dici causa) malle*  
*me tuum* Madvig, A. C. iii. 164, quod  
Mendelssohno probatur.

a certo] *aperto* Or.

2. honoris] H; om. M Pal.

iniciat vacuitas] M; *iniciatu* (-a m. 2)  
Pal; *iniciata civitas* H; *iniciat vacua*  
*civitas* Madv.; *iniciat r. p. vacuitas* Or.

3. Hoc] libri; *huc* alii: cf. 848, 2.

4. rursus] H Pal; *rusus* M, fort. recte,  
cf. Neue ii<sup>3</sup>. 749.

5. HS. mihi fuit pecuniae] om. H Pal<sup>1</sup>;  
ins. Pal<sup>2</sup> in marg.

[CCCC] Mendelssohn; cccc. libri:  
cf. 850, 1.



numerus nunc legionum] libri; *numero nunc legiones* Or.; *nimirum nunc legiones* Boot, bene; fort. *legiones* legendum et *numerus* ut glossema eiciendum.

thensauros] M; *thesauros* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLV. (FAM. XI. 11).

1. in itinere est] om. *est* H Pal.

2. consolabere] libri; <te> *consolabere* Man. Btr., cf. Comm.; *consolabor me* Koch.

ex finibus] Wes., cf. 876 fin.; om. *ex* libri.

EP. DCCCLVI. (FAM. XII. 12).

1. voluerint] libri; *voluerunt* Lamb. Btr. Wes.

2. pollulum morae] *pollulum more* M; *pollutum morem* H Pal.

quos] M Pal<sup>2</sup>; *quod* H Pal<sup>1</sup>.

3. misere] M; *miser* H Pal.

4. adsidue] M; *assidue* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLVII. (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 1-3).

1. rebus] *litteris* h.

est] *esset* M<sup>1</sup>.

2. equidem] *quidem* M.

concedere possit res publica] M<sup>1</sup>h; *conducere possit rei p.* M<sup>2</sup>.

potentibus] *petentibus* h.

3. quasi non liceat] *quasi non liqueat* Madvig.

EP. DCCCLVIII. (FAM. X. 13).

1. mihi] add. Index M; om. libri.

esset] H Pal; *est* M.

2. nobis] om. H Pal.

existimavi] Pal; *existimari* M; *existimavi* H.

Aiacem] *alancem* M.

EP. DCCCLIX. (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 1-4).

1. potui eram] M; *potueram* H Pal.  
Aquilam perisse nesciebam] H Pal et alii codd.; om. M.

2. fecit] H Pal Dresd 3; om. M.

3. et se] *et se <ei>* Btr. coll. 890, 4; cf. Lehmann, p. 18.

et frequenter] *ei frequenter* Koch, Wes.  
C. F. W. Müller.

Ventidianis] *venditianis* M.

EP. DCCCLX. (FAM. X. 15).

1. sedulitas] *sed utilitas* H Pal.

2. decem] *sescenti* Schelle; <*decuriae*> *decem* Rhodius. Vid. Comm.

transierant] Wes.; *transierunt* libri.

3. meo] libri quos optime defendit Mendelssohn coll. Fam. viii. 8, 4 (223), vid. Comm.; *meo* <*Antonium*> Or.; *meo* <*perditum latronem*> Lehmann.

possem] *posse* H.

iv.] libri; vii. vel viii. *Nake*, fort. recte.

iii.] Wes., quem dubitanter sequimur; v. libri. Vid. Comm.

4. Italiam] M; *Italiamque* H Pal; <*ut*> *Italiam* Wes.

EP. DCCCLXI. (FAM. X. 21, §§ 1-6).

2. exspectarem] H; *spectarem* M Pal.  
delibare] *deliberare* libri.

3. nimisque] H Pal; *miisque* M<sup>1</sup>; *meisque* M<sup>2</sup>; *nimis quam* Mendelssohn, C. F. W. Müller. Vid. Comm.

ea quibus credidi] Lamb.; *et quibus e.* H Pal; *ex quibus e.* M.

4. ut] M; *qui* H Pal.

conclamarint] *conclamarunt* libri; *conclamarent* Wes.

singularibus] M Pal (sed superscriptum); om. H; *singularibus* <*viris*> Lamb. De voc. *viris* omisso vide Comm.

5. Hoc] MH, cf. § 6 et 848, 2; *huc* Pal.

defuturam] H Pal Wes.; *defuturum* M.

6. exercitum] M; *ut exercitum* H Pal, fort. recte.

habeam] M<sup>1</sup>; *habeo* M<sup>2</sup>.

hoc] MH Pal<sup>1</sup>; *huc* Pal<sup>2</sup>; cf. § 5 et infra.

EP. DCCCLXII. (FAM. X. 21, 7).

7. excusem] *excuse* M<sup>1</sup>; *excuses* M<sup>2</sup>; *excusa* H Pal; *excuso* Mendelssohn. Vid. Comm.

excusem litteris] *excuso si mitti vis* Rhodius.

istoc] M; *istuc* H Pal; cf. 861, 5.

EP. DCCCLXIII. (FAM. XI. 12).

1. Vibii] *vibulinus* H Pal.

et ex Graecii oratione] *et ex graeci oratione* Pal; *ut ex graeci oratione* H; *ut ex graecio ratione* M.

tua illa] *sua illa libri.*  
perterritis] *perterritis M; per terras*  
H Pal.

2. maximeque] Pal; *maximique MH.*

EP. DCCCLXIV. (BRUT. I. 16).

1. litterarum] Mh; *litterularum C.*  
scripta] Mh; *scriptae alii.*  
expectetur] *expetetur Dresd. h., quod*  
nisi ex mero errore ortum est, forsitan  
*expectatur sit legendum.*

nolit] *noluit Dresd.; nolet Wes.*

2. adversus] *apud Dresd.*

me videri] *me add. nos.*

3. ita extulit] *ita add. Lamb.*

4. privatim] MI; *privatum h, Kl.,*  
iniuria.

recusatum] M; *recusandum alii.*

bono] *<sub>> bono Kayser, vix neces-*  
sario.

negaret iis] Crat.; *negotiiis M<sup>1</sup>; neget*  
*iis M<sup>2</sup>.*

5. aestimet] *extimet Mh; existimet I*  
Dresd. Guelf.

per se] *add. nos. Vid. Comm.*

Ceterum . . . adhibetur] *De hoc loco*  
in Comm. disputavimus.

eo] *add. Cobet.*

ab aliis] RI; *om. M, fort. recte eodem-*  
que sensu.

id non] *id add. nos.*

si prius] M; *nisi prius Crat.*

6. odero] M, in marg. 'al. duxero';  
adero h.

recidis] *occidisse Mh.*

si] *add. Btr. Meyer; cum alii.*

7. illi largiris] *om. illi M<sup>1</sup>.*

illis] *Lehmann; ullis libri.*

8. revocari] C; *provocari M.*

istue] *istoc M quod legere debuimus:*  
cf. 862, 7.

is sum] *om. M<sup>1</sup>.*

10. incognitae] *incogitate M<sup>1</sup>.*

veniunt] *veniunt M.*

maxima] CM; *magna alii.*

11. animi] *add. Viet., quod num omitti*  
possit dubitamus.

nihil . . . exstat] *om. Kayser.*

quia] *quin Or.*

dece] *deceat quam te I.*

EP. DCCCLXV. (BRUT. I. 17).

2. an Antonium] *om. an Madv. Wes.*  
triumphum] Pal 4, *codd. Lamb.;*  
*triumphus MRI.*

decernit] *Lamb.; decernitur Crat. Pal*  
4 R; *om. MI. Quae de toto loco iudicat*  
Madvigius in Comm. exposuimus.

hortatur ne eius] *Orelli (ed. 1) Wes.;*  
*hortationis M<sup>1</sup>; hortationibus M<sup>2</sup>h; hor-*  
*tatur R; ornatur I; hortatur cum Pal 4.*  
hoc] *codd. aliquot teste Wes. Crat.;*  
*om. MRI.*

aut] R; *ut MI; an Crat. Lamb.*

3. ex Flavio] *libri; in Flavio Lamb.*  
Wes.

4. haec mihi videntur] *haec <levia>*  
*videntur Madv.; haec nimirum videntur*  
Stangl.

5. referat] M; *deferat Or. Fort. <ad*  
*Ciceronem> referat.*

nostra] *nostra <refert> Wes. Sed*  
vid. Comm.

6. ut scribis] *om. M<sup>1</sup>.*

Antonius] *sine dubio corruptum. Vid.*  
Comm.

existimavi] *estimavi M.*

diligi se] *Lamb.; om. se MRI.*

7. Atticae] *M marg.; tacite M.*

EP. DCCCLXVI. (BRUT. I. 4, §§ 3-6).

3. Nunc agendum] *id agendum Cod.*  
Oxon.; *nunc cavendum Becher, Cobet.*

neu . . . peius] *De hoc loco fusius*  
disputavimus in Comm.

4. tuae virtutes] *ut glossema eiciunt*  
Man. Btr. Becher.

a] *add. Lamb.*

desiderant] *libri; desiderat Man. Btr.*  
Becher.

quam inde . . . descensus] *Cod.*  
Ursini; *quam inde consul factus sit*  
*descensus Becher; quam inde si consul*  
*factus sit descensus Ruete. Pro descen-*  
*surum Madv. legit cscensurum, Man.*  
*ascensurum. Vid. Comm.*

5. facilitatem] M; *felicitem Crat.*

Prorsus alienae] *om. alienae Madv.*  
Kayser, Becher.

possis] *posses Wes., vix necessario.*

EP. DCCCLXVII. (BRUT. I. 6).

1. Glycona] M; *Clitona R; Clytona*  
h; *Helicona I.*

3. C. Treboni] *g. tribuno M<sup>1</sup>.*

4. XIII.] *M<sup>1</sup>h; XVII. M<sup>2</sup>. Vid. Comm.*

EP. DCCCLXVIII. (BRUT. I. 7).

1. Is] *add. Wes.*

sumus] *simus M.*

EP. DCCCLXIX. (FAM. X. 34, §§ 1, 2).

1. ab confluyente Rhodani] *ab confluyente rhodano* Pal; *rhodano ab confluyente* H; *ab confluyente ab rhodano* M; quod C. F. W. Müller defendit coll. Liv. xxxvii. 44, 4, a *Magnesia ab Sipyllo* sed *Magnesia ab Sipyllo* ut unum tantum nomen habetur quo ab aliis *Magnesiis* distinguatur; *ab confluyente* <Arari et> *Rhodano* Hübner; *ab confluyente* <Durentiae ac> *Rhodani* Wes.

Voconii] Man.; *vocontium* M Pal; *vocontium* H.

Antonianos] edd.; *Antonios* libri, fort. recte, sed expectes *cis*.

ultra me] M; *ultra a me* H Pal.

inermorum] *inermiorum* H.

habet] M; *habebat* H Pal.

milia quinque] Madvig, optime; *equitum M itaque* H Pal; *equitum itaque* M.

2. humanitatis] <sup>mani</sup> *humilitatis* (mani m. 2) H.

deerimus] M Pal; *decedimus* in rasura H.

egerimus] *gerimus* MH.

EP. DCCCLXX. (FAM. X. 18).

2. prope] om. H.

eius] H; *es* M.

et cautius] *etsi cautius* Lamb.

exercitu . . . sentiente] H et codd. alii; om. M.

3. habebat . . . absit] libri, quos Mendelssohn optime defendit; *habebat . . . abesset* vel *habeat . . . absit* alii. Vid. Comm.

vulneris] *ulceris* Puteanus.

nisi] libri; *si* Man. Madvig.

meae quae me] H; *meaeque* M.

4. xii.] \_codd. nonnulli; x.ii M; xv. H.

duobus] om. H.

EP. DCCCLXXI. (FAM. XI. 18).

1. putares] *suspicear* putares M; *timendum suspicandumque* putares edd. nonnulli.

3. xiv.] libri; xvii. O. E. Schmidt.

EP. DCCCLXXII. (FAM. X. 17).

1. Id. Maias] *Idus Maias* MH; *ad Idus Maias* Pal.

passus] libri: cf. 841, 1, et Neue ii<sup>3</sup>. 306.

2. sciat] H Pal; *sciam* M.

3. tamen] *tandem* Man. Wes.

fide] M Pal<sup>2</sup>; *fidei* H fort. recte.

In ea re] om. M.

Segaviano] M; *eganiano* H Pal. Vid. Comm.

ei sum] om. *sum* H.

singulari] *singula* MH.

EP. DCCCLXXIII. (BRUT. I. 1).

1. dicam] om. Mh.

a me] *et a me* Hh.

Clodii] hRI; *at Clodii* M.

eius] *eius <rei>* Cobet, Kayser.

2. si] *uncis* inclusit Cobet.

EP. DCCCLXXIV. (BRUT. I. 2, §§ 1-3).

1. loco] add. Wes. Vid. Comm.

2. Tuum] *et tuum* M.

3. legione quarta] *legione quadam* C. F. Hermann. Fort. *legionibus* vel *legione capta*. Vid. Comm.

fraude C. Antonii] C. F. Hermann; *de Catoniis* libri; *in legione de <cima fraude>* C. Antonii Madvig.

elementia] vel simile vocabulum add. Wes.

EP. DCCCLXXV. (FAM. XI. 19).

2. Vicetini] MH; *vicentini* Pal.

rem p.] *re p.* libri, quos defendit C. F. W. Müller, coll. Fam. vi. 22, 3 (465), *studio et officio in meis rebus*.

inertissimum] MH<sup>2</sup>; *incertissimum* H<sup>1</sup> Wes.

<sup>i: indicius</sup>  
Vercellis] *Vercellis* H, quod Oedipum requirit.

EP. DCCCLXXVI. (FAM. X. 34, §§ 3, 4).

3. officii mutuo] *officii mutui* Madv.; *officiaque mutua* Lamb.

animo] <in> *animo* Wes.

4. diligentissime] *studium diligentiam* Lamb.; *diligentiam et egisse me* Opitz. sunt] *sint* Wes. bene.

EP. DCCCLXXVII. (FAM. XI. 20).

1. sibi simillimus] H Pal; *sini similis* M; *sui simillimus* C. F. W. Müller. Vid. Comm.

posset] Wes.; *possit* libri.

2. nondum] M; om. H Pal; *non* alii. Quod diximus in Comm. *nondum* in archetypo pro certo fuisse, id nunc quidem nullo modo tam praecise affirmamus. Res dubia est.

3. Sullanis] edd. vett. Btr. Wes.; *Silani* M Pal; *seillani* H; *ex agris Stellati et Campano* Schütz.

4. non] om. libri.

armo] om. H.

Eporedia] M; *eporegia* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLXXVIII. (FAM. XI. 23).

1. nobis] *de nobis* libri.

2. quot] H Pal; *quod* M (= *quot*): cf. Mendelssohn, qui confert Fam. viii. 12, 2 (279), *aliquod* = *aliquot*.

poterunt] Btr. Wes.; *poterint* libri.

Eporedia] M; *eporagia* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLXXIX. (FAM. X. 19).

1. erant] *fuērunt* Ern. Wes.

dedere] *dederunt* Or. Kleyn. Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCLXXX. (FAM. X. 25).

1. navitatem] H Pal; *natirivatem* M. scientiaque] *sententiaque* Man. Wes.

2. satisfactorum rei p.] M; *satisfac-*  
*tum officio rei p. satisfactum* H Pal.

quid] M; om. H Pal.

non est] om. H Pal.

consule] Pal; *cos* M; *cos* II.

3. necesse] om. H Pal.

dignitate malim] Pal; *dignitatem ma-*  
*lim dignitatem aliam* M.

EP. DCCCLXXXI. (FAM. X. 16).

1. ad unum] *<omnes> ad unum* Wes.; sed, cf. Lehmann, p. 82.

2. huc] H; *huic* M Pal.

subitis] *subditis* libri.

aliquod] libri; *aliquid* C. F. W. Müller.

putarimus] M; *putaremus* H Pal.

EP. DCCCLXXXII. (FAM. XII. 15, §§ 1-6).

1. L.] L. *<q>* Lamb.

E. V.] E. E. Q. V. Pal.

vastata . . . *celeriusque*] *vastataque*  
. . . *celerius* Wes.

omnibus] om. H Pal.

divenditis] *divexatis* Lamb.

quidque] Wes. Btr.: *quicquid* libri, Mendels. C. F. W. Müller, coll. Att. xi. 10, 2 (425); xii. 33, 1 (566); xiv. 5 (707); xv. 6, 4 (738).

2. sensibus] *senibus* MH; *a senibus* Pal.

deverti] Wes.; *reverti* libri.

quo] M; *quod* H Pal.

deminutionemque . . . Romani] *demi-*  
*nutionemque non solum iuris nostri sed*  
*etiam maiestatis imperique populi Romani*  
Ern. Om. *-que* post *populi* Or. Fort.  
excidit s: (= senatus), vel *vestri* post *im-*  
*perii*.

4. Haec sive timore . . . noluerunt] Locus nondum sanatus: de quo fusius in Comm. disputavimus. Wesenbergii sententiam plerumque amplectimur.

5. demorati] M; *demoratos* H<sup>2</sup> Pal; *demoratus* H<sup>1</sup>.

sumus] M; *fuimus* H Pal.

studium et diligentiam] H Pal; *stu-*  
*dium diligentiam* M, fort. recte.

omnibusque rationibus] *omnibusque*  
*<cum> rationibus* alii. Vid. Comm.

praestiterunt . . . inierunt] *praesti-*  
*terint* . . . *inerint* Wes., vix necessario.  
Vid. Comm.

EP. DCCCLXXXIII. (FAM. XII. 14).

3. desperaverint] *spreverint* Kleyn, Boot; *despexerint* C. F. W. Müller, ingeniose.

quam revera . . . scripsi] H Pal et codd. alii; om. M.

moverunt] marg. M manu recentiori; add. in textu Wes.

in nostra salute] *in nostram salutem* edd. vett. Wes.: cf. 895, 4.

pati] *putati* M<sup>1</sup>; *putavi* H Pal; *pari* Bengel.

4. ceteris rebus] *ceteris <in> rebus* alii: sed cf. Köhlerum, p. 26, qui confert Fam. xiii. 66, 2 (506).

obteneant] libri; *obteneat* Cobet; *ob-*  
*tinerent* Kayser,

hoc] cf. ad 848, 2.

Laodiceam] *laudiceam* H Pal.

Dolabellam] minime delendum, vid. Köhlerum in Comm.

5. acturos] M; *peracturos* H Pal.

coram] *horam* libri.

nive] M; *neve* H Pal: cf. Neue ii<sup>3</sup>. 969.

nisi] *nisi* <si> Ern. Köhler; sed vid. Comm.

7. At tamen] *adtamen* M; *attamen* II Pal; *Ac tamen* Wes.

8. Pergae] M; *pergas* II Pal; *Perga* Or. Wes.

EP. DCCCLXXXIV. (FAM. X. 20).

1. istim] M; *istis* II.

2. certius] M; *rectius* II.

iam] om. Btr. Wes.

EP. DCCCLXXXV. (FAM. X. 35).

PR. TR. PL.] Pal; R. P. TR. PL. H; om. M.

1. conservandis] *observandis* libri.

III.] libri; IIII. Ruete.

Iun.] om. libri; add. codd. nonnulli.

EP. DCCCLXXXVI. (FAM. XI. 14).

1. Tantum . . . videantur] Vid. Comm. *σκιαμαχλαί*] *sciamachalae* M; *sciam me achaiae* II Pal.

2. valde] unde libri.

3. renatum] *renovatum* Kleyn, Wes.

tam] M Pal; *tamen* H.

Hi] II Pal; om. M.

iis] M; *litteris his* II Pal, fort. recte. non extimesco] libri; *ne extimescam*

Crat. Wes.

EP. DCCCLXXXVII. (BRUT. I. 8).

1. commendabo] Crat.; *commendavi* M; *commendo* alii.

2. Is] add. Wes.

octavum] *octavo in* (= *octavom*) M.

vult] marg. M; *valcat* M<sup>h</sup>; *valuit* M<sup>2</sup>; *voluit* Crat.; *vellet* R Ern.

EP. DCCCLXXXVIII. (FAM. XI. 16).

2. consule relegatus] *consulare ligatus* MH; *consulare legatus* Pal.

meminit] II Pal; *memini* M; *memine-rit* edd. vett.

est] *esset* Kleyn, Btr.

3. petere] *praetere* M.  
non tenebo] *non ego tenebo* H.

EP. DCCCLXXXIX. (FAM. XI. 17).

1. Magna] M; *magna sunt* II Pal.

Is] II Pal; *iis* M.

excitari] codd. aliquot; *excitare* libri; *exstare* codd. duo Alleni nostri.

2. te mihi] II Pal; *me tibi* M.

Lamiam] *iamiam* libri.

EP. DCCCXC. (FAM. X. 33).

1. sed] a multis suspectum: retinuit C. F. W. Müller sensu, ut ita dicamus, intensitivo, coll. Q. Fr. ii. 3, 4 (102); iii. 1, 17 (148).

neque] *nequo* libri.

et duces] Pal; *ut duces* MH.

2. palparer] Vict.; *palmarer* M; *palma- rerum* II Pal.

3. impositis] II Pal; *imposui(t)* M.

eam] *cum* Btr. Vid. Comm.

eam diem] om. II.

Et hercules] M; *et ego me hercules* II Pal, fort. recte.

nihil non] M; *nihil* II Pal.

gessisse] M; *cessisse* II Pal.

4. quartam] De legionibus quae in Mutinensi bello pugnarunt vide Addenda ad Comm.

Pontium . . . cecidisse] M; *pontium quidam dicunt etiam Octavianum cecidisse* Pal; *pontium quidam dicunt Octavianum quoque cecidisse* II.

reliquisse] om. H.

equitum v.] Man.; om. v. libri.

pupilli] *Publii* edd. vett. Wes. Mendelss. coll. Fam. xiii. 14, 1 (455); *populi* vel *popelli* O. E. Schmidt; *Popilli* Gardt- hausen (Philol. li. p. 518).

se] *se* <ei> Btr.

septima octava nona] Vid. Addenda ad Comm.

5. XVII.] XVIII. H.

supersint] *supersunt* H.

EP. DCCCXCI. (FAM. XII. 15, § 7).

7. vi introire] M; *ut introiret* II Pal.

DC.] H Pal; c. M.

Laodiceam] *laodicheam* M; *laodiceam* H.

Amanum] *manum* MH Pal<sup>2</sup>; *mare* Pal<sup>1</sup>.

Laodicea afuisse] M; *laodicea* (-ia H) *fuisse* H Pal; <a> *Laodicea afuisse* Crat. Wes.

Pergae] *Perga* Or. Wes.



EP. DCCCXCII. (FAM. XI. 26).

Maximo] &lt;In&gt; maximo Btr. Wes. Mendelss.

ex Sardinia] Vid. Comm.

dent an decernant] *dent an* <non> decernant edd. vett.; *denegent an decernant* Mendelss. C. F. W. Müller.; *dent an demant* Kl. (ed. 2); *demant an decernant* C. F. Hermann.fiunt] M; *fiant* H Pal, C. F. W. Müller.

EP. DCCCXCIII. (FAM. XI. 21).

1. magnum] *magni* H Pal.2. sententiam ferri] M; *sententiam fieri* Pal; *scientiam fieri* H; s. c. *fieri* Or. recentem [novam] Ursinus et Kleyn; *recentem novam* libri; *re entem* <ac> novam Boot.3. id pro me] *id pro me* <facere> Crat. Wes.; <fuere> *id pro me* Kl. Lehmann.4. metuum] vulg. Wes.; *metum* M; *metuo* H Pal.5. ab utisque vestrum] libri, locutione sane inusitata; *ab utroque vestrum* Lamb. Wes. C. F. W. Müller, qui putat *utrisque* ex agris assignandis ortum esse.vobis] edd. vett. Btr. Wes.; *nobis* libri; at non senatui sed D. Bruto et Octaviano res integra servanda erat.reconditum] <magis> *reconditum* Wes.

EP. DCCCXCIV. (FAM. XI. 24).

1. esse] om. H.

sin] *si in* libri.2. nihil tibi] Wes.; *nihil* libri.

tui] Dresd 3, Wes.; om. libri.

EP. DCCCXCV. (FAM. X. 23).

1. si uno] libri; *nisi uno* C. F. W. Müller, sed vid. Comm.2. salutariter] H Pal; *salutari* M. fideliter mihi pateret iter] M Pal<sup>2</sup>; *fideliter mihi pater et frater* Pal<sup>2</sup>; *mihi fideliter pateret frater* H.3. ferventibus] *furentibus* codd. dett. ut spatium ad colligendum se] (eum nota pro et supra spatium) H; *ut spatium et colligendum se* M Pal; *et spatium colligendi se* Wes.4. in rem p.] *in re p.* libri, quos defendit C. F. W. Müller. Vid. Comm.5. Magno] *emagno* M<sup>1</sup>; *Ego magno* Lamb.Lepidi missos] *lepidi dimissos* libri.vetueram] *vetuerat* M.ad eum] Man. Wes. C. F. W. Müller; *ad me* libri.exceperam] *exegeram* Mendelssoln.

numeroque hostis habueram] H Pal et codd. alii; om. M.

6. hoc] *huc* Or.; sed cf. 848, 2.

quas habemus] om. H.

7. iam] *etiam* Starker.Cularone] *cuiarone* libri.

EP. DCCCXCVI. (FAM. X. 32).

1. Calpem] libri; *Calpen* alii.Bogudis] H Pal; *bogutis* M.

2. fecerat] om. H.

3. praetextam] *praetextatam* Or.posuit] libri; *composuit* nescio quis ap. Boot (Obs. Crit. 22); *praetextam* . . . <agi> *poposcit* Boot.auctorare] Madv. (A. C. ii. 233); *auctorari* R Wes.; *auctore* libri.coniecti] *conlecti* M; *collecti* H Pal.

c. r. NATVS SVM] om. Kleyn Btr.

circulatore] *circum latorum* libri.4. praestat] libri; *restat* C. F. W. Müller.quingenos] M; *quingentos* H Pal; *quingenos* <se> Lamb.finem] ex *fidem* M<sup>1</sup>; *fidem* H.

si uno loco habuissem] om. H Pal.

utpote] H Pal; *utpute* M<sup>1</sup>; *utputa* M<sup>2</sup>.5. imperassetis facturum] M; *impe-trassetis facturum* H; *imperassetis futurum* Pal; *imprassetis* facturum <me> Or., haud necessario.excessi] *discessi* H.decedentes] *discedentes* Or.

EP. DCCCXCVII. (BRUT. I. 10).

3. in magistratu] *in add. nos.*4. quatefeci] *quo te feci* M<sup>1</sup>.fide] Bücheler; *idem* libri. Vide Comm.est in te] M<sup>2</sup>; *extincte* M<sup>1</sup>.

quam virtute atque] om. M.

ad te futurus] M<sup>2</sup>; *attestaturus* M<sup>1</sup>.5. principiis] *praesidiis* R, alii.debebat] *debeat* M<sup>1</sup> h.

EP. DCCCXCVIII. (FAM. XII. 8).

1. meo] *M(arco)* Gronov., fort. recte.2. perfici atque] *perficiat quae* H Pal, ante correctionem.

EP. DCCCXCIX. (FAM. XII. 30).

1. Itane] M; *ita ut* II Pal.  
tuas] II Pal; *quas* M.
2. distinebar] M; *destincōar* Pal; *de-*  
*incēbar* II, idemque mox.  
rem p.] om. libri.  
aegrotant ii] *aegrotantur* II Pal.  
viderentur] Man. Wes.; *videntur* libri  
Mendelss.
- conamur] libri; *cogamur* Man. Wes.
3. a te] Crat.; *ad* M; om. H Pal.
4. orbus est] Laub. Wes.; om. *est*  
libri.
5. tu sis] II Pal; *iussis* M; *eius sis*  
vulg.  
compromisso] M; *cum promisso* II Pal.
7. Venuleio] *venulegio* H.  
lictōres] om. II.  
honore] *honore <digni>* Man. Wes.;  
*honore <enim cum digni sint>* Lehmann.

EP. DCCCC. (FAM. XI. 13, §§ 4, 5).

4. Planci . . . neque] om. H.  
Quos] *quod* II Pal.  
adroganter] *abroganter* M; *arroganter*  
*<appropinquantes>* Lehmann; 'mihi sub-  
esse videtur *audacter, constanter, acriter*  
aut sim., *abroganter* autem ex proximo  
vocabulo 'All(*obrog*)es' natum esse,' C. F.  
W. Müller.
5. comparabant] *comparabunt* M; *com-*  
*pararunt* Pal; *comparatur* II.

EP. DCCCXI. (FAM. XII. 13).

1. habebimus] *habemus* II Pal.  
nec convenientia] libri; *nec incon-*  
*venientia* codd. dett.  
minimum] libri; *minimam* Gronov.  
Boot. Vid. Comm.
3. magna contumacia] *<in> magna*  
*contumacia* Wes.; fort. *magna <cum>*  
*contumacia* si opus esset additamento.  
L. Figulus] edd. coll. App. iv. 60;  
*Lucilius* libri.  
in castra] Fort. *in <Cassii> castra*.  
quam] H Pal; *qui* M, quod corruptum  
ex *quo* (*cui*) Lehmann putat qui totum  
locum ordinat in hunc modum *classis*  
*altera cui—anno . . . comparat* *Turul-*  
*lius*; editores plerumque cum Btr. Wes.  
*quam anno . . . comparat, <cui> Tu-*  
*rullius*.
4. Laudiceni] *Graevius; laudiceni*  
libri.  
Laudiceam] H Pal; *laodiceam* M.

ex quibus] M; *ultro* II Pal, ex proximo  
'ultro' ortum videtur.  
auxiliariis] II Pal; *auxiliaris* M.  
Πάλτω] M; πάντω II; Παλτοῖ Man.  
tetrachmis] *tetrachmhis* M; *tetrach-*  
*nis* Pal; *te trachiis* II; *tetradrachmis*  
vulg.  
celeriter] *celeriter iter* libri.  
a Crommyuacride] *acromamyacride* M;  
*ac roma myacride* H Pal.

EP. DCCCXII. (BRUT. I. 9).

1. in tuo] om. M.  
tunc mihi] R; *in tuo mihi* M; *mihi* I.  
quantus] Crat.; *quam* M; *ut* alii.
2. amisisti] *admisisti* M.  
tibi] *ita tibi* Wes.

EP. DCCCXIII. (FAM. XI. 25).

1. brevitatem] Btr. addit *<tamen Lupo*  
*non potui nihil dare>* vel simile quid.

EP. DCCCXIV. (FAM. XII. 9).

- CASSIO] MH indices; *Attico* libri.  
2. cum] II; *quam* M; *cum iam* Pal.

EP. DCCCXV. (FAM. XI. 15).

2. tales quales] *qualis talis* M.

EP. DCCCXVI. (FAM. X. 22).

2. eam . . . qui] *qui eam secutus esset*  
*Graevius; eam secutus esset in quibus*  
*Mendelssohn. Vide Comm. ubi libros*  
*defendere conati sumus.*  
S. C.] add. Man.

EP. DCCCXVII. (FAM. X. 26).

1. quod] *hoc* Rost, C. F. W. Müller  
olim, vix recte.
2. candidatum] Pal<sup>2</sup>; *candidum* M;  
*conditum* H Pal<sup>2</sup>.  
iudicare] *iudicare* libri.  
protrudimus] *producimus* H.  
Vince igitur] *te* add. Or. Btr. sine  
causa.

EP. DCCCCVIII. (BRUT. I. 13).

1. in me] om. M.  
liberis] M Crat.; *liberos* alii.

EP. DCCCCIX. (BRUT. I. 12).

1. ab Antonio] libri; *ab Antonii*  
Lamb.  
3. et te] *delendum*; *esse* Man.

EP. DCCCCX. (FAM. XII. 10).

1. spe] H Pal; *spes* M.  
2. opis] H Pal; *opus* M.  
laturus is] *laturus sis* M Pal; *laturus*  
*sit* H.

EP. DCCCCXI. (FAM. X. 29).

- te] Pal; *et* MH.  
benevolentia] *benivolentia* H Pal; *ben*  
(sic) M.  
ieci] H Pal; *leci* M.  
magnoque] *magno animoque* M.  
nulla re] *<in> nulla re* Btr. coll. 816,  
2.

EP. DCCCCXII. (FAM. XI. 22).

1. se cum] *mecum* libri.  
2. Nutus tuus] *nutius* M; *nuncius* H;  
*mitius*, vel *nuntius* Pal.

EP. DCCCCXIII. (BRUT. I. 14).

1. scripsissem] libri; *scripsisses* Middleton.  
Ciceronem] *Ciceronem dedi* R.  
Bibulorum] *Forte Bibuli, <ali>orum*  
coll. 868.  
2. deducas] *adducas* I; *ducas* h.  
et animi hominum] Lamb.; *animi*  
*hominum et* M.  
depulisti] Ern.; *repulisti* libri.

EP. DCCCCXIV. (BRUT. I. 15).

1. is] M<sup>2</sup>; *se* M<sup>1</sup>.  
videatur] M<sup>2</sup>; *sed* M<sup>1</sup>; *sit* Btr.  
3. forte] *fortasse* libri. Vide Comm.  
sapientissimus] M<sup>1</sup>; *sapiens unus* M<sup>2</sup>.  
4. erexerat] De hoc loco in Comm.  
multa disputavimus.

5. liberaratis] *liberarastis* M; *liberatis*  
I.  
profidenti] M Crat.; *promittenti* ed.  
Cratandrina.  
sapientes] Wes.; *sapientis* M; *sapi-*  
*entem* Cobet.

6. et] add. Wes.  
7. id scire] *respirare* coni. Schmidt.  
8. homines] add. Cobet.  
reperiuntur] M Crat.; *reperimur* alii.  
cuius vos] Man.; *vos cuius* (vel *cui-*  
*vis*) M.  
atqui] Middleton; *atque* libri.  
paullo] *<haud> paullo* edd.  
reprehendit] *reprehendet* Or.  
9. esset salutaris] *posset esse salutaris*  
alii.  
hoc ipsum nimium] *fortasse glossema*.  
10. in praesens] M; *in praesenti* Crat.  
11. de me] M<sup>1</sup>; *de se* M<sup>2</sup>.  
audisse] *adnuisse* Schmidt.  
12. in auctoritate] Dresd.; om. in M.  
13. in te] add. in Btr. Cobet.

EP. DCCCCXV. (BRUT. I. 18).

1. a. d. VIII.] M<sup>2</sup>; *audiui* M<sup>1</sup>.  
ac] Btr.; *an* MR; *et* I.  
2. labenti] *labanti* Wes.  
inelinatae paene rei p.] *inelinante pene*  
*r. p. h.*  
3. nisi] h I Wes.; *si* libri, quod de-  
fendit Becher.  
4. in eo] add. I.  
indoles] *bona indoles* I, *haud neces-*  
*sario*.  
flexibilis] *flebilis* M<sup>1</sup>.  
obdurescunt] *obsurdescunt* Man. Lamb.

EP. DCCCCXVI. (FAM. X. 24).

1. meritaque] H Pal; *meraque* M.  
pro maximis tuis] M; *proximam istius*  
H; *pro eximiis tuis* Pal.  
indulgencia] *industria* Boot; *diligentia*  
Lamb.  
in tua . . . assiduitate] del. edd. non-  
nulli. De toto loco vide Comm.  
2. scio] *seis* Nodell, Wes., *iniuria*.  
3. talis] libri; *talis <belli>* Wes.;  
*fatalis* Koch; *ut ais* Andr.; *consularis*  
(vel *capitalis*) Lehmann; *alterius* Nettle-  
ship.  
6. habent] in textum ex proximo ir-  
repsit.  
aversissimam] *adversissimam* Crat.  
Wes.  
avocarit . . . transtulerit] *-int . . . -int*  
Klotz.

bimestris] v. *mestris* (= quinque mes-  
tris) Man. Schmidt; vi. *mestris* (= semes-  
tris) Lange. Vide Comm.

7. iuvero] *iuero* M; *tuero* Pal; *tuor*  
H.

8. v. . . . castris] om. H.

EP. DCCCCXVII. (FAM. XIII. 76).

1. testes estis] H Pal; *testis est* M.  
cum] *quam* libri; *quamquam* Or.

EP. DCCCCXVIII. (FAM. XIII. 43).

QUINTIO GALLO] *quintio gallo*<sup>z</sup> M;  
*Quintio Gallio* MH indices; *quintio gallo*  
(ex *gallio*) Pal; *quintio sal* H; *Q. Gallio*  
Man.

1. ea] H Pal; *mea* M; *nunc ea* Bene-  
dictus; *iam ea* Koch; *magna* con. C. F.  
W. Müller.

EP. DCCCCXIX. (FAM. XIII. 44).

GALLO] Pal, vide ep. praecedentem;  
*Gallio* MH et indices.

familiarissimi mei] edd. vett.; om.  
*mei* libri; *familiaris mei* Mendelssohn  
coll. 918, 1.

EP. DCCCCXX. (FAM. XIII. 45).

vel] delent, Crat. Wes., recte defendit  
Lehmann.

rem meam] *meam rem* Wes., haud  
necessario.

mutua] *multa* Wes. coll. M ad 808,  
4 fin.

EP. DCCCCXXIII. (FAM. XVI. 13).

Menandri] *Andrici* coll. 924, 1.

EP. DCCCCXXIV. (FAM. XVI. 14).

1. Andricus] *Menandrus* Man. coll.  
923.

miseriae] H Erf.; *miserius* M; *mise-  
rius* Pal.

Ummium] *Manium* Man.; *Ummidium*  
Lallemand.

EP. DCCCCXXV. (FAM. XVI. 15).

1. conservandum] M Pal; *confirman-  
dum* H Erf.

2. Scripta iam epistola] M; *scripsi  
iam* (om. *iam* Pal) *epistulam* H Erf. Pal.  
et te visus est] om. H Erf. Pal.  
coccum] M Pal; *cum* H; om. Erf.

EP. DCCCCXXVI. (FAM. XVI. 10).

2. Pompeius] libri; *Pomponius* Man.  
male.

Kal.] *Kal. febr.* Pal.

EP. DCCCCXXVII. (FAM. XVI. 16).

1. meam] *tuam* Wes., sine causa.  
cum] M Pal; *quod* H Erf.  
illa fortuna . . . maluisti] De addita-  
mentis ad hunc locum vix necessariis vide  
Comm.

2. fidelitas] *et frugalitas* addit Lam-  
binus, *et utilitas* Boot, propter pluralem  
casum *his commodis*.

sermonibus] *et sermonibus* libri, quo  
conservato <et> *humanitate* vel *humani-  
tate* <que> dedit Lehmann.  
commodis] om. H Erf.

EP. DCCCCXXIX. (FAM. XIII. 48).

et] om. Lamb. Btr.; *id* C. F. W.  
Müller.

quae ut] *quod ut* Wes. Vide Comm.

EP. DCCCCXXX. (FAM. XII. 20).

ut es] MH; cf. Lehmann, p. 83; *ut es  
delicatus* Pal; *ut es cessator* Koch; *diutius*  
con. C. F. W. Müller.  
mihi] add. Lamb.

EP. DCCCCXXXI. (FAM. XIII. 52).

coniunctus] <mihi> *coniunctus* Lamb.  
Wes., haud necessario.

EP. AD OCTAVIANUM.

Inter H et Erf. summa est coniunctio:  
sed post § 1 non dedimus lectiones eorum  
codicum congruentes, nisi aliter memoratu  
dignae sunt. Immane quantum inter se

discrepant codices Germanici et Italici in hac epistola.

1. libenter] *id libenter fecissem* H Erf.  
nulla . . . salutaria] vid. Comm.  
nisi se timere] H; om. *se* M.  
Italia] *et Italia* M.  
ad servitutem adductis] om. H Erf.  
equitatuque] *equitatuque* H Erf.  
distinetur] *destinatur* H Erf.  
iam libertate] *tyrannide* H Erf.  
deinde] om. H Erf.  
adsentatur] H Erf. Crat.; *assentitur* M.  
2. Post . . . postulantibus] om. H Erf.  
bona] om. H Erf.  
recentis] Crat.; *praesentis* MH Erf.  
habet] H Erf. Crat.; *est* M.  
expostulem . . . pro me] H Erf. TD  
(de quibus vid. Comm.) (T = Codex Turnebi); om. M.  
quamquam] *etsi* H; *et* Erf.  
propitia] M; *prospera* H Erf.  
inimicus] M; *infestus* H Erf.  
proprium periculum] *propria malum* H Erf.  
3. publicam] *publicandam* H Erf.  
creari] om. M<sup>1</sup>. De hoc loco vid. Comm.  
4. prope iam . . . prostratam] vide Comm.  
tribuens honorem] om. H Erf.  
caesus] *ausus* M.  
5. ingratum] *ingratum ingratus* M<sup>1</sup>.  
relinquitur, civis hostis] om. H Erf.  
petitur] H Erf. Crat.; *ponitur* M.  
medio] *ex medio* H Erf.  
ab] add. Wes.

- Cogit . . . timere] H Erf.; om. M.  
6. dementique] libri; *labentique* Wes.  
ipsum] Crat.; *ipse* libri.  
dixi] *edixi* M.  
patriae Paridem] *patrem patriae* H Erf.  
praedicebant] Lamb.; *praedicabant* libri.  
7. verissime memoria] M; *verissimae memoriae* H Erf.  
consulem] *quos* H Erf., et idem mox.  
et hostem] om. H Erf.  
poterit] H Erf. Crat.; *conabitur* M.  
peccare] libri; *peccass.* vulg.  
8. concupiscis] H Erf. Crat.; *concupisti* M.  
malorum] *maiorum* M.  
si qui ex] om. *si* M.  
appellemus] H Erf.; *invocemus* M<sup>1</sup>; *vocemus* vulg.  
9. sepultae] om. M<sup>1</sup>; *sepulturae* H Erf. T.  
reliquiae] om. H Erf.  
omnis] *hominum* H Erf.  
decorarunt] *decoravere* H Erf.  
xviii.] M (marg.); *tredecim* M; xvi. H Erf.  
ut non posset non confiteri] *aut econfiteretur* H Erf.  
posset] *possit* M.  
eam potentiam] *eum potentium* M; *eum* (om. *potentiam*) H Erf.  
qui] add. Wes.  
Iulianos] *villianos vel iulianos* M.  
rem p. . . obtineret] *testamento sibi rem p. legatam viderit* H Erf.  
10. vivus] *visis* H Erf.



# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA*.

[The Editors mentioned very rarely are referred to in the *Adn. Crit.* by their full names.]

corr.	= <i>correat</i> ; corr. Vict. means Victorius suggested the emended reading which appears in the text.
fort.	= <i>fortasse</i> (i.e. perhaps the right reading is 'so and so'); <i>qu.</i> indicates less degree of probability.
om.	= <i>omisit</i> .
coni.	= <i>coniecit</i> or <i>coniectura</i> (in all its cases).
lect.	= <i>lectio</i> (in all its cases).
Comm.	= <i>Commentarium</i> (in all its cases), that is, the English foot-notes.
Adn. Crit.	= <i>Adnotatio Critica</i> (in all its cases).
del.	= <i>delevit</i> .
ins.	= <i>inseruit</i> .
libri	= the consensus of the best mss.
edd.	= the reading of most editors.
M	= codex Mediceus.
M <sup>1</sup>	= codex M <i>a prima manu</i> .
M <sup>2</sup>	= codex M <i>a secunda manu</i> .
marg.	= <i>secundum correctionem marginalem</i> .
H	= codices Harleiani (described in Introd. to vol. I <sup>2</sup> , pp. 74 ff., and in Pref. to vol. I <sup>2</sup> , and in Introd. to vol. II).
P	= codex Parisinus 17812 (see Introd. to vol. II., p. lx; vol. IV., p. c).
T	= codex Turonensis (described in Introd. to vol. I <sup>2</sup> , pp. 78 ff.).
Pal	= codex Palatinus 598, called by Gruter Palatinus Sextus (see Introd. to vol. II., p. lxxxiii).
E	= codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis 252 (see Introd. to vol. II., p. lxxxiv).
C	= codex Cratandrinus.
c	= editio Cratandrina (1528).
Crat.	= Cratander.
Z	= codex Tornaesianus.
Zl	= codex Tornaesianus teste Lambino.
Zb	= codex Tornaesianus teste Bosio.
X, Y	= pseudo-codices Bosiani (commonly called, respectively, codex Crusellinus and Decurtatus).

A	= codex Antonianus.
F	= codex Faërninus.
R	= editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).
I	= editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).
N	= ed. Neapolitana (Naples, 1474).
Vict.	= Victorius (Venice, 1536-1571).
Corrad.	= Corradus ( <i>Epp. ad Att.</i> Venice, 1544).
Mur.	= Muretus ( <i>Variae lectiones</i> , Venice and Paris, 1559-86).
Mal.	= Malaspina (Venice, 1564).
Lamb.	= Lambinus (Paris, 1566; 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).
Ursin.	= Orsini.
Man.	= Ed. of Manutius (Ald. 1575; Ven. 1579).
Bos.	= Simeo Bosius ( <i>Epp. ad Att.</i> Limoges, 1580).
Grut.	= Gruter (Hamburg, 1618).
Graev.	= Graevius (Amsterdam, 1677).
Gron.	= Gronovius (Lyons, 1692).
Ern.	= Ernesti (Leipsic, 1737).
Facc.	= Facciolati (Padua, 1738).
Sch.	= Schütz (Halle, 1809).
Or.	= Orelli (Zurich, 1845).
Matth.	= Matthiae (Leipsic, 1849).
k	= Klotz (1st ed., Teubner, Leipsic, 1858).
Kl	= Klotz (2nd ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1869, 1870).
Hofm.	= Hofmann, <i>Ausgewählte Briefe</i> (Berlin, ed. 1, 1860; ed. 2, besorgt von K. Lehmann, 1892).
Boot.	= I. C. G. Boot. ( <i>Epp. ad Att.</i> Amsterdam, ed. 1, 1865; ed. 2, 1886).
Boot, Obs. } Crit. }	= Boot's <i>Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.</i> (Amsterdam, 1880).
Müll.	= C. F. W. Müller (Progr. Landsberg, 1865).
Btr.	= Baiter & Kayser's ed. (Leipsic, 1867).
Kays.	= Kayser.
Koch.	= Koch (Einladungs-Programm, May, 1868).
Büch.	= Bücheler ( <i>Q. Cic. Reliquiae</i> , Teubner, Leipsic, 1868, and <i>Mus. Rhen.</i> xi.).
Madv.	= Madvig ( <i>Adversaria Critica</i> , vols. i., ii., Copenhagen, 1871-3; vol. iii., 1884).
Wes.	= Wesenberg (Teubner, Leipsic, 1872, 1873).
Wes. Em.	= Wesenberg's <i>Emendationes</i> (Hauniae, 1840).
Wes. Em. } Alt. }	= Wesenberg's <i>Emendationes Alterae</i> , Teubner (Leipsic, 1873).
Peerlk.	= Peerlkamp.
Pluyg.	= Pluygers.
Streicher	= Oscar Streicher's <i>De Ciceronis Epistulis ad Familiares emendandis</i> (in vol. iii. of the <i>Commentationes Philologicae Icnenses</i> ) (Teubner, Leipsic, 1884).
Lehmann	= Quaestiones Tullianae, Pars Prima, de Ciceronis epistolis, scripsit C. A. Lehmann (Prague and Leipsic, 1886).

- Lehmann, *De* } = De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendandis,  
*epp. ad Att.* } scriptis C. A. Lehmann (Berlin, 1892).  
Mendelss. } = M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistularum libri sedecim edidit L. Mendels-  
sohn (Leipsic, 1893).  
Schmidt } = Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero von O. E. Schmidt  
(Leipsic, 1893).  
Schmidt, O. E. } = De epistulis et a Cassio et ad Cassium post Caesarem occisum datis  
(*Cass.*) } Quaestiones chronologicae (Leipsic, 1877).  
Schmidt, O. E. } = Die letzten Kämpfe der römischen Republik, erster Theil  
(*Letzten Kämpfe*) } (Jahrbuch für klass. Philologie, Suppl. Band xiii. 665-672).  
Schmidt, O. E. } = Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Briefe Ciceros an Atti-  
(*Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*) } cus, Q. Cicero, M. Brutus in Italien (in vol. x. of the  
Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl.  
Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften), 1887.  
Heidemann, A. } = De Ciceronis in epistulis verborum ellipsis usu. Berlin, 1893.  
Otto, A. } = Die Sprichwörter, &c., der Römer (Leipsic, 1890).  
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Professors O. E. Schmidt and L. Gurlitt have, besides the works mentioned above, written many valuable monographs, to which full reference has been made when they are mentioned in the Commentary.

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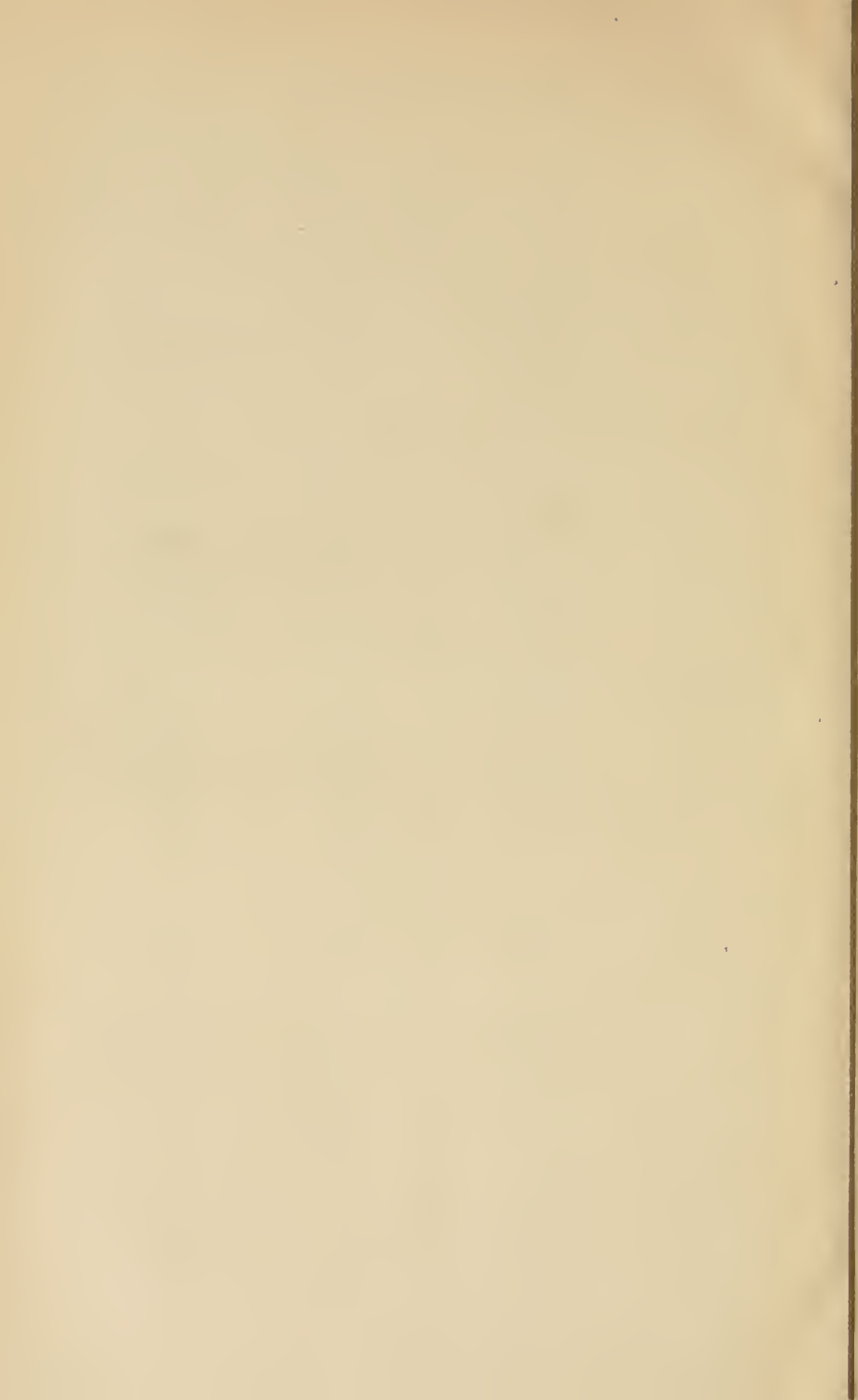
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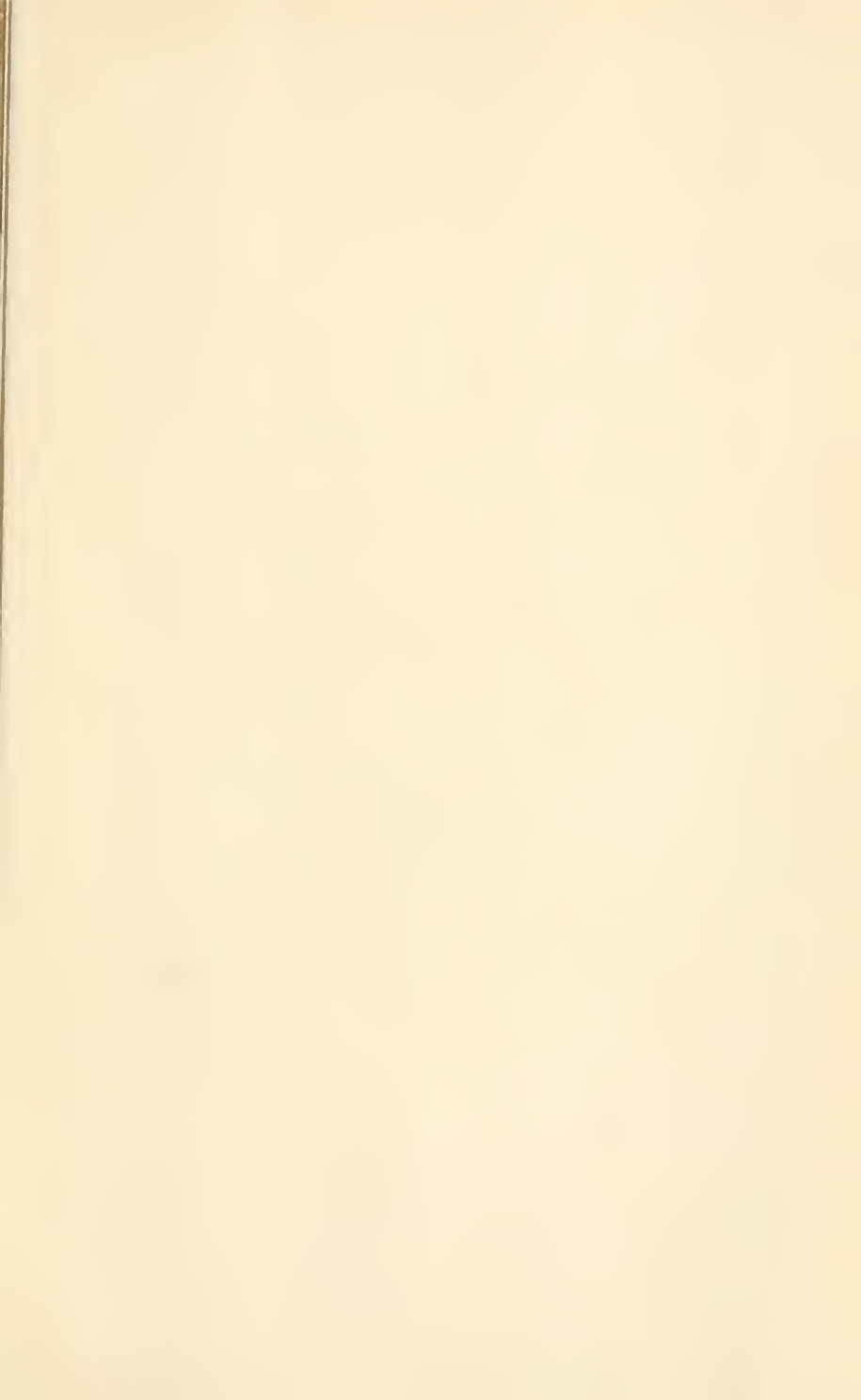
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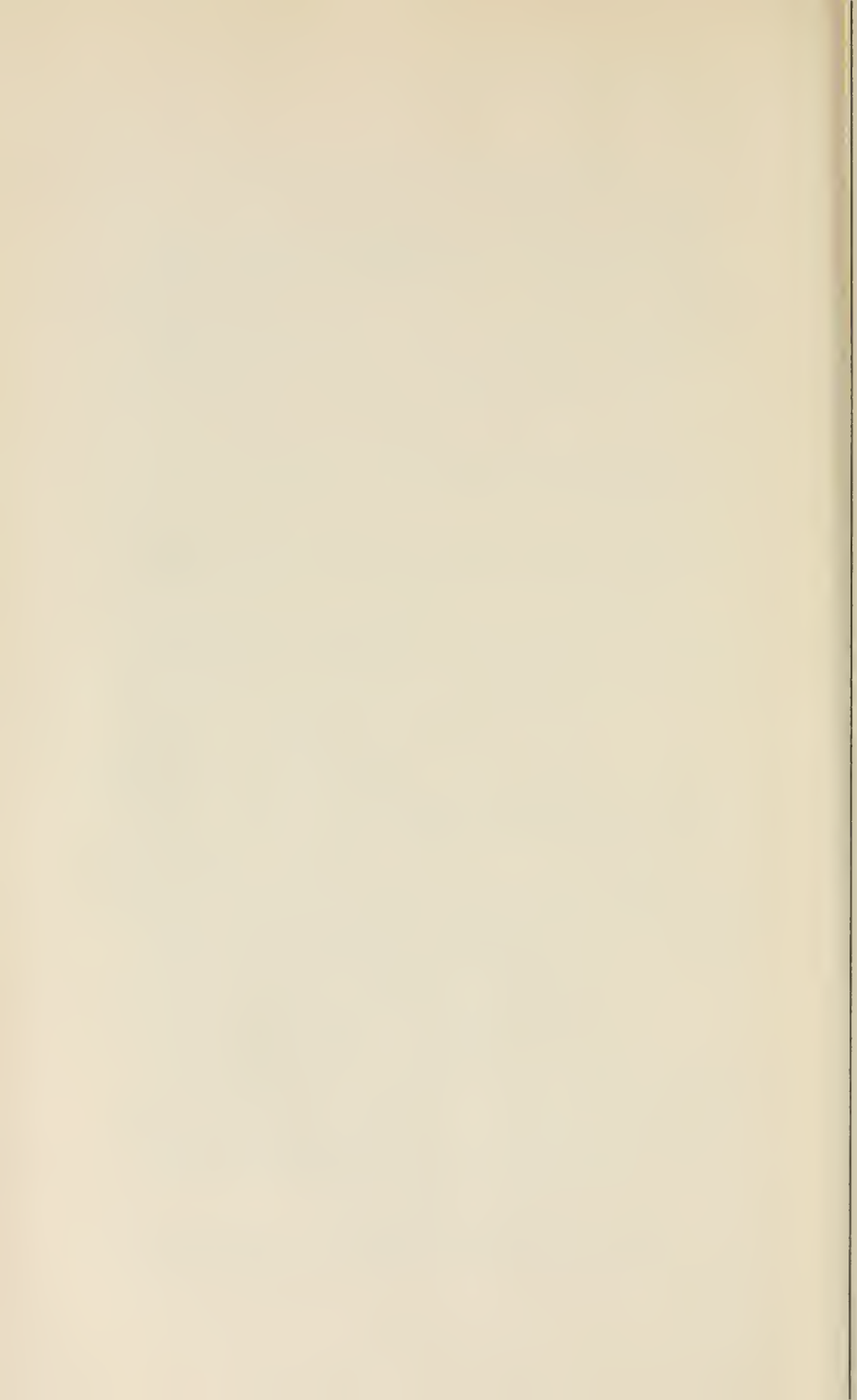
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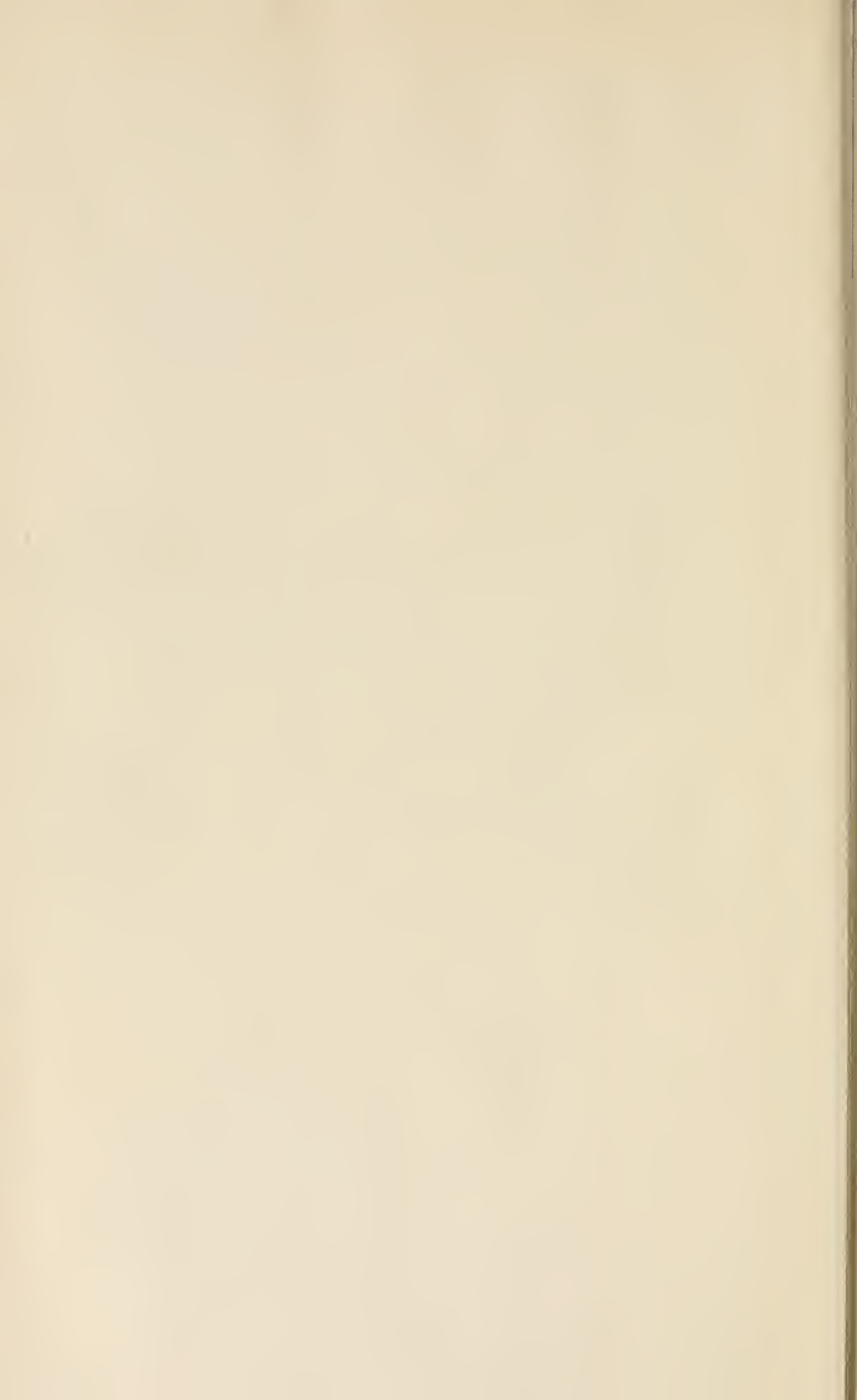
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